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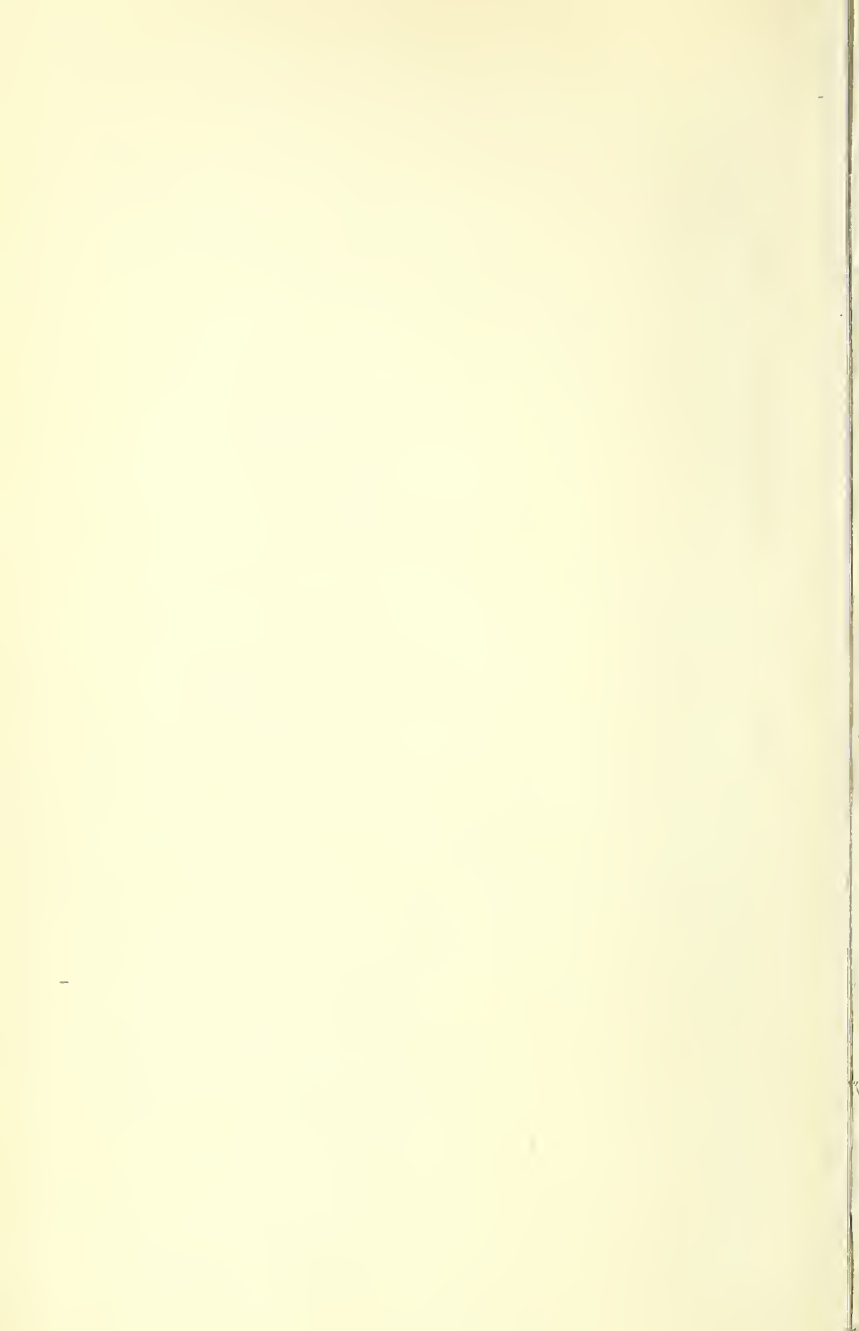
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ROME
IN THE TIME OF
AUGUSTUS.



HISTORY
OF
THE ROMANS
UNDER THE EMPIRE.

BY
CHARLES MERIVALE, B.D.,
LATE FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

FROM THE FOURTH LONDON EDITION. WITH A COPIOUS ANALYTICAL INDEX.

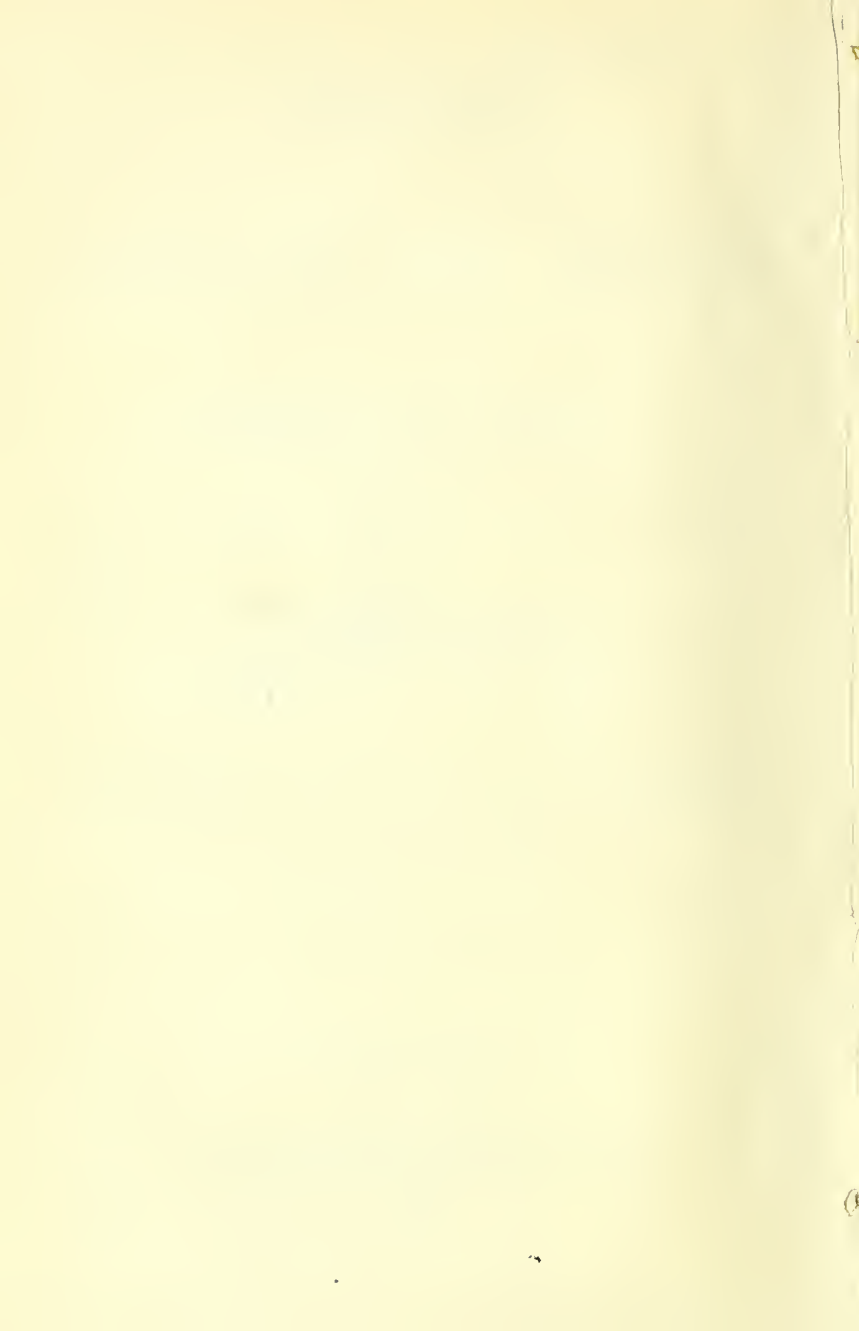
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HISTORY OF THE ROMANS

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CHAPTER XXIII.

PROCEEDINGS UPON THE DEATH OF CÆSAR.—THE EXPLOIT OF THE LIBERATORS MEETS WITH NO FAVOUR FROM THE PEOPLE.—ANTONIUS UNITES WITH LEPIDUS, AND OBTAINS THE DICTATOR'S TREASURES AND PAPERS.—PRETENDED COMPROMISE AND DECREE OF AMNESTY.—CÆSAR'S ACTS ARE RATIFIED AND HIS WILL DISCLOSED.—PUBLIC OBSEQUIES DECREED HIM.—ANTONIUS DELIVERS THE FUNERAL HARANGUE, WHICH INFLAMES THE PEOPLE AGAINST THE LIBERATORS, AND CREATES A TUMULT, IN WHICH THEY ARE COMPELLED TO CONCEAL THEMSELVES. (A. U. 710. B. C. 44.)

THE struggle was over, Cæsar had ceased to breathe, and for a moment the eyes of his assassins encountered each other across his body. When they looked around them, the hall was already vacant. The senators had fled with precipitation; centurions, lictors, and attendants, who had accompanied the dictator within the precincts of the curia, had vanished from the scene,¹ and the harangue which Brutus was about to utter commanded no listeners. Antonius, whose detention at the door gave him the fairest opportunity of escape, had slipped through the crowd, exchanged clothes with a slave or client, and made his

Consternation
of the citizens
on the death of
Cæsar.

¹ Cicero (*de Divin.* ii. 9.) speaks of Cæsar as killed, “tot centurionibus suis inspectantibus.” We must allow for some rhetorical amplification in this description.

way unperceived to his house in the Carinæ. *Fly, shut your doors, fly!* was the cry of the panic-stricken senators;¹ for none could tell where the next blow of the assassins might fall, or what movement their deed might excite among the murdered man's adherents. Both parties had arms within reach. On the one hand Decimus Brutus had provided for his friends' defence by stationing a body of gladiators in the Pompeian theatre hard by, where the populace was already assembling to witness the shows of the arena: on the other the city was filled with the dictator's veterans, who had mustered there in unknown numbers, some to accompany him in his projected expedition, some to pay him the last honours on the eve of his departure, more, perhaps, from mere restlessness and licentious idleness. The feelings of the populace itself were unexplored: during Cæsar's short tenure of power it had wavered with more than usual capriciousness: none could guess how far the ramifications of the conspiracy had spread, which was seen to comprise members of factions so widely different. Lepidus, the master of the horse, now just about to assume his provincial government in Gaul and Spain, was hovering outside the walls completing his military preparations. Forbidden by his imperium from entering the gates, he had not been prevented from attending the meeting of the senate beyond them, and was probably a witness of the deed which had thrown Rome into consternation. At this crisis he was not wanting in energy. He had one legion quartered in the island of the Tiber, a force sufficient, perhaps, in the general confusion, to seize the command of the city. To this force he immediately repaired. In the first moment of suspense he crossed over into the Campus Martius, and despatched to Antonius an assurance of support.²

The affright of the senators soon communicated itself to the populace, and spread through every part of the city.

The liberators proceed to the forum, and Confusion and tumult reigned far and wide; houses were entered and violence committed; ac-

¹ Dion, xliv. 20.: Βοῶντες, φεῦγε, κλεῖε, φεῦγε, κλεῖε.

² Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 118.

according to some accounts even blood was shed.¹ The swordsmen of Decimus occupied the deserted places of the fathers, and the assassins gladly availed themselves of this support, while they marched forth from the senate-house brandishing in their right hands their bloody daggers, and wrapping their togas about their left arms, for defence against a sudden attack. They reached the forum preceded by a cap of liberty hoisted on a spear, exclaiming that they had killed a king and a tyrant.² Having gained the rostra, Brutus proceeded to deliver a studied harangue, destined, as he conceived, to secure the applause of his countrymen. But the tumult drowned his words: the conspirators exerted themselves to express by gestures the assurance that justice was satisfied, that no more blood should be shed; and their leader invoked amid the din the name of Cicero, as the strongest pledge, perhaps, of their peaceful intentions. The orator flattered himself that they addressed him as the *father of his country*; but Antonius dared afterwards to affirm that they claimed him as an accomplice.³

Brutus harangues the people.

The consternation with which the senators had dispersed at the moment of the murder, might have revealed to the conspirators with how little favour their deed would be entertained by them. At the same time it displayed not less clearly to the mass of the citizens, that the assassination was the wild stroke of revenge or rivalry, and not the judicial act of legitimate authority. The appeal now made to the people was utterly abortive. The populace gazed upon the blood-stained crew with wonder and alarm, but in the frenzy of its excitement

Failing to make an impression, they repair to the Capitol.

¹ Appian, *l. c.* If blood was shed it was probably the work of thieves and plunderers. Decimus had his gladiators well in hand, and would have allowed them no such excesses as this writer intimates. Appian's account of these transactions is connected and graphic, but it is not always supported by the other authorities.

² On a coin of Brutus we read lib. P. R. restitu., with a cap of liberty (pileus) between two daggers. (Eckhel, vi. 24.) The symbol of the pileus was used sometimes by the later emperors.

³ Cic. *Philipp.* ii. 12.; Dion, *l. c.*; Appian, ii. 119.

could neither be reasoned with nor commanded. Frustrated in their first vague anticipations the assassins had no ulterior plan or policy. But every minute was precious. Under pretence of offering their vows in the temple of Jupiter, they ascended the Capitoline, now occupied by their handful of armed satellites, and thus took possession of the heights, imperfectly fortified, which crowned the forum. Undoubtedly this spirited movement is to be ascribed to Decimus, the master of the gladiators, the coolest and most self-possessed among them. This retreat saved them from collision with the armed force of Lepidus, which occupied the forum in the course of the following night.¹

Meanwhile, the curia was abandoned by the living, and the marble effigy of Pompeius looked mutely down upon the prostrate corpse of his mighty rival. The assassins had proposed, at first, to treat the body with the formal indignities due to chastised traitors, and drag it ignominiously to the Tiber; but they soon became aware that their own position was too precarious to indulge in an act which might provoke popular indignation, and all their care was directed to providing for their own safety. During the first hours which followed, only a few curious eyes intruded upon the melancholy scene: at last, three of the murdered man's attendants summoned courage to enter the hall, and removed the body, stretched upon a litter imperfectly supported at three corners, while one arm hung unheeded over its side.² Whether this was done in the darkness of the night, or whether the people had shrunk at mid-day into their houses, no sensation, it appears, was created by the passage of this limping pageant to the pontifical mansion in the forum. When the conspirators withdrew to the Capitol quiet was gradually restored; it was affirmed that they

The body of
Caesar is carried to his mansion.

¹ Besides the authorities above cited, the reader may consult Livy, Epit. cxvi., Plutarch in the contemporary lives, Florus, Velleius, &c. There is some confusion among them as to the order of the events which follow, but Dru mann has succeeded in unravelling it.

² Appian, *l. c.* says, with graphic conciseness, ἀνωμάλως οἱ αὐτοὶ τρεῖς.

had abjured, from the first, the extension of their vengeance even to the immediate adherents of their victim. Some of them, it must be allowed, had urged, as a necessary precaution, the massacre of Antonius also; but Brutus, consistent in the principles which he brought to his crime, had forbidden an act which might seem to stain with a trace of human passion the purity of their sublime sacrifice. The philosopher was, probably, single-minded in this self-restraint: his companions were, perhaps, the more easily persuaded to acquiesce in it, from the current suspicion that Antonius was no sincere friend to Cæsar, who had personally offended him, and by whose superiority he was galled.¹

Their leader's moderation was, indeed, neither felt nor understood by the greater part of the selfish crew who had placed their enterprise under his direction. But from the first, perhaps, they were too well aware of their real weakness, and of the isolation in which they stood, to propose following up the projected murder of the chief with the proscription of his adherents. If they examined the private motives by which they were personally influenced, they cannot but have been convinced that the murmurs against the usurper which they heard or uttered were the offspring, for the most part, of malice, jealousy, and pique: there existed no general indignation against him, no rancorous sense of injury which alone might avail to sanction measures of vengeance against his followers. For the sake of their own safety, therefore, they paltered with the treason, and temporized with the men whom they denounced as enemies of the state. The policy of Brutus was, in fact, the most prudent, as well as the most

The conspirators deliberate in the Capitol, and are joined by Cicero and other nobles.

¹ There may have been sufficient grounds for this suspicion at the time; nevertheless it should be observed that Antonius's subsequent conduct gave no colour to it. There is at least no known authority for the charge of ingratitude brought against him by Seneca (*de Benef.* v. 16.), "Ingratus Antonius in dictatorem suum, quem jure cæsum pronuntiavit." We learn from the recently discovered fragment of Nicolaus of Damascus (ci. 36.), that some of Cæsar's friends expressed themselves well pleased at his destruction: ἑλπίς τυράννου δεραπίας, was the remark of one of them.

merciful. The slaughter of Antonius at that moiment would, indeed, have cut off the man who was destined eventually to crush the last struggles of the expiring oligarchy; nevertheless, the respect now paid to his life undoubtedly averted a violent and sweeping revolution from the fury of the exasperated Cæsareans. It gave the commonwealth at least time to breathe, to collect its energies, to concert its measures, and defend itself in fair battle on an open field. It is not the less clear, however, that the conspirators, in adopting their leader's counsel, miscalculated the effect of their bloody stroke. Cowering behind the ramparts of the Capitol, they awaited with anxious forebodings the tardy muster of their political friends. But the chiefs of the old republic had retreated from the impending storm, and the day passed without an outbreak before they ventured to issue from their concealment and brave its perils. Of those who now presented themselves before the closed gates of the citadel of freedom, one of the first was Cicero himself, who, though he had shrunk from answering the call of Brutus in the forum, had speedily recovered his courage, and now evinced a generous alacrity in enlisting on the side which alone assumed an attitude of authority. One by one, as the shades of evening fell, the timid nobles mounted the Capitoline, and introduced themselves to the confederates assembled in feverish debate. Among the new comers were Lentulus Spinther, son of the late consular, Favonius, the *shadow* of the sturdy Cato, M. Aquinus, Octavius Balbus, a Murcus, a Patiscus, and others. It is mournful to recollect, in tracing these obscure names, how many victims the civil war had made, and how few of the great contemporaries of the triumvirs remained to sustain the republic, now tottering to its last fall. The deliberations of the evening were suspended by the hasty greetings which intervened. The new adherents of the cause were anxious to claim, by the loudness of their approbation, a share in the merit of the deed already accomplished; and Cicero himself, we must believe, was not ashamed to lament the scruples which had denied him initiation in the plot. But the libera-

tors, who looked to the events of the moment to direct their course, were still tardy and unprepared. Cicero might fairly claim, from his reputed wisdom and experience, to be their adviser. He urged Brutus and Cassius to convene the senate as prætors, in the absence of the consuls, and assume the reins of government. What further plan or policy he suggested to them does not appear: at a later period, indeed, he lamented the inactivity which prevailed in their councils, and sighed over the lost opportunity, when, as he averred, the spirits of the patriots were elated, and the brigands, as he called the Cæsareans, were broken and dismayed. If the remnant of the senators then mustered in the Capitol had decreed themselves a legitimate assembly of the order, and fulminated a decree to annul the acts of the dictator, such a step would, at least, have been bold and decisive; and, could Cicero have claimed the merit of having urged it, there were many subsequent occasions on which he would not have failed to do so. But he intimates neither that nor any other advice as having emanated from his mouth; and we are compelled to conjecture that his counsel extended only to calling the senate together, and leaving the future conduct of affairs to the course which chance and circumstances might dictate.

So much, however, at least is probable, that Cicero saw, what Brutus and his associates were for the most part blind to, the folly of negotiating with Antonius and the Cæsareans. The most reflecting of Roman statesmen was well assured that the assassination Mistaken views of Brutus and his associates. of the usurper had opened, and not closed, the question how the state was to be governed: he felt that the party of the tyrant, if not absolutely proscribed and massacred, must, at least, be excluded from all share in public affairs. But he was fatally mistaken if he dreamed that the senate's authority could avail to re-establish legitimate order; nor did he fairly estimate the passions of the multitude, the fury of the veterans, the cupidity of the legionaries, and the general love and admiration which invested with a halo of glory the body of the slaughtered hero. The man of words and principles could

not comprehend the melancholy truth that the republic could only be saved by gold and iron, by buying the consent of the populace, and the support of the soldiery. Brutus, indeed, still more widely erring, clung to the hope that Antonius might be converted to the generous views which he, perhaps, alone ascribed to his own associates. He trusted that Cæsar's followers had been deceived as to his real intentions; that they had attached themselves to him as the proscribed and injured candidate for legitimate advancement, not as the deliberate assailant of his country's laws: he fancied that the full conviction of his treason against the state would produce tardy repentance; at least he conceived that the ambition of Antonius would be satisfied by leading, as consul, the movement of law and freedom which the liberators had commenced. Accordingly, Brutus urged Cicero to become the organ of communication with the fugitive; but the orator declined the commission, declaring that it was useless, and fearing, perhaps, that it would be personally dangerous. For Antonius, shut up in his private dwelling, had doubtless surrounded himself with troops of Cæsarean veterans, furious men, who might little care to distinguish between an actor in the hateful tragedy, and an instrument of the actors.

During the night of the 15th-16th, Antonius had not been idle. In his concealment, he had obtained information both of the movements of the liberators, and of the attitude assumed by Lepidus. He had to secure himself against the anticipated violence of the one party, and at the same time to watch his opportunity for cajoling the other. For Lepidus, at the head of the only regular force then at hand, had now entered the forum, abandoned by the liberators; and though he kept up communication with Antonius, was actually in a position to overawe the powers of the state, and, independent both of consuls and senate, assume the fallen reins of government. The bereaved Calpurnia received her husband's body from the hands of his faithful attendants, and while she was yet unassured as to her own safety, she determined to secure the most valuable

Proceedings of
Antonius
during the
night of the
15th-16th.

of his effects and documents. From her mansion overlooking the forum she beheld the night encampment of Lepidus ; but Antonius had already obtained her confidence. In the course of the night she contrived to remove treasure to the amount of four thousand talents to the consul's dwelling, and therewith another deposit, which became of still greater importance to him, the private papers of the deceased. Possessed of these instruments, among which was the testament and other memorials of the dictator's views, Antonius felt at once the vantage ground on which he stood, and conceived a deep scheme for securing efficient support to his own pretensions. As soon as he perceived that the liberators shrank from following up their first blow with reiterated violence, he awaited with confidence the overtures which they were preparing to address to him. At the same time he proceeded to assail the only rival for the favour of the Cæsareans who had yet appeared upon the scene, with offers calculated to shake the bold attitude he had so suddenly assumed. Antonius was well aware that with Lepidus the fever of ambition was but a momentary excitement. His natural indolence would soon prompt him, upon reflection, to embrace the offer of a second place, rather than aspire to the hazardous pre-eminence of the first. The consul proposed at once to secure for him the succession to the high priesthood, vacant by Cæsar's death ; at the same time he opened negotiations with him for an alliance between the son of the one and the daughter of the other. While the liberators were still hesitating as to their course, and pondering the aimless harangues of their recent associate, Antonius and Lepidus were coming rapidly to a mutual understanding, and the only power in Rome was on the point of placing itself at the disposal of the only will capable of directing it.

He obtains
the treasures
and papers of
Cæsar,

and effects a
combination
with Lepidus.

The liberators could hardly venture to remain, though unassailed, in a position which retained only the tradition of defensibility, while every moment of their absence from the centre of affairs tended to consoli-

On the 16th the
liberators re-

solve to appeal
again to the
people.

date the means of attack upon it. The citizens, they hoped, after one night of reflection, would be better disposed to listen to them : the moderation of their views had been tested, they conceived, in the hour of victory, by their voluntary renunciation of ulterior vengeance. They were anxious to make a second appeal to the people in the forum ; if they met with a favourable reception there, they might require the doors of the curia to be thrown open to them, and invite the consul, together with the rest of the senators, to join with those members of their order who had already sanctioned the tyrant's overthrow. Some of their body had already despatched emissaries to procure a few venal voices, and get a cry raised for peace and mutual reconciliation.¹ It was politic to seem to accord to their enemies the protection which, in fact, they were anxious to obtain for themselves. This cry was not ill received ; but the attempt to extort from the multitude an expression of approbation towards the assassins themselves met with total failure : any slur cast on the memory of the murdered man was fiercely resented. When Cornelius Cinna, one of the prætors, a kinsman of the dictator, came forward and threw aside the ensigns of his office, which he had obtained from the hands of one whom he now denounced as a tyrant, the people hooted him as a traitor and apostate. At this juncture, however, Dolabella sided with them. Dolabella came to the aid of the desponding faction : he had been promised the succession to the consulship which Caesar was about to resign. Conscious of the enmity of Antonius, he threw himself on the opposite side, and sought to secure the prize by conferring a signal service on the murderers of his patron : he freely declared that he had been privy to their design, and claimed, with voluble pertinacity, a share in their honours and dangers, as an associate who had only been prevented by accident from assisting in their exploit. He had the audacity, as some asserted, to propose that the anniversary of the murder should be celebrated as the *birthday* of the commonwealth. The

¹ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 121.

hired clamourers were encouraged by this demonstration to raise their voices again, and call upon the liberators to descend. They, on their part, were delighted to have the countenance of a consul (for Dolabella came abroad with the ensigns of the office which he claimed), and forgot that in accepting it they affixed their sanction to one of the tyrant's most irregular acts. It would have been well indeed for them, if, being once compromised in this way, they had accepted the pretender's services as freely as they were proffered, and placed him openly at their head, to exert in their behalf his well-tryed abilities as a mob-orator and unscrupulous partizan. But, while they admitted him as an associate, they were ashamed to follow as a leader one of the most notorious creatures of the usurper.

The star of Brutus was still in the ascendant. The confederates still childishly confided in the charm of his ancestral name, and imagined that the dregs of the Roman populace, which lived upon largesses, could be animated with a simple love of constitutional freedom. Upon this point the moneyed middle class also, which had supported and profited by Cæsar's financial arrangements, had already expressed itself supremely indifferent. The city, moreover, was crowded, as we have seen, with veterans from the country, great numbers of whom, weary of the retirement of their distant farms, had quitted their allotments and flocked into Rome to enlist in some new enterprise more congenial to their restless spirits. They thronged the steps of the temples, the forums and other public places, ready to sell themselves to any adventurer, and quite insensible to the specious abstractions of freedom, patriotism, and justice.¹ From such an audience the reasonings of the liberators were little likely to receive intelligent consideration. Brutus himself, indeed, was listened to with respect: he was allowed to assume a tone of lofty defiance towards the slaughtered usurper, to extol the courage and magnanimity of his associates, and even to thank Decimus in the name of the state

Brutus
harangues the
populace in the
forum.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 122.

for the opportune support of his band of gladiators. He likened the deed of the confederates to the expulsion of the Tarquins by his own ancestor: but on that occasion, he remarked, the discarded sovereign was at least a legitimate possessor of his throne, on this the victim of a righteous indignation was not only a tyrant, but an usurper. He proceeded to claim the favour of the citizens in behalf of Sextus Pompeius, in the unequal struggle he was yet waging for Roman freedom against the Cæsarean lieutenants; and he demanded, at the same time, the recall of Cæsetius and Marullus, the bold defenders of the republic, who had been banished at the dictator's instigation.

These appeals were rash and ill-timed. They met with no favourable response from the populace. The conspirators returned crest-fallen to the Capitol. The mouldering citadel of the infant republic was not tenable against a regular force, and the nobles, who had resorted thither in the first moments of suspense, now abandoned it for the most part, and repaired, one by one, either to their own homes, or to the quarters of Antonius himself.¹ It was now ascertained, beyond a doubt, that the deed of deliverance was not popular among the citizens. Even their full assurance of Cæsar's resolve to keep the power he had grasped, and throw disguise to the winds, had failed to shake the favour with which his countrymen regarded him. Usurpation had ceased to be regarded with horror, and the empty seat of the usurper only invited some new aspirant. The night which followed was passed in anxious preparations on all sides. Antonius never faltered for a moment. As consul he could unlock the doors of the public treasury;² and in the temple of Ops he found hoards accumulated by Cæsar to the amount of seven hundred millions of sesterces.³ With

He is coldly received, and returns with his associates to the Capitol.

¹ Plutarch (*Brut.* 18.) pretends that Brutus sent them away that their safety might not be compromised.

² Besides being consul himself, Antonius had one brother, Caius, prætor and another, Lucius, tribune of the people.

³ Cicero (*Philipp.* ii. 37.) refers to the official documents from which this

these unrivalled resources in his hands, he might already deem himself master of the Roman world. He caused the city to be illuminated with torches and balefires, and required the magistrates to repair to their posts, and to transact business as if it had been broad day.¹ The liberators now sent a deputation to confer with him, and solicited him, in a humbled self-excusing tone, to summon the senate, offering to submit their deed to its deliberate judgment. At the same time those among Cæsar's adherents who were most nearly interested in the event, the veterans, namely, in the city, who had received from him lands or offices, were anxiously bestirring themselves. Apprehensive of a decision which should reverse their patron's acts, they sent trusty agents from house to house, to menace the senators with prompt vengeance, if they dared to tamper with their rights. The senators, however much a large portion of them might incline to favour the liberators, were alarmed by this movement, and Antonius soon learnt that he might safely convene them, and trust to his own address to overreach the few whom the prospect of military violence should fail to terrify. Thus, everything combined to render the consul master of the crisis. Instead of directing the senate to assemble in the curia at the foot of the Capitoline, where the armed band of Decimus might overawe its deliberations, he summoned it to meet him in the temple of Tellus, close to the house of Pompeius which he himself occupied in the Carinæ.

Antonius seizes the public treasure, and, at the request of the liberators, convenes a meeting of the senate.

Anxious and bewildered, the great council of the commonwealth met accordingly before daybreak on the morning of the 17th, the festival of the Liberalia. Numerous as the members were who owed their seats to Cæsar's mere appointment, alien as they were in blood, and attached, as might be presumed, by every interest to the cause of their original patron, yet their natural bias had

Meeting of the senate on the 17th.

sum was known to have been deposited there. The orator calls it *funesta pecunia*, insinuating that it was amassed by confiscation and rapine.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 125

so far yielded to the spirit of class and the influence of oligarchic associations, that the liberators presumed they might appeal not without confidence even to their decision. Emissaries of the tyrannicides also had been at work through the night, visiting from door to door, and claiming the suffrages of the timid and reluctant by every argument of menace or persuasion. At an early hour Cornelius Cinna repaired to the curia in the prætor's robes, which he had so lately affected to discard. Being recognised by the multitude, he was maltreated, and narrowly escaped being torn in pieces. He was driven into a neighbouring house, and the mob would have wreaked their vengeance upon him by setting it on fire, had he not been saved by a detachment of Lepidus's soldiers. This violence was significant. It alarmed the senators, and gave the conspirators the first practical intimation of their peril. Had it been directly contrived, as was perhaps the case, by their disguised enemy himself, it could not have answered his purpose better. For hitherto the consul had abstained from intruding an armed force into the presence of the assembly; he now suffered Lepidus to bring his cohorts to the spot, and surround the deliberating senate with rows of drawn swords. The aggression of Pompeius at Milo's trial was thus turned against the avengers of his fall. Moreover the badge of office assumed by Cinna indicated that Cæsar's creatures were not disposed to surrender, without a struggle, the advantages they enjoyed by his appointment; and, further, that they had now recovered the hope of retaining them, of which, the day before, they seemed to despair. Now, too, Dolabella arrived with the consular fasces: the liberators, as we have seen, had committed themselves to the support of his claim, and Antonius, who saw their error in a moment, took care to offer no opposition to it. The nobles fell headlong into the trap. They regarded the conciliatory demeanour of the consul towards the bitterest of his enemies, as the strongest proof of his wish for a peaceful compromise; and, in discussing the terms of agreement between them, they relied upon Cicero's eloquence

The prætor
Cinna is maltreated by the
populace.

or adroitness, which had so often proved effectual in convincing or cajoling the statesmen of the republic.

The boldest of the conspirators' friends now insisted that they should be invited, with an assurance of personal safety, to attend the meeting, and mingle their own suffrages with those of their order ; thus elevating them at once from the position of criminals or at least defendants, to sit in judgment upon the merits of their own deed. Nor did Antonius think fit to resist this claim : he was well assured that the persons in whose behalf it was urged would not venture to quit their asylum ; nor did they. Some, however, of the senators, ascribing his concession to weakness, took courage openly to applaud the exploit, to hail the liberators by the popular name of tyrannicides, and demand a public reward for their generous self-devotion. But purer patriots again, or sterner moralists, here interposed, and argued that to reward their virtue would detract from its sublime simplicity : the meetest recompense of such a deed, they urged, would be the consciousness of its unanimity. Such persons insisted that the public approbation should be signified only by an act of solemn thanksgiving to the gods. Gradually, as more voices and conflicting passions joined in the discussion, the merits of the actors themselves were less delicately handled. The language of applause grew more cold and measured ; the views, tempers, and characters of the conspirators were canvassed with greater severity. The assembly, swayed this way and that by successive speakers, found the task of shaping the phrase with which the stroke should be duly qualified more and more arduous. The best and purest among them shrank from the deed all the while with disgust, and only voted for sparing its guilty perpetrators in consideration for their rank and birth : the idea of rewarding them as public benefactors they spurned with horror.¹ Antonius watched the eddying currents of opinion with secret satisfaction. As the progress of discussion cleared away the mists of passion and prejudice, it could not fail to become apparent how directly any condemnation

The discussion discloses the powerful interests opposed to any condemnation of Cæsar's acts.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 126.

of Cæsar as a tyrant must lead to the reversal of his acts and cancelling of his appointments. Too many in the assembly were interested in his disposition of honours and offices to pass any decree which should invalidate their right to them. Not only the actual magistracies of the current year were imperilled, but those of several years to come. Many of the persons to whose lot they had fallen were in fact by reason of their youth, or from other disqualifications, legally incompetent to enjoy them. Dolabella himself had never served the prætorship, nor had he attained the age requisite for the consulate. The restoration of the ancient customs of the republic would prove immediately fatal to these pretensions. It was not the destruction of the usurper, but the condemnation of his policy, that would constitute the principle of the counter-revolution. To avert this result, a thousand interests were ready to start up in arms. At the first moment they might have been crushed, silent and unresisting; but a few hours of reflection and debate had sufficed to give them expression, and to nerve them with resolution. They were already strong enough to clog the hostile votes of the dictator's foes, to invite conciliation, and to defy violence.

While, however, the debate was still in progress, and while many who were personally hostile to Cæsar were anxious to discover a middle course, by which his usurpation might be denounced, while at the same time his distribution of places should be respected, the consul took measures to hasten the decision by a cry from without. The populace in the forum were impatiently awaiting the result of the discussion. A message arrived requiring the immediate presence of Antonius to soothe them. Accordingly he quitted the curia, taking Lepidus with him, and presented himself to the people. A voice was raised, warning him to beware of the daggers of the nobles. He threw open the folds of his toga, and revealed a glittering breastplate beneath it; thus declaring that he was both aware of his danger, and prepared to repel it.'

Antonius employs the people in the forum to overawe the senate.

The veterans dispersed among the multitude, and distinguished by their proud gestures and licentious cries, thus reminded of the bloody deed by which their chief had fallen, shouted aloud for vengeance: but these exclamations were answered, and perhaps overwhelmed, by still more general cries for peace and conciliation. Antonius replied that peace was indeed the object of the senate's deliberations: *but how*, he added, *can we hope to secure it, since the most solemn oaths have failed to preserve the life of the murdered Cæsar.* To those who called for vengeance, he expressed himself still more boldly: he applauded their zeal for their late favourite, and declared his readiness to put himself at their head, and enforce their demand: but as consul, he urged, it was his duty to attend upon the proceedings of the senate, to act as the instrument of its decisions, and execute its decrees for the common weal. *And this*, he added with a sigh, *was what Cæsar himself was wont to do: he postponed his own personal satisfaction to the service of the state: and behold how he has been requited!* While the people were hanging on his words with breathless interest, Antonius abruptly left the forum, and hastened back to the curia, where his return was anxiously awaited. Meanwhile Lepidus, who remained behind, as was doubtless concerted between them, was invited to ascend the rostra, and explain to the multitude in a set speech the course he was prepared to maintain. His counsels, like those of his associate, were calm but resolute: he persisted in dissuading violence, while he acknowledged the ample provocation: to the demand for peace and conciliation, which meant the confirmation of Cæsar's acts, and the virtual condemnation of the murder, he bowed with affected acquiescence, though taking care to insinuate that peace could have no firm guarantee while treason stalked abroad with unsheathed dagger. The populace, tutored perhaps, or bribed for the purpose, offered him the high priesthood by acclamation. The will of the people was thus distinctly signified. They demanded peace; but they mourned for Cæsar; they abhorred his assassins, they wished to honour him in the per-

sons of his friends and associates, and to maintain, out of respect for his memory, the dispositions he had made. Such was precisely the course Antonius desired to recommend, and he could now vaunt to the senate that his influence had been successful in quelling the fury of the Cæsareans, and diverting them from a bloody revenge.

When he again raised his voice in the distracted assembly the consciousness of the service he had thus performed gave

Antonius urges the senate to ratify Cæsar's acts and confirm his appointments.

additional weight to his persuasions. Dolabella had pleaded earnestly for the ratification of Cæsar's appointments, in which none were more directly interested than himself. It was not the appointment of magistrates only, added Antonius, that was imperilled by a proposal to justify the murder or to reward its perpetrators; the whole course of Cæsar's legislation and policy was exposed to reversal by a decree which should declare his supremacy an illegal usurpation. The rights which he had extended to the subjects of the republic, the franchise he had bestowed upon cities and nations, the colonies he had founded, the lands he had distributed, the adjustment he had made of debts and liabilities, the whole substance of the legislation of the last five years, trembled in the balance; and could the senate, distracted and divided as it was, dare to provoke the consequences of such a wholesale nullification? This would be indeed to commence a revolution, and where was the power which could control its progress?

All this was ably represented by Antonius. He urged the senate to pass over the fatal deed in total silence, and leave

Cicero advocates the same policy.

the acts of the dictator as it found them, valid and unquestioned. By this time the great majority of the assembly had come to the conclusion that this course was the safest and wisest; and they left the exploit of the liberators, with little compunction, to the judgment of posterity, while they shrank from pronouncing upon it any sentence of their own. Cicero followed the consul, and pleaded in behalf of the same specious policy. *What said Cicero? . . . he talked Greek.*¹ He adorned his eloquence

¹ Shakspeare, *Julius Cæsar*.

with the phrases he had read in the history of Athenian revolutions, of amnesty or oblivion. *Let the past, he said, be forgotten, and let every man go free and unquestioned for his share in it.*¹ The deed was done, and it was useless to discuss its merits: but the solemn sanction which it had been proposed to confer upon it would involve the innocent with the guilty: justice and policy demanded that the matter should now be hushed up, a general amnesty proclaimed, a decree not of pardon, not of mercy, not even of toleration, but simply of oblivion. Such was the advice of Cicero in his place among the fathers: in private he had declared himself in the strongest terms in approval of the tyrannicide: the note which he addressed to Basilus must have been well known, and its sentiments had doubtless been reiterated and enforced upon others. *I congratulate you, he had written, I rejoice in you, I love you, I make your cause my own; give me your love and confidence, and let me know all you are doing and proposing.*² But while such was the feeling he expressed at the time, and continued long after to vaunt on all public occasions, he confessed that the peace of the city and the last faint chance of senatorial ascendancy required a compromise with the enemy; nor at a later period, when he found how grossly he had deceived himself in the hope of its success, did he regret the conciliatory policy which he had then recommended.

Undoubtedly the rash act of the liberators had brought matters to such a pass that any bolder counsel was full of manifold peril. If the senate had resolved to extol and justify the murder, it must have been prepared to proscribe all Cæsar's adherents, and defy them at once to arms. For this the patriots had neither the strength nor the courage. The gladiators of

This was the safest course for the liberators to accede to.

¹ Cic. *Philipp.* i. 1. (comp. Plutarch, *Cic.* 42., Dion, xliv. 23-33, Vell. ii. 58.): Atheniensium renovavi vetus exemplum; Græcum enim verbum usurpavi, quo tum in sedandis discordiis usa erat civitas illa; atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censui. The ἀμνηστία was proclaimed at Athens upon the overthrow of the thirty tyrants Val. Max. iv. 1. 4.

² Cic. *ad Div.* vi. 15.

Decimus in the Capitol might be supported indeed in a few days' time by the regular troops which, as proconsul of Gaul, awaited his orders in the Cisalpine province. The wealthy nobles might arm, moreover, their retainers, and, as in the days of Clodius and Milo, fill the streets with their paid adherents. But the legion of Lepidus already occupied the forum, the veterans assembled in the city were determined to maintain their personal interests, and the favour of the urban populace was backed by the well-known inclination of the great mass of the provincial population. A struggle protracted in the heart of the empire for a few days only would speedily be decided by the armies assembled on the coast of Epirus, commanded by the best of the dictator's officers, and already glowing with admiration for the presumed heir of his fortunes. With Antonius, or even Lepidus, at their head, they would array themselves on the side of formal authority; and among the patriots there was none, perhaps, at that moment with spirit and resolution enough directly to oppose even the shadow of legitimate power. A Scipio, a Domitius, a young Pompeius, might have ventured to rise above this abject subjection to mere form and prescription; but the greatest men of the party had all perished. Of the whole number of the conspirators, if Decimus was the coolest intriguer, Cassius alone, perhaps, had the talents of a statesman or a general. Had his rank been higher, and his superiority over his associates more freely admitted, he might have released himself at this moment from the superstitious deference which his friends continued to pay to the empty names of consul and imperator. But he was overawed, partly by the consciousness of the comparative obscurity of his name and lineage, partly no doubt by the ascendancy which Brutus exercised over his companions.

All this Cicero may have considered, and probably it confirmed him in the policy of conciliation and compromise to which he was naturally inclined, and from which he had swerved once only in the course of his career, when he gave the fatal order for the de-

Nevertheless
it secured
power to An-
tonius.

struction of Catilina's associates. The persecution with which that bold act had been visited had impressed him with deep aversion to abrupt and violent acts of state craft. He would have been the last to counsel the desperate stroke of the tyrannicide: once accomplished he accepted and strove to justify it for the sake of peace; but he shrank from carrying it out to its consequences, and erecting upon it the edifice of a counter-revolution. But assuredly he was not deceived. The tyrant was dead, but the tyranny, he well knew, survived. The tyrant was overthrown, but his friend and chief adviser, the man second only to himself in all the qualities required for perpetuating it, remained possessed of the highest office in the state. Antonius had entered upon the political inheritance of the mighty dead. And now by this act of amnesty he seemed to be confirmed in this fearful pre-eminence; the inheritance was, as it were, formally secured to him. The silence of the Fathers on the murder of Cæsar was deeply significant. It served to brand the tyrannicide as an useless crime, as at best the gratification of a morbid sentiment, not the just assertion of a principle. Whatever may be thought of the difficulties in which the senate was plunged by the rash violence of the Ides of March, it is clear that the specious compromise of the Liberalia riveted upon it the chains it most feared and execrated.

The senate decreed that no inquiry should be made into Cæsar's assassination, and that all his enactments and dispositions should remain valid, *for the sake of peace*.¹

But in vain did the patriots shrink from their principles under cover of this plausible phrase.

An amnesty
decreed by the
senate.

Few even within the walls of the temple really anticipated peace as the result of this decision. The fury of the veterans might be appeased for a moment; but the disposition of the distant legions had not yet been signified; the attitude of the young Octavius could only be guessed; the provinces had not yet learned the fate of their only benefactor. Matius could prophesy an immediate explosion in the north, and men-

¹ Cic. *Philipp.* ii. 39.: *pacis causa*. Comp. Appian, *B. C.* ii. 135.

ace the affrighted Cicero with a *Gallic tumult*, a general uprising of the nations beyond the Po.¹ The veterans, at the same time, restless and dissatisfied with themselves for the readiness with which they had accepted the proffered compromise, threatened to break out into violence on any sudden cause of excitement. Such an occasion was close at hand. The timidity manifested by the patriots emboldened Calpurnius Piso, the dictator's father-in-law, to request the senate to sanction a public funeral in his honour. He demanded also that the provisions of his testament should be divulged. The fatal consequences which might ensue from a public spectacle at such a moment, and for such an object, were generally foreseen and feared. Atticus, a shrewd observer, whispered to Cicero, *that if the funeral were permitted all was lost.*² But Antonius, for this very reason, was urgent in seconding the demand. He was not without a motive indeed for wishing the will to be kept secret; for he wanted to spend the money, and give no account of it. But among the senators were doubtless many who hoped to find themselves remembered in the testament of their gracious chief; and while they advocated its publication for their own private interests, the consul was content to surrender one advantage for the prospect which he clearly foresaw of another. Accordingly, the fatal decree was issued, that the body should be honoured with magnificent obsequies, and solemnly reduced to ashes in the Field of Mars.³

While these discussions were in progress, Brutus and Cassius had summoned the people to the Capitol, to plead before them the cause of the republic in accents which the aspect of affairs seemed now to demand. The audience was less interested in the conspirators' self-justification than in their renuntiation of ulterior views to the prejudice of their victim's act and promises

Piso demands
a public funeral
for Cæsar.

Brutus harangues the
people with a
conciliatory
speech.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 1.: Matius affirmat . . . minus xx. diebus tumultum Gallicum. xiv. 4.: Vereor Gallica etiam bella.

² Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 10.

³ Suet. *Jul.* 64.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 136.

Brutus guaranteed to the veterans, in the name of his associates, the lands already assigned them. He gave an additional pledge for their peaceful possession, by undertaking to obtain for their recent occupants compensation from the public treasury. This reward, he declared, was rightfully theirs. They had served the state faithfully in Gaul and Britain: their later and less loyal acts he was willing to ascribe to their imperator alone, to whom they had been bound by the military oath. It had been customary, in bestowing estates upon the veterans, to impose a condition that they should not be sold again within a term of twenty years; they were meant not only to reward the soldier, but to confine him to the spot, and keep him quiet. From this restriction Brutus now offered to release them. This speech it was proposed to publish, as the deliberate manifesto of the republican party. Cicero seems to have been consulted about revising it.¹ He approved of its style and substance; but the veteran declaimer lamented that it was not clothed in more glowing language, to inflame the passions of the people, rather than to convince their judgment.² The character of Brutus's oratory was dry, logical and precise: he had attempted, perhaps, to define the amount of provocation under which he had acted against Cæsar, after so long serving him, and to explain the exact conditions under which an oath of fidelity might cease to bind. Such refined reasonings were little suited to the occasion. Cicero remembered the fiery eloquence of his own invectives against Catilina, and the overwhelming effect of his broad and naked assertions of the enemy's guilty projects. He had hoped to see his countrymen touched once more with the electric spark of popular enthusiasm, such as he had then flung into their ranks: but while he regretted the want of generous

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* xv. 1. B.: Brutus noster ad me misit orationem suam habitam in concione Capitolina, petivitque a me, ut eam nec ambitiose corrigerem ante quam ederet.

² Cic. *l. c.*: Est autem oratio scripta elegantissime sententiis, verbis ut nihil possit ultra. Ego tamen si illam causam habuissem scripsissem ardentius.

ardour in the leader of the conspirators, he declined the ungracious task of breathing fire into their frigid proclamation.¹

The harangue of Brutus, however, in the consideration it evinced for the classes interested in the ratification of Cæsar's acts, had touched at least one chord of grateful sympathy. When the recent decree of the senate came to be submitted to the people in the forum, there was a general disposition to accept the solution it offered of the crisis. Cicero mounted the rostra with more alacrity than he had felt for some years before: the project which he rose to advocate was plausible, it was expected with favourable ears, and it was, at least he deemed it, his own. The conspirators, still clinging to their rock, demanded hostages for their security: Antonius inspired them with confidence by his promptness in sending his own son as a gage of his fidelity. He had with some difficulty overruled Lepidus, who had expressed impatience to employ force against the assassins.² Force, he urged, was unnecessary to complete a victory which the semblance of amity had already secured. He persuaded his colleague to tender his son as an additional hostage, and thus to entice them from their stronghold by the assurance of their personal safety. The liberators descended once more from the Capitol, and the pretended reconciliation of the rival chieftains was ratified by private hospitality.³ Lepidus invited Brutus, his wife's brother, while Antonius regaled Cassius; the rest of the band were entertained by other leaders of the Cæsareans. An anecdote is related which may serve to illustrate the coarse manners of the times; it preserves at least the characters of the speakers. Antonius, it is said, with the show of frank and careless gaiety which became him not less naturally than politics and war, rallied Cassius on the deed of blood. *Have you still*, he asked, *a dagger under your arm?* To which

The conspirators come to terms with Antonius and Lepidus, and are entertained by them.

¹ Cicero excuses himself to Atticus from the task of amending Brutus's speech in rather hollow language: "Nemo unquam neque poeta neque orator fuit, qui quemquam meliorem quam se arbitaretur."

² Dion. xliv. 34.

³ Plut. *Brut.* 19.; Dion, l. c.

Cassius replied, with petty irritability, *Yes truly, and one big enough to slay you too, if you presume to affect the tyranny.*

The evening was spent in these hollow festivities. In the morning all parties met once more in the curia, and the dictator's assignment of the provinces was again formally confirmed. M. Brutus was appointed to the government of Macedonia, where the legions were assembled, the temper and disposition of which were not yet ascertained. Cassius obtained Syria, where he had already distinguished himself, and acquired personal influence. Trebonius succeeded to Asia, Cimber to Bithynia, and Decimus to Cisalpine Gaul. This ratification of Cæsar's acts might be claimed as a victory by either party: the Cæsareans might point to it in proof of the esteem in which their lost patron was still held; while the nobles triumphed, not less speciously, at their own patrons and avengers being invested with such important commands. It was a questionable policy, however, on their part, to allow all their chief men to be thus removed from the centre of affairs. To seek the armies in the provinces was to leave the focus of intrigue unoccupied at home. But these arrangements were, of course, only prospective. Brutus, at least, and Cassius had their year of office to discharge, and their prætorial functions closely bound them to the city.

Nevertheless Antonius grasped in his own hands the key of power. The amnesty he had pretended to accept, but he resolved to counter-work, and he did not doubt to overthrow it: his position was a firm one, and he had set his foot firmly upon it. Himself actual and legitimate consul, he had moreover at his command the rank, station, and military power of Lepidus. Dolabella, his colleague in the consulship, though his personal enemy, was committed to the same policy with himself, and could not discard his support. His brothers Caius and Lucius occupied seats, the one among the prætors, the other among the tribunes. The rival who was really most to be dreaded was overlooked by all parties, and was still absent at Apollonia;

The chief conspirators receive the provinces assigned them by the dictator.

Antonius is confident in his position.

and Antonius might easily flatter himself, that he who had outwitted senates and statesmen, could wind at his will the sickly stripling Octavius. The senate had voted him thanks for his vigour in suppressing the accents of sedition in the forum; and now, when a public funeral was demanded for Cæsar, it relied on his resolution to disarm the ceremony of danger.

Cassius opposing the public funeral and recital of Cæsar's will is overruled by Brutus.

Cassius, it is said, vehemently opposed this concession. Simple and specious in itself, he foresaw notwithstanding that it would produce fatal confusion. As an experienced officer he knew the gusty passions of the veterans; as a civil magistrate he could calculate the effect of rekindling the fury of the populace. But Brutus, still confiding, after every proof to the contrary, in the moral effect of the patriot sacrifice, gave way to Piso's instances, and exerted his fatal ascendancy over his associates to allay their misgivings. So also when it was proposed that Cæsar's will should be recited, Cassius remonstrated, under the conviction that it would be found so framed as to conciliate popular favour towards the dictator's heirs and adherents. Brutus, however, on the other hand, with the same lofty disregard of consequences as before, refused to countenance this opposition; and Antonius, who had means, in either case, of turning the decision to his own advantage, allowed the prayer of Piso to be crowned with success.

Cæsar's heirs were the three grandsons of his sisters. The elder of these had married successively a Pedius and a Pinarius, men of ancient and honourable families.¹ Between her two descendants in the second generation their great-uncle divided one fourth of his possessions; but to Octavius, the grandson of his younger sister, he had bequeathed the remaining three fourths; and

Cæsar's will declares Octavius the principal heir.

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 83. The former of these names does not occur earlier in Roman history, but it seems to be selected for an example of illustrious descent by Persius, *Sat.* i. 85. Suetonius expressly says that Q. Pedius, the dictator's heir, was his grand-nephew, and not, as some have supposed, his nephew. He was, however, many years older than Octavius, having served as a legatus in Gaul in the year 696. The antiquity of the Pinarian house is commemorated by Livy, i. 7.

this young man he by the same instrument had formally adopted as his son. But Cæsar, in his anxiety to found a dynasty, and bequeath his fortunes and his policy to a direct successor, had still hoped for issue of his own. In the event of such hopes being realized, during his own absence from Rome, he had named certain guardians for the infant; and these, it seems, he had selected from among the very men who were at the moment plotting against his life. So little did he anticipate treachery in the ranks of his most cherished adherents. He had even placed Decimus on the list of persons on whom he destined his inheritance to devolve, if relinquished by his appointed heirs, or in case of their premature decease.¹ The abuse of such generous confidence, when it came to be known, made a painful impression upon the public mind.

The dictator, it has been said, though three times married, had never had male children in lawful wedlock. His only daughter Julia had died prematurely, and been quickly followed to the tomb by the issue of her ^{Disappointment of Cleopatra.} ill-starred union. His intention of instituting Octavius his heir, in default of direct descendants, was already well understood; but Cleopatra presumed on the power of her fascinations, or on the project currently ascribed to him of making her his wife, and had indulged the hope of extorting from him the recognition of a child of her own, of which she pronounced him the father.² For the interests of this child, whom she had named Cæsarion, she had come, as was surmised, to Rome: during the terrible days which succeeded her lover's assassination, she had shrunk from the public eye; and when the recital of his testament frustrated her hopes, she departed almost unnoticed from the city in which she had so

¹ Suet. *l. c.*; Plutarch, *Cæs.* 64.; Appian, *ii.* 143.

² Cicero apparently discredited this claim, and predicted that it would soon be forgotten. *Ad Att.* xiv. 1. A.: De regina rumor extinguetur. But Oppianus was employed by Octavius at a later period to publish a refutation of it (Suet. *Jul.* 52.), and the master of Rome did not think himself secure while such a rival existed

lately hoped to occupy a throne.¹ Little did she dream, in that bitter moment of disappointment, how soon similar hopes would again be permitted to revive, and how near she should arrive once more at the same dazzling elevation.

The splendid inheritance which the master of the commonwealth could confer upon his chosen favourites, was burdened with munificent legacies to the people to whom he owed his pre-eminence. The same spirit of ostentatious generosity with which he had requited their applause by erecting his porticos and halls for public business, had prompted him to bequeath to the citizens for their recreation the palace and gardens he possessed beyond the Tiber.² The lower slopes of the Janiculum hill were at this time abandoned almost entirely to the mean dwellings of the poor. It was in this district that the Jews before the time of Augustus mostly congregated.³ Some tombs of famous men, particularly one of Numa,⁴ were shown within it, but it contained few public buildings except the temple of Fors Fortuna. Although inclosed within the city walls, the Transtiberine region retained all the appearance of a suburb, and a large part of it was included in the gardens of which we are speaking. The temple just mentioned lay at the first milestone from the Porta Flumentana, or river gate,⁵ and marked the extreme point of Cæsar's property. The gardens stretched thither along the bank of the Tiber, from the Palatine bridge, some mutilated arches of which are now distinguished by the name of Ponte Rotto. The Sublician bridge abutted upon them in the centre, and we may amuse ourselves with imagining that the palace of the Pamphili, standing close to its head, occupies the exact site of the mansion itself which furnished a temporary residence to the queen of ancient beauty. When this estate was sur-

Cæsar bequeaths to the Roman people his gardens beyond the Tiber.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 8.

² Suet. *Jul.* 83.; Dion, xliv. 35.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 143.; Plut. *Brut.* 20.

³ Philo, *Leg. ad Cai.* 23.

⁴ Dionys. Hal. *Antiq.* ii. 76.; Plut. *Num.* 22.; Liv. xl. 29.

⁵ See the Calendarium in Orelli, *Inscript.* ii. 392.

rendered to the use of the Roman people, the halls and corridors would be devoted to the reception of works of art, and objects of indoor enjoyment; while the gardens, planted with groves and intersected with alleys, would furnish a grateful alternation of shade and sunshine, for recreation in the open air.¹ It would be adorned with shrubs of evergreen, cut and trimmed in various fanciful shapes. Statues of admired workmanship, the spoil of many an Oriental capital, would spring from gravelled walks or parterres of native and exotic flowers; and ivy would be trained to creep in studied negligence around them. Long ranges of tessellated pavements would vie in variegated brilliancy of colour with the roses and violets, the hyacinths and poppies, which satisfied the simple taste of the ancient florists.² These gardens, occupying the right bank of the river, immediately faced the slope of the Aventine hill, and lay almost in its morning shadow. At a later period Augustus added to their attractions by excavating at their side a reservoir for great naval spectacles;³ and they remained for several generations the cherished patrimony of the Roman people.⁴ In a later age they were eclipsed in fame and fashion by the more gorgeous creations of Titus, Caracalla, and Diocletian.

Besides this munificent present to the Roman people collectively, the dictator had bequeathed to each citizen the sum

¹ Cicero praises a sunny garden (*ad Div.* xvi. 18.); but a passage in Propertius gives a vivid picture of the umbrageous plantations which surrounded the patrician villas on the banks of the Tiber:

"Tu licet abjectus Tiberina molliter unda," etc. i. 14. 1.

² Columella (*de R. R.* x.) gives a long list of the glories of a Roman garden: several of its flowers were of foreign origin, but the greater part, the native produce of Italian fields and woods, improved no doubt by cultivation.

³ Comp. the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, col. 4.: *Navalis praelii spectaculum populo dedi trans Tiberim*; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 56. *Ut quondam Augustus structo cis Tiberim stagno.* This lake extended apparently from the convent of S. Francisco to the church of S. Cecilia. Comp. Suet. *Tib.* 72.

⁴ Statius, *Sylv.* iv. 4, 5.

Continuo dexteras flavi pete Tybridis oras,
Lydia qua penitus stagnum navale coercet
Ripa, suburbanisque vadum prætexitur hortis.

Also a sum
of three hun-
dred sesterces
to every citi-
zen.

of three hundred sesterces, or rather less than three pounds sterling. The money itself, indeed, was not forthcoming; for Antonius had already disposed of the whole treasure which had fallen into his hands. But Octavius had not yet arrived to discharge his patron's legacies; many formalities and some chances lay between the public avowal of these generous intentions and the claim for their actual fulfilment; and Antonius in the mean time might turn to his own account the grateful acknowledgments of the people for a largess they might never be destined to enjoy. The bare recital of Cæsar's testament operated on their feelings most favourably to his interests. Now for the first time they were fully roused to a sense of their benefactor's wrongs. Now for the first time the black ingratitude of Decimus and the others, his confidants and his assassins, stood revealed in its hideous deformity. The sense of personal loss stifled every specious argument that could be advanced to extenuate the crime. The vindication of the laws, the assertion of liberty, the overthrow of a tyrant and a dynasty of tyrants, all sank at once before the paramount iniquity of destroying the only substantial benefactor the Roman people had ever had. Many a magistrate or conqueror indeed had lavished shows and festivals upon them; the city owed its noblest ornaments to the rivalry of suitors for popularity; but these were candidates for honours and distinctions, and had all a personal object to serve; while the bequest of the murdered Julius was deemed an act of pure generosity, for the dead can have no selfish interests.

The heralds proclaimed throughout the city the appointed place and hour of the obsequies. A funeral pyre was constructed in the Field of Mars, close to the spot where lay the ashes of Julia; for the laws forbade cremation within the walls, and the laws, enacted for purposes of health, were reinforced by feelings of superstition. But the funeral oration was to be pronounced in the forum, and a temporary chapel, open on every

The public
funeral of the
dictator.

side, modelled, it is said, after the temple of Venus the Ancestress, was erected before the rostra, and gorgeously gilded, for the reception of the body.¹ The bier was a couch inlaid with ivory, and strewn with vestments of gold and purple. At its head was suspended, in the fashion of a warrior's trophy, the toga in which the dictator had been slain, pierced through and through by the assassins' daggers. Calpurnius Piso walked at the head of the procession, as chief mourner; the body was borne by the highest magistrates and most dignified personages in the state; the people were invited to make oblations for the pyre, of garments, arms, trinkets and spices. So great was the concourse of the offerers that the order in which they were appointed to present themselves could not be preserved, but every one was allowed to approach the spot by whatever route he chose from every corner of the city. When the mangled remains were deposited in their place they were concealed from the gaze of the multitude; but in their stead a waxen effigy was raised aloft, and turned about by machinery in every direction; and the people could distinctly mark the three-and-twenty wounds represented faithfully upon it.² Dramatic shows formed, as usual, a part of the ceremony. Passages from the *Electra* of Attilius, and the Contest for the arms of Achilles, a celebrated piece of Pacuvius, were enacted on the occasion. The murder of Agamemnon, and the requital of Ajax, who complained that in saving the Greeks he had saved his own assassins, furnished pungent allusions to the circumstances of the time, and moved the sensibilities of an inflammable populace.³

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 84.: Pro rostris aurata ædes ad simulachrum templi Veneris Genetricis collocata. These were divine honours, and implied the apotheosis of the hero.

² Appian, *B. C.* ii. 147. ἀνέσχε τις ὑπὲρ τὸ λέχος ἀνδρείκελον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκ κηροῦ πεποιημένον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα, ὡς ὑπτιον ἐπὶ λέχους οὐχ ἑωράτο· τὸ δὲ ἀνδρείκελον ἐκ μηχανῆς ἐπεστρέφετο πάντη, καὶ σφαγαὶ τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσι ᾤφθησαν. So ancient is the Italian taste for puppet-show.

³ These plays were selected for the purpose. Inter ludos cantata sunt quædam ad miserationem et invidiam cædis ejus, accommodata ex Pacuvii *Armorum* judicio: Men' servasse, ut essent qui me perderent? et ex Attilii *Electra* alia ad similem sententiam. Suet. *Jul.* l. c.

While the feelings of the citizens were thus melting with compassion or glowing with resentment, Antonius came forward, as the first magistrate of the republic, to deliver the funeral eulogy due to the mighty dead. Historians and poets have felt the intense interest of the position he at that moment occupied, and have vied with each other in delineating with the nicest touches the adroitness he displayed in guiding the passions of his audience. Suetonius indeed asserts that he added few words of his own to the bare recital of the decrees of the senate, by which every honour, human and divine, had been heaped upon Cæsar, and of the oath by which his destined assassins had bound themselves to his defence. But Cicero tells a different story. He speaks with bitter indignation of the praises, the commiseration, and the inflammatory appeals, which he interwove with his address.¹ With such contemporary authority before us, we may believe that the speech reported by Appian is no rhetorical fiction, but a fair representation both in manner and substance of the actual harangue. The most exquisite scene in the truest of all Shakspeare's historical delineations adds little except the charm of verse and the vividness of dramatic action to the graphic painting of the original record.

This famous speech was in fact a consummate piece of dramatic art. The eloquence of Antonius was less moving than the gestures which enforced it, and the accessory circumstances which he enlisted to plead on his behalf. He addressed himself to the eyes, no less than to the ears of his audience. He disclaimed the position of a funeral panegyrist: his friendship with the deceased might render his testimony suspected. He was, indeed, unworthy to praise Cæsar: the voice of the people alone could pronounce his befitting eulogy. He produced the acts of the senate, and of the faction by whose hands Cæsar had fallen, as the ground of his appeal, and the vouchers of his asser-

The consul Antonius pronounces the funeral eulogy.

Character of his harangue.

¹ Suet. *l. c.*; Cicero, *Philipp.* ii. 36.: *Tua illa pulchra laudatio, tua misera-tio, tua cohortatio.* Comp. Plutarch, *Brut.* 20., *Anton.* 14.

tions. These he recited with a voice tremulous with grief, and a countenance struggling with emotions. He read the decrees which had within a twelvemonth heaped honours upon Cæsar, and which declared his person inviolable, his authority supreme, and himself the chief and father of his country. Were these honours excessive or dangerous to the state, the senate had bestowed them: did they even trench upon the attributes of the gods, the pontiffs had sanctioned them. And when he came to the words *consecrated, inviolable, father of his country*, the orator pointed with artful irony to the bleeding and lifeless corpse, which neither laws nor oaths had shielded from outrage. He paused, and the dramatic chorus sent forth some ancient wail, such as ages before had been consecrated to the sorrows of heroes, who like Cæsar had been kings of men, and of houses which like the Julian had sprung from gods and goddesses. Then from these examples of high fortune and its tragic issues, he passed on to recite the solemn oath by which the senate, the nobles, and among them the conspirators themselves, had devoted their hearts and hands to their hero's defence; and thereupon, turning with glowing emotion towards the temple of Jupiter, conspicuous on the Capitol, he exclaimed: *And I, for my part, am prepared to maintain my vow, to avenge the victim I could not save.* Such words from the chief magistrate of the state were deeply impressive. The senators scowled and murmured. Antonius pretended to check his impetuosity, and address himself to soothing their alarm. After all, he said, it was not the work of men, it was the judgment of the gods. Cæsar was too great, too noble, too far above the race of men, too high to the nature of the immortals, to be overthrown by any power but that of divinity itself. *Let us bow,* he exclaimed, *to the stroke as mortal men. Let us bury the past in oblivion. Let us bear away these venerable remains to the abodes of the blessed, with due lamentations and deserved eulogies!*

With these words the consummate actor girt his robes closely around him, and striding to the bier, with his head

It stimulates
the people to
frenzy.

inclined before it, muttered a hymn to the body, as to the image of a god. In rapid verse or solemn modulated prose he chaunted the mighty deeds and glories of the deceased, the trophies he had won, the triumphs he had led, the riches he had poured into the treasury. *Thou, Caesar, alone wast never worsted in battle. Thou alone hast avenged our defeats and wiped away our disgraces. By thee the insults of three hundred years stand requited. Before thee has fallen the hereditary foe who burnt the city of our fathers.* So did the Potitii and Pimarii recite their hymns to Hercules: so did the frantic hierophant sing the praises of Apollo.¹ The flamen of Julius seemed instinct with the inspiration of the altar and the tripod, while he breathed the fanatic devotion of the ancient faith. The blood-smeared image was turned this way and that for all eyes to gaze upon, and as it seemed to writhe in the agonies of death, the groans of men and the shrieks of women drowned the plaintive accents of the speaker. Suddenly Antonius raised the mangled garment which hung over the body itself, and waving it before the people disclosed the rents of the murderers' daggers. The excitement of the populace now became uncontrollable. Religious enthusiasm fanned the flame of personal sympathy. They forbade the body to be carried to the field of Mars for cremation. Some pointed to the temple of Jupiter, where the effigy of the demi-god had been enthroned in front of the deity himself, and demanded that it should be burnt in the holy shrine, and its ashes deposited among its kindred divinities. The priests stepped forward to avert this profanation, and it was then proposed to consume the body in the Pompeian Curia, whence the mighty spirit had winged

¹ Compare with Appian's words (*B. C.* ii. 146.) the invocation to Hercules in Virgil, *Æneid*, viii. 293. and the hymn to Apollo in Statius, *Thebaid.* i. in fin. The abrupt transition to the second person both in Virgil and Appian is a striking coincidence, and persuades me that the poet has strictly preserved the proper form of hymnody, and the historian the genuine tradition of this act of hero-worship. The chord which awakened the religious sentiment of the Romans Shakspeare has neglected or forborne to touch.

its flight to the celestial mansions. Meanwhile chairs, benches, and tables had been snatched from the adjacent buildings, a heap of fuel was raised before the door of the pontifical mansion in the forum, and the body snatched by tumultuary hands was cast upon it in a frenzy of excitement. Two young men, girt with swords and javelin in hand, were seen to apply the torch.¹ Such a vision had appeared in ancient times in the heat of battle. Castor and Pollux, it was believed, had descended more than once in human form to save the republic. A divine sanction was thus given to the deed: every scruple was overruled; and it was resolved to consume the hero's remains in the heart of his own city. The people continued to pile up branches and brushwood; the musicians and players added their costly garments to the heap, the veterans their arms, the matrons their ornaments; even the trinkets which adorned the children's frocks were torn off, and offered in the blazing conflagration. Cæsar was beloved by the Romans: he was not less dear to the foreigners who owed so much to his ascendancy, and had anticipated so much more. Gauls, Iberians, Africans, and Orientals, crowded in successive groups around the pyre, and gave vent to the sense of their common misfortune. Among them the Jews were eminently conspicuous. Cæsar was the only Roman who had respected their feelings, and assured them of his sympathy. Many of this people continued for several nights to assemble with sorrow and resentment on the spot, and uttered another funeral dirge over the blighted hopes of their nation.

So violent a demonstration of grief could not stop here. Brands snatched from the flaming pile suggested the most obvious vengeance, and offered the readiest weapons. The crowds streamed away from the forum to the streets: the houses of Brutus and Cassius were the first objects of attack. The liberators

They cause the
body to be con-
sumed in the
forum,

and turn their
fury upon the
assassins.

¹ The narratives of Suetonius and Appian require to be compared together. The pretended vision was doubtless contrived to counteract the superstitious repugnance to burning within the walls.

indeed had fled, and the rioters were repulsed ; for in Rome every noble mansion, with its slaves, clients and retainers, formed a domestic fortress, and was proof against a sudden assault. When the excitement of the multitude was somewhat exhausted by these fruitless sallies, it was at last persuaded to refrain from further violence. The assurance that the chiefs of the assassins had fled from the city helped perhaps to calm its vengeful passions. One unfortunate man fell a victim to its fury. Helvius Cinna, a devoted adherent and flatterer of the dictator, was mistaken for Cinna the Prætor, against whom the populace had before expressed its indignation : and in spite of his frantic appeals, he was torn in pieces on the spot.¹ But this, it would appear, was the only blood shed. Caius Casca affixed to his house door a paper notifying that he was not the Publius Casca who had taken a prominent part in the conspiracy.² The house of Bellienus, a freedman, notorious for his staunch adherence to the Pompeian faction, was burnt to the ground ; but there seems no reason to suppose that any further violence was committed.³ After all it must be allowed that a popular commotion in ancient Rome was a tame affair in comparison with the riots which our own generation seems doomed periodically to witness. It must be remembered that the most degraded and dangerous class of the population of modern cities was almost unknown under the institutions of slavery ; and that the interests even of a mob of Roman citizens were opposed to indiscriminate rapine and destruction. But even this may not suffice to account for the comparative harmlessness of their popular ebullitions. Trained from infancy in habits of obedience, and impressed with a deep sense of the majesty of law, they had not yet been debauched by the fatal consciousness of their

¹ Plut. *Brut.* 20. who calls him ποιητικὸς ἀνὴρ. See the story of his dream, Plut. *Cæs.* 68. Comp. Dion, xliv. 50. ; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 147. ; Suet. *Jul.* 85. ; Val. Max. ix. 9, 1.

² Dion, xliv. 52.

³ Compare the real Cicero, *Philipp.* ii. 36., with the pseudo-Cicero in Dion's history, xlv. 23

own power. The time was coming when the reins of government, now thrown upon their necks, would be resumed by a steadier and stronger hand than ever; and Rome, amidst all the excesses of its nobles and the degradation of its principles, was never held for a day in possession by a horde of plunderers.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ANTONIUS REASSURES THE NOBLES BY HIS PATRIOTIC POLICY.—HE ABOLISHES THE DICTATORSHIP FOR EVER, AND REPRESSES CÆSAREAN OUTBREAKS.—HIS CRAFTY USE OF CÆSAR'S PAPERS.—HE ASSIGNS LANDS IN CAMPANIA.—OCTAVIUS RETURNS TO ITALY AND CLAIMS CÆSAR'S INHERITANCE.—HIS FAVOURABLE RECEPTION BY THE NOBLES AND CITIZENS.—HE DISCHARGES THE DICTATOR'S BEQUESTS AND FULFILS HIS OBLIGATIONS.—ANTONIUS REGARDS HIS PROCEEDINGS WITH JEALOUSY.—THE LIBERATORS ABANDON ROME.—DECIMUS ASSUMES THE COMMAND OF THE CISALPINE.—ANTONIUS INDUCES THE SENATE TO TAKE SYRIA AND MACEDONIA FROM THE LIBERATORS, AND BESTOW THEM UPON DOLABELLA AND HIMSELF.—BRUTUS ATTEMPTS TO RECOVER THE FAVOUR OF THE PEOPLE BY THE LUDI APOLLINARES.—HIS DISAPPOINTMENT.—PRETENDED RECONCILIATION OF ANTONIUS AND OCTAVIUS, WHEREBY ANTONIUS OBTAINS FROM THE PEOPLE THE CISALPINE PROVINCE WITH THE ARMY OF PARTHIA IN EXCHANGE FOR MACEDONIA.—CICERO'S DESPONDENCY.—HE LEAVES ITALY, BUT PRESENTLY RETURNS AND PROCEEDS TO ROME. (A. U. 710. B. C. 44.)

SUCH was the disastrous effect of the ill-timed concession by which the populace had been summoned to behold a sight, and listen to words which could not fail to inflame their restless blood to madness. The deed of deliverance was repudiated and denounced; its perpetrators were compelled to fly or to hide themselves; the names of law, of patriotism, of the republic, were rendered odious to the mass of the citizens, and tyranny was justified, applauded and avenged. The demand for a public funeral had not been made by Antonius, nor to all appearance in concert with him. The opening of the will, a measure which could not be disconnected with it.

Antonius reassures the senate by his moderation.

thwarted some of his schemes, and he had thus far done no more than accept a proposition advanced and supported by others. But, when once determined on, he had taken the management of it into his own hands. The selection of scenes from the dramas which were represented, the religious colour studiously cast over the whole ceremony, the contrived interference of the pretended Dioscuri, and even the means provided for the suppression of the disturbance, must all be attributed to the consul's astuteness. The sudden outpouring of popular fury not less suddenly abated. The movements of Antonius may be compared to the rise and fall of an inundation.¹ As the stream swells all is terror and confusion, but as soon as it subsides within its banks the confidence of the husbandman returns. Alarmed as the nobles had been by the furious outburst over which the consul had manifestly presided, no sooner did he calm the excitement and succeed in restoring order than their hopes once more revived, and they were willing to rely on the first assurance he gave of his determination to preserve the peace. Exulting in the terror which had driven his most dangerous adversaries into concealment, he assumed a generous and frank demeanour towards their adherents, and invited the chiefs of all parties to deliberate with him in private at his own house. The result of these deliberations he shaped into measures to be submitted to the assembled senate. Every question propounded to him he answered, says Cicero, firmly and consistently; not a word did he yet say of the contents of Cæsar's papers.² The dictator had called from banishment many victims of the oligarchy; but he had sternly resisted every solicitation in favour of the justly proscribed agitators who were suffering for their share in the Clodian disturbances. The nobles apprehended that the recent amnesty would be stretched to cover these criminals; and they were prepared to esteem it a mark of great forbearance on the consul's part when he proposed to relieve one only of the number from banishment. This was Sextus Clodius, a man of low origin, but a client

¹ Drumann, i. 105.

² Cic. *Philipp.* i. 1.

and an agent of the notorious tribune. Antonius, having married the tribune's widow, was interested in one who had proved himself unscrupulous and active in such a patron's cause. A curious letter exists which he addressed on this man's behalf to Cicero. The consul professes to ask as an act of grace¹ the pardon of this devoted adherent of the orator's deadliest foe. Cicero, whom so hollow a compliment could not really deceive, did not fail however to reply in a corresponding strain of pretended regard. Both were equally false and each equally conscious of the other's falsehood. But they wrote doubtless for the public, to whom they knew that their letters would be communicated, and each was anxious to appear as a peacemaker in the eyes of his countrymen. There was another point on which the nobles were jealous. They grudged the immunities from tribute which Cæsar had bestowed upon various states and cities, an indulgence which thwarted the traditional policy of their administration. On this point also they were anxious to extort a pledge from the consul that he would abstain from following the dictator's example. Great was their satisfaction when he assured them that he meditated no such boons.² Sulpicius, one of the haughtiest of the republican faction, now came boldly forward, and demanded that no further public or private grace of the dictator should be registered in the archives, and Antonius at once plied before the storm, and undertook of his own accord to desire the senate to pass a decree to that effect. Many other acts and sayings of the consul corresponded with this auspicious beginning. The senate was gradually warming more and more in his favour. He accepted Dolabella as his colleague, and hollow as the pretended reconciliation between them was, the nobles were satisfied with the semblance of harmony, and deemed it a pledge of their enemy's good faith. But the crowning stroke of his crafty policy was his pro-

He accepts
Dolabella as
his colleague
in the consul-
ship,

Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 13, 14.

² Cicero, *Philipp.* i. 1. "Num qui exules restituti? unum aiebat, præterea neminem. Num immunitates datæ? nullæ, respondebat."

posul that the name and office of dictator should be for ever abolished. The assembled senate exulted and approved. Antonius had brought his decree to the place of meeting already prepared ; not a word was wasted in discussing it, and it was immediately carried by acclamation.¹ The measures of Antonius were not generally designed for permanence, but this monument of his legislation endured. Julius Cæsar was the last dictator of Rome.

and abolishes
for ever the
office of dicta-
tor.

Great was the exultation of Cicero and the patriots, with whom political phrases had still an extraordinary influence. With the abolition of the name of dictator they declared that the freedom of the commonwealth was secured. *We are delivered*, they exclaimed, *not only from kingly rule, but from all apprehension of kingly rule.*² A few days later the senate might congratulate itself on being preserved from the still more imminent dangers of anarchy. The people continued to assemble in agitated groups around the spot where the holocaust had been offered. Here they repeated night after night the solemnity of burning an effigy of the deceased ; and every time this ceremony was renewed the peace of the city and the lives of all Cæsar's enemies were in manifest jeopardy. In an era of revolution there are always by-plots running for a time in parallel lines with the main action of the drama. Even before Cæsar's death the popular mind was in an unsettled state, and a keen-eyed statesman might have looked forward with much anxiety to any event which should excite the imagination of the multitude, and arouse its slumbering passions. It seems that a man named Herophilus, who followed the humble craft of a horse-doctor, having first disguised his Greek extraction

Imposture of
the pretended
Marius.

¹ Cic. *l. c.* and i. 13. "Hæc inusta est a te, inquam, mortuo Cæsari nota ad ignominiam sempiterna." He compares it to the decree by which the name of M. Manlius was abolished.

² Cicero (*Philipp.* i. 2.) could say, long after the futility of these anticipations was apparent : "Non modo regno quod pertuleramus, sed etiam regni timore sublato."

by assuming the Latin name of Amatius, was emboldened by Cæsar's long absence in his last Spanish campaign, and the sinister rumours which circulated regarding him, to sue for the favour of the people by declaring himself a descendant of their old hero Marius.¹ He signed himself Caius Marius, son of Caius and grandson of Caius ; and as such he claimed affinity with Cæsar himself, and also with Cicero.² With the lower orders of the citizens, with many of the veterans in the colonies, and among some of the Italian townships, this imposture found ready acceptance. During Cæsar's absence the adventurer had addressed himself to Octavius, and demanded of him a public acknowledgment of the genuineness of his claims, which the terrified youth evaded but dared not refuse. Octavius even allowed himself to be seen among the crowds which thronged about this man in the public places ;³ the favour of the populace was manifested by ardent tokens of admiration ; and when the victor of Munda returned to Rome, and gave a public entertainment in his gardens, he was surprised to see this audacious upstart place himself on the opposite side of the same pillar with himself, and divide if not divert the applause of the assembled citizens. Threatened with impeachment for this daring imposture, Amatius impudently appealed to Cicero in the name of Marius, their common kinsman, to defend him before his judges. The orator with grim irony referred him to Cæsar himself, as not less his relative, and possessed of much more power. Cæsar, however, used his power without hesitation in crushing this presumptuous rival. The pretender was speedily exiled from Rome ; but it was a signal proof of the dictator's clemency, that he was allowed to escape with his life. Cowed by the energy of the government, the false Marius abstained from

¹ The story of Herophilus is told by Appian, *B. C.* iii. *init.* ; Val. Max. ix. 15, 1. Compare the allusions to it in Cicero's correspondence, *ad Att.* xii. 49., xiv. 5, 6, 7, 8. ; *ad Div.* ix. 14. ; and *Philipp.* i. 2.

² The grandfather of Cicero had married an aunt of Marius. See *de Leg.* lii. 16.

³ Nicolaus Dam. ci. 14

obtruding himself upon public notice during Cæsar's lifetime. But the ferment of the populace which followed upon the fatal obsequies presented a tempting opportunity. In the beginning of April he re-appeared in the forum, and introduced himself among the groups which still haunted the spot. He appealed once more to the venerated name of Marius, and fanned the unquenched flame of their excitement. He avowed himself ready to assume the championship of the popular cause, which Cæsar's natural successors seemed to have renounced. The assassins, and the senate in general, he menaced with signal vengeance. The populace had already erected a column of costly marble over their hero's ashes, inscribed, *to the Father of his country*: their new leader insisted on placing an altar before it, and on sacrificing thereon to Cæsar as a god. The people pledged themselves with vows in Cæsar's name, and decided their controversies by appealing to his divinity.¹ Cicero had retired at this time into the country. These irregularities were at first reported to him as the work of Cæsar's freedmen: their origin was soon more accurately disclosed, and he awaited in anxious expectation the steps the consul should take to suppress them. He may have suspected the complicity of Antonius in a movement calculated to keep alive the fears of the senate, and throw it, in the absence of Brutus and Cassius, more completely into his own hands. Whether or not this were so, Antonius judged it expedient to extinguish the popular demagogue. He dispersed the rioters with an armed force, seized the adventurer, and threw him into prison, where he caused him to be put to a traitor's death, without form of law.²

This vigorous exercise of authority, in which both the consuls heartily joined, was calculated to reassure to a certain extent the nobles, who were becoming alarmed at the unexpected use Antonius was beginning to make of the fatal decree by which Cæsar's acts were ratified. These *acts* embraced in their

Antonius begins to use the authority of Cæsar's papers for his own ends.

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 85.; Dion, xliv. 56.; Cic. *ad Div.* xi. 2.

² Appian, *B. C.* iii. 3.: *χωρὶς δίκης μάλ' ἀπασέως.*

proper signification the laws which the dictator had caused to be passed, the appointments he had made, and the immunities or privileges he had expressly conferred upon countries, cities, or individuals. But Antonius, possessed as he was of the papers and private notes found in the archives of the deceased, could plead for every measure he desired to effect, for every favour he was anxious to bestow, the previous wish and intention of the illustrious dead. He audaciously claimed for the mere suggestions and memoranda of the dictator the same respect which had been accorded to his actual enactments. This glaring misapplication of the decree, advanced perhaps at first with caution and by stealth, once admitted in trifling matters, was presently stretched further, and by degrees the consul was emboldened to cover every project he cherished with the convenient mantle of Cæsar's will. To maintain himself upon the narrow isthmus on which he stood, and play off against each other the contending parties and personages, by all of whom he was feared and hated, demanded a profuse expenditure of places, promises and money. The veterans and the people, the Italians and the provincials, required to be amused with shows, or gorged with plunder. Dolabella could only be kept at his colleague's side by having his debts extinguished with the spoils of the temple of Ops. Moreover, the consul's private pleasures were expensive. He had to attach to himself a party upon no foundation of class interests, but from mere personal habits and connexion. No resources less extensive than those of the state itself could cement the vast edifice of boon-companionship in which his influence resided. To forge the links of personal devotion Antonius grasped all the preferment within his reach; and the presumed will of the dictator was abruptly appealed to whenever an excuse was required for expelling an adversary or advancing a creature.¹ The senate stood aghast at the audacity with which these slender claims were urged. But

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 20.: "Ita ne vero, ut omnia facta, scripta, dicta, promissa, cogitata Cæsar's plus valerent quam si ipse viveret." Comp. *Phil.* i 7, 8.; *ad Att.* xiv. 14.

Antonius did not trust to his own unsupported assertions. When Cæsar's notes and memoranda failed, he found in one of his scribes, named Faberius, a skilful instrument for palming upon the city a wholesale forgery of supposititious documents. This man could produce in rapid succession, at his patron's bidding, the rough draft of edicts and decrees, which he affirmed had been prepared by Cæsar's orders to receive the ready sanction of the senate and people.¹ It was in vain that many of the dictator's intimates could aver that these dispositions were opposed to his well-known wishes, while much which he really desired was suppressed: their explanations were silenced by clamour, or tacitly disregarded: the name of Cæsar, in the mouth of Antonius, carried every thing before it. Every document to which that illustrious subscription was attached passed without serious question, and was transferred to imperishable brass, in spite of the murmurs of tribunes, the warnings of augurs, and the indignant reclamations of bewildered senators.² With such an instrument in his hands, the success of the craftiest of intriguers, in corrupting patriots and fixing waverers, can excite no wonder. In a short time he extended his influence over Italy, the provinces, and the allies. He conferred upon Sicily the full franchise of the city. He sought to control the adverse suffrages of the senate by intruding batches of new members into its ranks. He released prisoners from confinement, recalled exiles from banishment, and reinstated in their possessions and privileges the sufferers of various parties. For all such as owed this advancement or rehabilitation to the presumed favour of the dead man, the people invented a familiar name of derision, which has been

Forgeries of
Faberius.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 18.; Appian, *B. C.* iii. 5.; Vell. ii. 60.

² The *Epistola ad Octavium* (Cic. *Ep. ad Brut.* ii. 8.), though undoubtedly spurious, contains some pieces of spirited declamation not unworthy of the great orator, nor unlike his style. Of Antonius it says: "Publicam dilapidabat pecuniam, ærarium exhauriebat, minuebat vectigalia, donabat civitates, ex commentario dictaturam gerebat, leges imponebat, prohibebat dictatorem creari plebis, ipse regnabat in consulatu."

transmitted to history. They were called Orcini or Charoni-tæ; liegemen of Death and fares of the Stygian ferryman.¹

Nor less did Antonius turn to account the wrath of the city mob, which he had brought upon himself by his various acts of repression. He extorted from the senate permission to arm for his personal protection a body-guard of six thousand soldiers. Doubtless, Antonius sec-ures his per-sonal safety by means of a body-guard.

the treasures amassed by his master for the expenses of the Parthian armament helped to buy the suffrages by which this new tyranny was erected over the body of the murdered tyrant. These troops were a select and trusty band. They consisted for the most part of centurions, and other petty officers of the veterans. They surrounded the consul's mansion day and night, and soon gave it the appearance, and indeed the reality, of a fortress in the midst of the city.² In vain did the senate stipulate that their numbers should be gradually reduced. In the midst of the partial acclamations and disguised jealousy which had followed upon his recent conservative exploits, Antonius left the city in the month of April. Anxious to fortify his position on the eve of Octavius's return from Apollonia, he had caused an agrarian law to be proposed by his brother Lucius the tribune. This enactment gave the consul authority to make fresh assignments of lands to the veterans; it had been carried with a high hand, in spite of a thunderstorm, which, in other times, would have stayed the proceedings; and he now made

a progress into Campania to superintend the execution of the measure, and watch over his personal interests in an affair of so much delicacy. The obscurity which hangs over these agrarian enactments generally, with which the Romans themselves seem to have been so familiar as to deem all explanation superfluous, has concealed from us the precise nature of the provisions of this particular law. Cicero speaks of them in terms more than usually extravagant. He affects serious alarm for his own

He proceeds into Campania to superintend a new assignment of lands.

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 35.; Plut. *Ant.* 15. Comp. Cic. *Philipp.* i. 10

² Appian, *B. C.* iii. 5.

lands and villas, even for his retreat at Tusculum. *Cæsar*, he says, *proposed to drain the Pomptine marshes ; his successor has given the whole of Italy to his brother to divide.* It would appear that under the plea of disposing of the fresh drained lands in that sterile district, the measure extended to the allocation of other lots in more distant regions, and especially in Campania. It was the principle of the Roman law that lands allotted to colonists from the public domains should revert to the state when from the death or desertion of their legitimate holders they ceased to be occupied. So restless were the new proprietors of these estates, that this extinction of claims was perhaps constantly occurring. This gave rise repeatedly to fresh divisions of land, and an infusion of fresh proprietors into existing colonies. It is possible that under this practice *Antonius* had ousted some actual occupiers, that he had founded entirely new colonies instead of replenishing the old. A few such cases of injustice would suffice for the basis of *Cicero's* sweeping invective. In such cases compensation at least was ordinarily offered ; but whether this was done on the present occasion or not, the old colonists undoubtedly felt themselves aggrieved, and found means at no distant period to express their resentment.¹

The orgies by which, according to the reiterated taunts of a bitter enemy, the progresses of *Antonius* were ordinarily disgraced, could not disguise from him the clouds of danger gathering around his path.² He was uneasy at the conduct of *Dolabella*, who, now left in sole enjoyment of power in the city, was playing into the hands of the patriots, and crushing with redoubled energy every popular expression of regard for *Cæsar's* memory. *Antonius* had carried his measures of repression to the furthest point consistent with his character as a *Cæsarean* :

Dolabella is applauded by the nobles for his zeal in suppressing *Cæsarean* outbreaks.

¹ See *Cicero*, *Philipp.* ii. 39, 40. ; *Dion*, xlv. 9.

² *Cicero* had comforted himself a little before with the remark that *Antonius* seemed to think more of his debaucheries than of political intrigue. *Ad Att.* xiv. 3. : "Quem quidem ego epularum magis arbitror rationem habere quam quidquam mali cogitare." Never was a statesman more grossly deceived by his own wishes.

but his colleague was restrained by no such consideration. Not satisfied with the punishment inflicted upon the pretended Marius and his riotous adherents, he had proceeded to overthrow the altar they had erected to Cæsar in the forum, and even the marble pillar which commemorated his obsequies. Dolabella encouraged his soldiers to tear from their pedestals the statues of the dictator; and when it was rumoured that those monuments of popular veneration had been removed to a foundry, and that their faces were being transformed to the likeness of other originals, the people broke out again into seditious excesses, and were only quelled by the unsparing employment of military force.¹ Nor was he content with merely repressing the tumult with arms: he terrified the discontented by the severest punishments, and caused the site of the obnoxious monuments to be levelled and paved for public traffic.² The nobles, most of whom had crept away to their country seats, for the sake, as they affirmed, of their health, lauded their new deliverer to the skies. Cicero, who felt his own person insecure in the unsettled state of the public mind, wrote from his distant retreat at Puteoli, that the act was universally approved even by the lowest classes, that the republic was restored, and that Brutus might now carry a golden crown through the forum without molestation. This hasty and childish exultation at the first symptom of supposed re-action, contemptible in a statesman of so much experience and so many reverses, is too consistent with the temper he commonly displayed to excite any surprise; but it must raise a more painful feeling to witness such self-degradation of the sage and patriot before the worthless intriguer who had divorced his lost and lamented Tullia. Nor is our vexation diminished by the suspicion to which he is justly liable of having been partly

¹ Appian, *B. C.* iii. 3. There can be no doubt, as Drumann has remarked, that this writer has here mistaken the one consul for the other.

² Cicero, *ad Att.* xiv. 15., writing from Puteoli on 1 May: "O mirificum Dolabellam meum! jam enim dico meum; antea, crede mihi, subdubitabam. Magnam ἀναθεώρησιν ista res habet de saxo; in crucem; columnam tollere; locum illum sternendum locare." Comp. *Epp.* 16. 18.

influenced in this flattery, the hollowness of which he himself felt, by anxiety for the restitution of his daughter's dower, which Dolabella had not yet had the grace or the ability to make.¹ The character, indeed, and the figure of Dolabella were equally despicable: Cicero himself, at another season could scoff at the puny warrior, and ask, *who tied him to his long sword?*² While in the city the consort of Tullia was a notorious spendthrift and debauchee, he exhibited neither courage nor conduct in the field. His father-in-law hails him at this crisis as another Agamemnon: we may hear the same voice by and by denounce him in terms only applicable to a Ther-sites.

A greater actor now appears upon the stage. Octavius, the grand-nephew of Julius Cæsar, had been sent by him, as we have seen, to combine the study of arts and arms in the camp at Apollonia. Here he was appointed to remain under the tuition of the rhetorician Apollodorus, and in the daily practice of his military exercises, till the dictator should arrive to assume the command of the army, and lead it to the Parthian frontier. Thus employed he became familiarly known to the officers and legionaries, and, with a shrewd perception of his interests, he studied from the first to secure their affections. He had hardly been four months on the coast of Epirus when tidings arrived of the Ides of March. The first hasty letters of Atia to her son could only announce the astounding event; they communicated no advices regarding its cause and the

Octavius
crosses over to
Italy on the
news of Cæ-
sar's death.

Compare Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 19, 1. and 5. It seems that Atticus occupied himself with nothing so intently in this awful crisis of the commonwealth, as with pestering his friends about his private money matters. Dolabella was in debt to him also, which caused him great uneasiness. There is hardly anything more melancholy throughout the range of Cicero's letters, all the circumstances considered, than the following sentence: "Sed totum se ab te alienavit Dolabella ea de causa qua me quoque sibi inimicissimum reddidit. O hominem pudenter! Kal. Jan. debuit, adhuc non solvit; præsertim cum se maximo ære alieno Faberii manu liberavit, et opem ab eo petierit." Comp *ad Div.* xvi. 24.; *Att.* xiv. 20, 21, 22.

² Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 3

circumstances connected with it. She could not declare whether it was the judicial execution of a resolution of the senate, or the rash violence of some private enmity, whether the citizens had hailed it with exultation, or denounced its perpetrators as cowardly assassins. Still less could she assure him that he had been appointed heir to the dictator; she could only allow him to presume on his proximity in blood, and the favours he had already experienced. Nevertheless, she urged him to repair to Rome; to bear himself like a man; to trust boldly to fortune. When he communicated this summons to his friends, many of them warmly dissuaded him from such a course. M. Agrippa and Q. Salvidienus advised him to throw himself on the protection of the legions quartered beyond the Adriatic;¹ at the same time he was invited by some of their officers to put himself at their head, and assured of the alacrity with which the soldiers would follow him to avenge their murdered hero. But he declined with grateful acknowledgments these proffered services, and straightway crossed the sea with only a few attendants. His movements were planned with the utmost caution, so as to avoid notice and disarm suspicion. Instead of making for the usual landing-place of Brundisium, he reached the shore at Lupia, an obscure town in the neighbourhood, lying out of the high road. Here he could remain for a short time unobserved, collect his information, and mature his plans.

Arrived on the coast of Apulia, the young adventurer soon learnt more accurately the real state of affairs. Copies of the

will and of the decrees of the senate were forwarded to him, and armed with these documents he boldly assumed the designation of Caius Julius

He resolves to claim the inheritance.

Cæsar Octavianus, and presented himself to the garrison of Brundisium as the adopted son of the great emperor. In thus acting, he resolutely waived the hesitation of his mother and the earnest dissuasions of his step-father Philippus: they had reminded him in vain that his uncle, after subduing all

¹ Vell. ii. 59. Compare the newly discovered fragment of Nicolaus of Damascus, ci. 16.

his foes, had perished by the hands of his nearest friends. The warning, indeed, sank deeply into the mind of the young aspirant, and impressed upon him the solemn conviction that the sword can do but half the work of a successful revolution. But when they urged him to rest satisfied with the obscurity of a private station, and renounce his splendid inheritance of peril and pre-eminence, he pondered their counsels and deliberately rejected them. And it is difficult, placing ourselves in his position, to pronounce a harsh judgment on his ambition. The security that was promised him he felt to be illusory. His lot was cast in an age of revolution, in which Cæsar's nephew must be the mark for all the bolts of fortune. The fearful alternative was manifestly forced upon him: he must grasp Cæsar's power to secure himself from Cæsar's fate.

At Brundisium the veteran cohorts received the appeal with acclamation. Octavius's next step was to transmit to the senate, to the liberators, and to Antonius, his solemn claim to the promised inheritance. In the prevalent confusion of ideas and dereliction of principles, a legitimate claim met, as usual in

He is warmly received by the veterans in the south of Italy.

such cases, with general indulgence. Men turned away from the mere pretenders to power, and fixed their eyes upon one who stood upon a natural and prescriptive right: they did not steadily contemplate, nor distinctly conceive, what the extent of his claim was, which could not, in reality, be confined to the private inheritance. But the aspirant disavowed all political views; his manners were ingratiating; his language was specious; his position seemed so precarious that every one who engaged with him might presume that he was conferring an obligation: the gods themselves seemed to espouse the cause of the orphan, and his progress was accompanied by palpable signs and portents. The party of Octavius swelled as he advanced. In the first days of his return to Italy the stripling student sprang himself from boyhood to maturity.

With a prudence and moderation beyond his years, Octavius repressed the zeal of the veterans who flocked to him,

He has an interview with Cicero, on whom he makes a favourable impression. and offered to avenge under his command the slaughter of their old general. He declined even their proffered escort, and contented himself, as he slowly advanced westward, with the attendance of a few adherents. In the meantime he was feeling the pulse of the cities and colonies on his route, and diligently comparing the result with the accounts which daily reached him of the posture of affairs at Rome. Thus he arrived at Naples on the eighteenth of April, and in the neighbourhood he met and conversed with Cicero, who was filled with joy at the prospect of a new rival to Antonius.¹ Octavius flattered him with the fairest professions of regard and veneration, and expressed himself with moderation, and even respect, towards the liberators. His immediate attendants, as Cicero with some alarm remarked, gave him the name of Cæsar; but not so the more reserved Philippus.² The veteran patriot shuddered at the ominous designation, and already feared that the fiercer counsels of his associates would spoil the young man, and lead him into mischief in spite of his better nature.

The twenty-first of April was the festival of the Parilia, an epoch of great interest in the career of Julius Cæsar; and while he yet lived certain of the nobles had undertaken to do him honour by providing for the cost of the customary shows.³ They now shrank from their promise, and the young claimant of Cæsar's inheritance, informed of the circumstance by his agents while yet at a distance, ordered the exhibitions to proceed, and pledged himself to defray the expence. He continued to advance slowly and with rare circumspection. At Terracina he halted a few days. The Consul Antonius was absent from Rome, and avoided meeting him when he arrived at the end of the month. By this time all the city was eager to behold the

Antonius
avoids meeting
him.

¹ Cicero, *ad Att.* xiv. 10, 11., written April 19, 20., from his villa at Puteoli.

² Cicero, *ad Att.* xiv. 12. (April 22.): Cæsar . . . quem nego posse esse bonum civem.

³ Dion, xlv. 6.

youth, of whom it was affirmed that he was about to declare himself Cæsar's heir. The hearts of the populace warmed towards him; the nobles, in their hatred of Antonins, and their hope of detaching from him one whose path he had so directly crossed, were not less eager in their favourable prognostics. The young man's demeanour, resolved and imperturbable, was felt as an augury of success. The appearance of a radiant effulgence about the sun on the morning of his entry into the city was readily embraced as a fortunate omen: it interpreted to men their own hopes and inclinations, and coloured their anticipations with the hues of the rainbow.¹

He enters the city with favourable omens.

The omens which are said to have attended upon the career of distinguished personages have in most cases been first invented, or at least first remembered, after their distinctions have been acquired. We can seldom feel assured that such supposed divine intimations have really been observed before the event which has appeared to fulfil them. The fidelity of such accounts can be but imperfectly tested, even by the most general and unanimous consent of authorities. There is perhaps, however, no recorded omen more strongly authenticated than this. The phenomenon itself may be easily explained by natural causes; the coincidence may not be peculiarly striking; but if it did actually occur as mentioned, and was really observed at the time, and interpreted as we are told it was, it becomes important as a genuine agent in the development of events. For undoubtedly, in the superstitious temper of the times, such a belief must have been a potent instrument in effecting its own fulfilment. But the history of Octavius's omens is the history of his life. From infancy to youth, and from manhood to the hour of his death, his career, if we may believe the narrative, was closely attended by these celestial ministers. On the morning of his birth, when the senate was occupied with the investigation of Catilina's conspiracy, his father Octavius, detained by the

Real effect of the omens which are said to have accompanied Octavius's career.

¹ Liv. *Epit.* cxvii.; Suet. *Oct.* 95.; Vell. ii. 59., and all the authorities.

domestic event, had arrived late at the curia : it was solemnly attested that on that occasion Nigidius the astrologer, having inquired the cause of the delay, and ascertained the hour of the birth, declared that the Lord of the World was born. Some months later the father consulted the oracle of Sabazius in Thrace regarding his child's fortunes, and the priests returned a similar response. The prodigy which revealed the wondrous fact was the same which had witnessed to the destiny of Alexander the Great, and of no other mortal besides. Throughout the infant's tender years similar portents were affirmed to have been observed ; the frogs ceased from croaking at his command, an eagle returned to his hand the bread it had snatched from his grasp. The gravest of the senators, the illustrious Catulus, dreamed of his future honours two nights successively ; Cicero saw the King of Gods and Men place a scourge in his hand, while yet he was unknown either to Catulus or to Cicero by sight. Cæsar was moved to adopt him as his son by a portent which he observed on the field of Munda. In the camp at Apollonia he consulted with his friend Agrippa the soothsayer Theogenes. Of Agrippa, who was the first to inquire, the sage predicted a great and wonderful destiny : Octavius, vexed and apprehensive of a less favourable response to himself, at first hesitated to disclose his own nativity ; but no sooner had he been prevailed on to name the auspicious hour, than Theogenes leaped from his seat, and fell on his knees and worshipped him. Such were among the recorded indications of his future greatness.¹ Some of them at least may have been really observed ; the youth of the future heir of Julius Cæsar may have been made conspicuous in the eyes of his countrymen, as the centre to which many mysterious intimations converged. Undoubtedly such intimations were carefully noted and remembered in those times ; any real indications of genius or fortune formed a nucleus for stories of the kind to gather round. It is not improbable that superstition was already on the watch for the

¹ These and other prodigies are mentioned by Suetonius, *Oct.* 94, 95., and Dion, xlv. 2.

success of the new candidate for pre-eminence, and guided towards him the vague anticipations and floating presentiments of the day.

Octavius entered Rome. His friends and relatives once more pressed him to withdraw his claim to administer to his uncle's testament; but their instances were urged in vain. The game upon which he had resolved to stake life and fortune warmed him in the playing. It required indeed wary walking to steer his course between the rival pretensions and intrigues of the various aspirants for ascendancy. Antonius, Lepidus, Sextus Pompeius, were each a candidate for power, while the party of the oligarchs watched them all, and tried with frivolous and futile anxiety to play off one against another. But the senate was the political power to which Octavius first paid his court: he canvassed its members one by one. In claiming the dictator's inheritance, he studiously concealed any ulterior aims. He pleaded filial duty towards an adoptive father, and personal gratitude towards so great a benefactor. His first act was to present himself before C. Antonius, the city prætor, and make the formal declaration required of one who undertook the rights and duties of an inheritance. But it was necessary to obtain the sanction of the people to his adoption, through a *lex curiata*, and Octavius pleaded his suit in a public harangue, in which he appealed to their Cæsarean sympathies. The nobles were vexed at the tone of this address: Cicero was jealous of the independence already assumed by the youth, whom he had hoped perhaps to attach, at the expence of a little flattery, to the interest of the oligarchs.¹ Cicero wished to see him assail Antonius; while at the same time he would have him surrender tamely the rights which formed the only ground of controversy between them. The fervour and eloquence of the panegyric Octavius uttered on the dictator, unstinted in measure, and full of genuine feeling, went straight to his hearers' hearts. They attributed sincerity to his blunt and broken words, far more than to the elaborate

Octavius pays court to the senate, and pledges to discharge his uncle's bequests.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* xv. 2.

harangue of Antonius; who, in the midst of his pompous enumeration of Cæsar's good deeds, had omitted to promise the payment of his bequests to the people. Upon this interesting point Octavius had freely pledged himself.¹

Antonius had been absent in the south of Italy while his rival was slowly advancing towards the city. He seems to have avoided meeting him on his progress; but when he learnt the course which he had decided to take, the consul hastened back to Rome, which he reached about the middle of May, to confront and, as he hoped, to overawe the intruder. Antonius, however, deemed it unbecoming his dignity to seek out so youthful and undistinguished an adversary; he awaited his visit in the gardens of Pompeius. Thither accordingly Octavius repaired, and the interview which ensued revealed to each the full extent of the other's ambition. Octavius began with claiming bluntly, as heir, the sums which the dictator had left behind him: Antonius replied that the money was all spent; that it was not the testator's private hoard, but public treasure; that the will by which Octavius claimed would have been set aside with the rest of Cæsar's acts, but for the interference of Antonius himself. It was unreasonable, he urged, and ungrateful in Octavius to press such a demand upon his benefactor; it was rash in him to assume the responsibilities of a name so hateful to a formidable party in the state. But the other was not to be put off thus. Having assured himself that the money was not to be extorted from the hands into which it had fallen, he boldly declared that he had pledged himself to pay the legacies, and he would raise the sum required from his private resources. Nor was this an empty vaunt. He caused the effects of the deceased to be sold, obtained from his relatives, from his mother Atia, from Philippus, from Pedius and Pinarius, the surrender of their shares in the inheritance, borrowed perhaps from his personal friends and well-wishers, and thus altogether amassed a sum sufficient to cover the assumed obligation.² In this act of politic munifi-

Interview between Octavius and Antonius.

¹ Dion, xlv. 6.

² Appian, *B. C.* iii. 23.; Dion, xlv. 5.; Plut. *Anton.* 16., *Brut.* 22.

cence he was laying the foundation of his future fortunes. Meanwhile the people resented with bitterness the pretences on which the consul withheld the honest executor from his rights, and strove to defraud them of their undoubted dues. The *lex curiata*, by which the adoption was sanctioned, they would have ratified with obsequious gratitude ; but Antonius had gained over some of the tribunes, and by their repeated interference the business was impeded and put off from day to day.¹

Cæsar had vowed on the morning of Pharsalia to build a temple to Venus the Ancestress, whose name he adopted that day as his battle-cry. After the victory he had not forgotten his vow : the temple was erected, and a college of priests instituted, to which Octavius himself belonged, whose duty it was to exhibit annual shows in honour of the goddess. But after their patron's death the members of this body either shrank from the expence, or were deterred by fear of offending the patriots ; and it was not till Octavius came forward and undertook the discharge of their obligations, that the people enjoyed the gratification their hero had provided for them. Thus once more did the young heir prove himself worthy of his inheritance. But he was not allowed to be at the sole charge of an entertainment which was meant to reflect honour upon the founder. Cæsar's private friends, Matius, Postumius and Saserna, offered munificent contributions. When Cicero remarked with bitterness that they were sowing the seeds of another civil war, Matius at least could answer that he was Cæsar's friend, and not his partisan. When the duty was urged upon him of preferring his country to his friend, he could again reply that to such a pitch of patriotic devotion his philosophy had never soared. He had always dissuaded Cæsar from entering upon civil war ; in the conduct of it he had counselled clemency and moderation : he had never received any political favour from him, and no political intrigue or violence should prevent him from paying honour

Octavius exhibits shows, to which the dictator's friends were pledged.

¹ Florus, iv. 4. ; Dion, l. c.

to him as his friend. The dead could be honoured best by serving his living representative.¹

Cicero on his part was trying, with little success, to construct a conservative party among the republicans, which should hold the balance between the Cæsareans and the more violent of the patriots. While Antonius succeeded by intrigue and bribery in strengthening the faction of his personal adherents, those among his former adherents whom his insolence or rapacity had alienated from himself did not on that account draw nearer to the side of the nobles. Hir-tius declared himself disgusted with the consul's conduct, and especially with his rifling the treasures his patron had amassed for the public service: nevertheless he allowed that both he and the liberators had equal cause for strengthening their position by arms.² Equally afraid of the consequences of success from either of them, he probably hailed, with Pansa, Matus and others, the revival of his old master's policy in the person of a lineal representative. Octavius was urged on by the ardour of these devoted partisans. He now ventured to claim that the golden throne and jewelled crown which the senate had decreed to his father should be exhibited in their proper place at the celebration of the festival. The tribunes, instigated by Antonius, refused to sanction this mark of honour, and the knights, if we may believe the account which Atticus sent to Cicero, supported them in this stretch of authority. The consul even threatened Octavius with arrest for so bold an appeal to the passions of the multitude; but there were many men of character and influence upon whom his firmness made a deep impression, and it was not among the populace only that his character and pretensions rose to the highest pitch of estimation. When he contended for the election of one Flaminius to the tribuneship of Helvius Cinna, the people threatened to raise him to the bench himself, though now adopted into a patrician house, and not yet of age to hold the office. Antonius interfered to stop the proceedings, the people would elect no one else, and the vacancy

¹ Cic. *ad Div.* xv. 27, 28.

² Cic. *ad Att.* xv. 10.

remained unfilled.¹ Fortune favoured the youth who deserved so well of her: during the continuance of the festival of Venus, which lasted eleven days, there appeared a comet of unusual brilliancy, which remained seven days visible. Octavius hailed this auspicious phenomenon as a sign that the great Julius had been advanced to the abode of the gods, and the Roman people readily adopted this interpretation. He was encouraged to erect a brazen statue to the new divinity in the temple of Venus; its head was surmounted by a golden star, the cynosure of court poets in the next generation,² a symbol which is visible on many coins and gems still preserved to us. The enthusiasm thus opportunely excited demanded the addition of new honours to a name already so renowned: it was decreed that the designation of the month Quintilis, the fifth of Numa's calendar, should be changed to Julius, which it has borne throughout the civilized world to this day, and a special ritual was appointed for the worship of the demi-god, the first whom the senate had translated to Olympus since the apotheosis of Romulus.³

The name Quintilis changed to Julius, and apotheosis of Cæsar.

During these proceedings, big as they were with the fate of the republic, the names of the principal liberators have vanished from the page of history. They shrank so closely from the current of public affairs that it was generally believed that they had fled from Rome, on the occasion of the first disturbances which attended Cæsar's obsequies, and the murder of the unfortunate Cinna. If they did indeed quit the city for the moment, it would seem that they soon returned to it. They were there certainly in the middle of April; but Cicero, who alludes to their presence there, laments that they found themselves compelled to avoid observation, and undoubtedly they refrained

Brutus and Cassius shrink from public affairs.

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 10.; Dion, xlv. 2. 6.

² Virg. *Ecl.* ix. 47.: Ecce Dionæi processit Cæsaris astrum. Comp. Ovid *Metam.* xv. 847.; Horat. *Od.* i. 12. 46.; Propert. iv. 6. 30.

³ Stat. *Sylv.* 1. 24.:

Primus iter nostris ostendit in æthera Divis.

from the public exercise of their functions. It was probably on the renewal of public riot under the auspices of the pretended Marius, that they made their final escape from the city. Their first retreat was Lanuvium, in its immediate vicinity. Decimus, who was at least a bold soldier, still kept the post of danger. The Cisalpine province had been assigned him by Cæsar; the senate had confirmed his appointment: but the consul forbade him to assume it, threatening him with the vengeance of the Roman people, who, he declared, were so infuriate against Cæsar's destroyers, that not one of them could remain in safety at Rome.¹ Decimus now deemed it prudent to succumb to this arbitrary dictation. He conferred indeed with Hirtius, who assured him that the rumours of popular fury were exaggerated, and that the consul was aware that he could not maintain his own power in the state if any one of the patriots was in a condition to wield an imposing military force. Decimus however hesitated to defy the consul's menaces: he looked around him for support against the new tyranny, but he distrusted Sextus and Bassus, the Pompeian leaders, and declared that he would only in the last resort join his forces with theirs. He would have been content, so despondent was he, with the means of making an honourable retreat: with this view he solicited the mere semblance of public service abroad for himself and his associates. Antonius promised to procure him the *legatio libera*; but even this trifling favour he contumeliously delayed, until Decimus resolved at last to consult his safety by open flight. He declared that he would retire from public life, and seek a retreat in Rhodes or some other quiet asylum, where the dignity of his self-banishment might at least be respected. This resolution was given out perhaps as a blind; at least he was not constant to it. Immediately after the date of the letter in which he announces it, we find him in his Cisalpine government, where he had placed himself at the head of the forces of the republic, and hoped to derive powerful aid from the

¹ See the letter of Decimus to Brutus and Cassius (Cic. *ad Div.* xi. 1) written in April.

municipia and colonies, with some of which Cassius had intimate relations.¹ But the province was devoted to Cæsar: neither the troops nor the provincials were disposed to attach themselves to their new proconsul. So near the gates of Rome, where there was as yet only one legion under arms for the consul's protection, Decimus dared not make the single stride which should confront him with his enemies. He amused himself in this agony of the commonwealth, with making incursions into the valleys of the Alps, and chastising marauders on his frontiers. To his associates he might pretend that the booty he thus obtained, the spoils of rocks and snows, was necessary to content his soldiers, ill-paid and half-fed from the resources at his command. But his real object was the puerile ambition of aspiring to a triumph. He wrote to the senate to solicit the honour of a supplication, the first step towards the attainment of his desires, and he called upon Cicero to exert his influence on his behalf.² But these dreams were dispelled by the events which followed.

Decimus assumes the government of the Cisalpine.

While Trebonius proceeded to his government in the province of Asia, and Cimber assumed command in Bithynia, the leaders of the late conspiracy remained in the neighbourhood of Rome. It was ever the weakness of the chiefs of the oligarchy to believe that at bottom the populace of Rome was loyal to the old constitution, and only required time and rest from the agitation of contending factions to recover a healthy tone of obedience to its natural heads. At the same time they still clung to the hope that Antonius would maintain the cause of good government against the anarchy which in their view threatened general ruin. They brooded with sullen satisfaction over their late desperate deed, which they trusted would

Brutus and Cassius linger in the neighbourhood of Rome.

Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 13. (April 19.): Quamvis tu magna et mihi jucunda scripseris de D. Bruti adventu ad suas legiones. Comp. *Philipp.* iii. 15., v. 13., x. 5.; *ad Div.* xii. 5. Cicero's vehement assertions of the good feeling of the provincials were hazarded to encourage the senate. They do not seem to have been borne out by the result.

² Cic. *ad Div.* xi. 4.

at least deter him from aspiring to similar pre-eminence. Upon Dolabella they relied more confidently, as the ancient foe and recent rival of his actual colleague. In Octavius they beheld at least another pledge that the commonwealth would not be surrendered tamely into Antonius's hands; and they did not look beyond Antonius for any possible pretender to supreme power. Flattered by these hopes they made no attempt to strengthen their own hands against the contingency of civil war; and though some towns of southern Italy, such for instance as Puteoli and Teanum, chose them for their patrons, they carefully abstained from any hostile movement to ensure their personal safety, or secure their peaceable succession to the governments to which they had been appointed. The law indeed forbade the prætors to be absent from the city, where their judicial duties were unremitting, for more than ten days. Yet Brutus and Cassius, unable to obtain security for their persons in Rome, were compelled to linger outside the walls. Of course they had no right to enter the provinces assigned them before the expiration of their year of office. Antonius proposed to take advantage of this dilemma. He summoned the senate for the first of June. The self-exiled prætors consulted with their friends whether they should present themselves before the assembly: the continued influx of the veterans seemed to render their public appearance in Rome more perilous than ever. Their advisers, however, were divided in opinion. Cicero approved, but shrank from the responsibility of counselling the bolder course. At last they applied to the consul to discover whether they could be secure in the city, and though his answer is not known, we may conjecture that it was not such as to encourage them: for though a matter affecting their personal interests was debated in the sitting which followed, they did not choose to exhibit themselves. The senate had been left without leaders, and struggled helplessly in the consul's toils. He determined to push his advantage, and secure the government of an important province with the command of a powerful army. Syria and the conduct of the Parthian war were the

greatest prize the commonwealth could offer ; but this his enemies would have strained every nerve to withhold from him. He instigated Dolabella to claim it. The senate resisted languidly and irresolutely, and the tribes granted it to Antonius's instances. Immediately afterwards he obtained for himself Macedonia, of which his opponents were less jealous, as the great army there assembled was destined for the Eastern frontier, and therefore must slip, as they supposed, from his hands.¹ Antonius, however, as we shall presently see, had another stroke to play. Meanwhile these provinces, promised to Brutus and Cassius, were lost to them almost without an effort. It was in vain that the senate had confirmed the acts of the dictatorship. It was now discovered that Antonius meant to respect them only so far as they served his own purposes, and the senate could only bow to the interpretation he chose to affix to its decree.² On the fifth of June, these new appointments were followed by a further decree, which assigned to Brutus and Cassius, in compensation, the charge of providing the city with grain, with authority for that purpose in certain districts on the coasts of the Mediterranean.³ It is remarkable that the manifest violence and injustice of this measure should have elicited no indignant condemnation from the writers who record it. Cicero indeed alludes to it as a mark of the senate's approbation, and while he admits that so inferior a charge is not equal to their high deserts, only laments that they should seem to owe it in some degree to the favour of Antonius.⁴

Antonius obtains Syria for Dolabella and Macedonia for himself.

Appian, *B. C.* iii. 7, 8.

² Antonius, according to Appian, ventured to declare that the confirmation of Cæsar's acts was meant only to satisfy the people at the moment, and not intended to be fully carried out in all respects. Appian, *B. C.* iii. 22.

³ I speak thus vaguely because of the strange discrepancy in the provinces named. Cicero, in a letter of the period, distinctly mentions Asia and Sicily (*ad Att.* xv. 11. 20.), while in his *Philippics* (ii. 38., xi. 12.) he assigns Crete to Brutus. Appian asserts that Cassius was to have the Cyrenaica, which was in fact included in the same government with Crete. The arrangement, whatever it was, was never executed.

⁴ Cic. *Philipp.* ii. 13.; *ad Att.* xv. 9.

Cicero draws the veil from the fluctuating counsels and impotent complaints of the liberators themselves at this crisis, in a letter to Atticus. The day after this important decree had been made, he went to meet them at Antium, where they were then sojourning. Brutus was well pleased to see him. He was surrounded by a group of friends; among them were his mother Servilia, his wife Porcia, and Tertulla his sister, the wife of Cassius, who took an active part in their debates.¹ Favonius, who had refused to participate in the assassination, had come to aid the assassins with his advice. Cicero counselled them to undertake the charge assigned them, of which they had just received intimation. He considered that it would at least ensure their personal safety. Cassius hereupon put on a swaggering martial air (such is the description of the narrator), and vowed that he would not go to his appointed province, he would not accept as a boon what was intended as an insult.² What then would he do? asked his adviser. He would betake himself to Achaia, a province full of devoted Pompeians. And whither would Brutus proceed? To Rome, if Cicero advised it. *No*, replied the other, *by no means; you would not be safe there. . . . But if I could be safe there*, returned Brutus, *would you then be satisfied? . . . Yes, indeed*, said Cicero; *I should rejoice that you should neither go now to a province, nor next year, after the expiration of the prætorship: but I decline advising you to trust yourself in the city.* And he went on to explain the grounds of his apprehension for the liberator's safety in Rome. Thereupon they began one and all to cry out, lamenting and complaining, Cassius above all the rest; harping upon the opportunities they had let slip, which meant, doubtless, their neg-

¹ Tertulla had recently recovered from a premature delivery. Cicero lamented her being delivered of a still-born child: "Tertullæ nollem abortum; tam enim Cassii sunt jam quam Bruti serendi." *Ad Att.* xiv. 20., written on the 11th May. The letter in which this scene is described (*ad Att.* xv. 11) is dated June 9.

² *Cic. l. c.*: "Fortitus sane oculis Cassius, Martem spirare diceres."

lecting to put Antonius to death as well as Cæsar; and accusing Decimus of want of spirit and activity in his province. *I, for my part, says Cicero, exhorted them to refrain from comment upon the past, though I felt as they did about it. And when I began to tell them what I thought they should have done,—so soon had he forgotten his own sage advice,—yet there was nothing new in it, nothing but what every one has said over and over again,—nor did I hint that any one else ought to have been put out of the way,—but only that the senate should have been convened, the zeal of the people inflamed, the whole power of government seized and wielded,—when I began to say this, Servilia exclaimed she had never heard counsel so bold and spirited from any one!* Cicero checked, it seems, her untimely indignation. Brutus and Cassius appeared thoroughly ashamed of themselves, and were now disposed to acquiesce in the appointments decreed them. They only hesitated about the charge of provisioning the city, which they deemed beneath their dignity: Servilia undertook to exert her influence with Cæsar's friends to get them relieved from it. And so the writer congratulates himself on having discharged a painful duty, and given his final advice to friends whose utter want of sense, foresight, and method, made him already despair of their success. Nothing more, he says, remains for him but to fly far away, where he may *hear no more of the acts and fame of the Pelopidae*, a name which, to the learned Roman, symbolized a dynasty of tyrants.

Such is the lively narrative of one who claims to have been the principal actor in this interesting scene. After making every allowance for the vanity of the writer, who strives, even in his most private correspondence, to represent himself as the conductor of every affair in which he participates, and for his restless anxiety to excuse himself for shrinking from espousing openly a cause he deemed hopeless, still it is impossible not to read, in this curious document, the utter condemnation of the patriot chiefs as men of conduct or energy. They had assumed the part of statesmen and heroes; but their policy was merely to

Their vacillation and imbecility.

snatch at any proffered advice; their spirit displayed itself only in puerile sullenness or tardy reerimination. For the first time in the history of Rome we discover a group of female politieians in council with the statesmen of the republic. Of Porcia, indeed, we have already heard, that in courage and resolution she was at least equal to her husband. But in the voluptuous intriguer Servilia, the matron who first debauched the youth of Cæsar, we were not prepared to discover the most decided and vigorous eounsellor of the whole eonelave. The maternal authority which, as many years his senior, she is said to have exereised over her half-brother Cato, bespeaks doubtless a strong mind, to which we may attribute the influence she wielded through life over her illustrious lover.¹ Even in his later years he had continued to pay court to her. She had obtained from him several confiseated estates, and among them still kept the Neapolitan villa of Pontius Aquila;² and her engagement to get the terms of her son's appointment altered evinees a thorough eonfidencee in the ascendeney she still possessed over his adherents even after his death. Connected as she was by the nearest ties both with Brutus her son, and Cassius her daughter's husband, she threw herself unreservedly into their interests after the fatal deed, and seems to have striven in vain to nerve their courage and invigorate their policy. Among the ribald stories of the day was one that, in the deeday of her own eharms, she had surrendered to her gallant the virtue of her daughter Tertulla:³

¹ Asconius in *Scaur.* p. 19.: "Servilia apud Catonem maternam habebat auctoritatem." As mother of Brutus, who was only ten years younger than Cato, she must have been considerably older than the latter.

² Cie. *ad Att.* xiv. 21.: "Μulta ἐπιστάλεια. Pontii Neapolitanum a matre tyrannoctoni possideri."

³ Suetonius (*Jul.* 50.) quotes a jest of Cicero as his authority, and is copied by Macrobius, *Saturn.* ii. 2. The daughter's name was properly Junia Tertia. Her death at a very advanced age is recorded by Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 76, A. U. 22. Servilia's first husband M. Brutus was slain B. C. 82. She afterwards married Junius Silanus (consul B. C. 62.), and her daughter by him may thus have reached her hundredth year A. D. 22. Servilia herself seems to have been the Ninon of antiquity. She must have been several years older than

there is at least much stronger evidence to attest her devotion to her son, that gallant's assassin.

Brutus and Cassius were still reluctant to quit Italy. The scheme for removing them to a distance proved abortive; they pretended to make preparations for undertaking their new commission, but they continued to linger on the coast of Latium and Campania, watching events, and waiting upon fortune. Their ulterior plans were wholly undecided. They were anxious to make one effort more to win the favour of the urban populace, and this they hoped to do through the spectacle of the Ludi Apollinares, which it was the business of Brutus, as city prætor, to exhibit. During the interval they flitted from place to place; from Antium they returned to Lanuvium, thence repaired to Anagnia, and finally awaited in Nesis, an island

Brutus exhibits
the Ludi Apol-
linares.

off Baia, the result of their last manœuvre. The games were exhibited at the charge of Brutus; but, in his absence, his colleague C. Antonius presided alone. Brutus had spared no cost in engaging players for the theatre, and providing wild beasts for the arena. He was so far successful in his object as to elicit the applause of the spectators. But this empty acknowledgment of his efforts to please had lost its ancient significance.¹ The Roman people had been too grossly pampered with playthings and amusements to feel any real gratitude to their interested entertainers. Meanwhile, to the horror of all true patriots, the seventh day of the month Quintilis, that for which the exhibition was announced, was now first publicly designated as the Nones of Julius;² and Brutus might resent the stratagem of his colleague, who substituted a play of Accius on the insipid theme of Tereus and Philomel, for the stirring drama on the banishment of the

Cæsar, and accordingly between 60 and 70 years of age when her admirer was still lavishing upon her the spoils of the Pompeians.

¹ Cicero (*ad Att.* xvi. 2.) complains, "Pop. Rom. manus suas non in defendenda republica sed in plaudendo consumere."

² Cic. *ad Att.* xvi. 4.

Tarquins, which the descendant of the republican hero had been careful to bespeak.¹

Appearances at Rome were not sufficiently favourable to encourage the hopes of Brutus, or of Cicero, who had now joined him. The neighbourhood of Rome, perhaps the whole extent of the peninsula, was becoming daily more unsafe. Violence was apprehended from the legions of Macedonia, which it seems were expected to cross the water, and suddenly throw themselves upon Italy. The liberators had assembled a number of vessels, under pretext of sending them abroad for grain. With these they now proposed to put to sea.² Cicero, who had also resolved to retreat, would gladly have availed himself of their convoy, for the waters of the Mediterranean were again infested by pirates.³ Wretched, however, as was the prospect of affairs at home, one gleam of satisfaction reached them from the success which, as they now learnt, was attending the arms of Sextus Pompeius. Though the young adventurer was contending avowedly for his personal interests, and had merely sworn not to disband his forces till he were repossessed of the patrimony of his house,—though his brother Cnæus long before had discarded his family connexion with the cause of the oligarchy,—yet the diversion which his valour was making in the West might aid the progress of the good cause in the opposite extremity of the empire. Sextus, after making his escape from the field of Munda, had concealed himself in the country of the Lacetani, on the eastern Pyrenees, where his father's memory lived in the hearts of the people no less than in the trophy he had erected on the mountains.⁴ From these defiles he had descended with a band

¹ Cicero says indeed (*ad Att.* xvi. 2.), “Delectari mihi Terco videbatur (Brutus);” and we may suppose that there would be many passages in the drama of a republican poet on such a subject reflecting on tyranny. A modern audience might apply the story of Tereus to the usual career of successful usurpation, which first debauches the press and then cuts out its tongue.

² Cic. *ad Att.* xv. 12.

³ Cic. *ad Att.* xvi. 2.

⁴ Dion, xlv. 10

of devoted followers, as soon as the victor had withdrawn the greater part of his legions from the peninsula. Asinius Pollio had been left in Bætica with a force inadequate to suppress this new revolt. Sextus had gained over the cities of the south, one by one, and the news of Cæsar's death gave an impulse to the success of his enterprise, already crowned with a brilliant victory and the supposed slaughter of the rival commander. With a force amounting to six legions, he had now the whole Iberian peninsula in his power. He knew, however, that the consuls would not let this noble province slip thus easily from their hands. Lepidus was assembling a large army to wrest his conquests from him; he was probably pressed for money, and was therefore disposed to try the effect of negotiations. He boldly demanded a general disarming on all sides, and the patriots, denuded as they now were of the military resources which Cæsar had promised them, might look with equal satisfaction to a peace concluded on these terms, which would place them once more on a level with their enemy, or to the alternative of renewed hostilities, with so powerful an auxiliary at their back.

Cicero, indeed, while he foresaw that civil war was inevitable, and indulged a hope, from the imposing attitude of Sextus, that its result might yet be favourable to the cause of the republic, had fully resolved in his own mind to decline any share in the contest.

Cicero shrinks from the approaching contest. His melancholy anticipations.

He had never ceased to regret his participation in the Pompeian counsels in Epirus; the mortifications his self-love had there experienced had deeply impressed him; his life had been threatened by the vehemence of Cnæus, and he was little disposed to waste his sage advice upon a brother not less violent and unreasonable. But a change, he felt, had come over the character of civil conflict. He would no longer be permitted to maintain neutrality. The studies to which he had recently abandoned himself with more devotion than ever, had unnerved him for the duties of the camp; but they would meet with no indulgence from the ferocious gladiators who were now about to rush into combat. From Cæsar and

Pompeius, the urbane and the lettered, to Antonius and Sextus, the selfish and the savage, was a great and melancholy change. Nor did Cicero feel that his independence would be respected even by some of the chiefs of the patriots, such for instance as Cassius and Decimus. He had little confidence in the loyal professions of Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls elect, whom he knew to be still sincerely attached to the memory of the dictator, and almost prepared to draw the sword against his murderers. The mortifying conviction was now forced upon him, that the murder of Cæsar was a fruitless exploit. That the tyrant was slain, that freedom had been signally avenged, was a bitter satisfaction, and one who could so entirely renounce all gratitude for the favours he had sought and obtained from the victim, might still continue to disguise from himself the baseness and treachery of the deed;¹ but every day made it more and more evident that the perpetrators of the crime knew not how to profit by it. Self-banished from Rome, where his voice was powerless and his person in danger, Cicero wandered from place to place, seeking perhaps to divert his mind by change of scene. In the course of two months we hear of him successively at Tusculum, at Lanuvium, at Fundi, at Formiæ, at Sinuessæ, Puteoli, Pompeii and Neapolis. But neither the promenade on the beach at his marine villa, nor the sunny hills and wide prospect of his inland estates, could divert his thoughts from the dangers which beset him on every side. The charming coast of Baiæ and Neapolis was frequented in the summer months by the Roman nobles, and Cicero was distressed by the crowds of aristocratic loungers, who invaded his solitude and marred perhaps his visions of neutrality. Yet in the lowest depths of his despondency, he could find one sure refuge from disquietude in the composition of his immortal dissertations. With these he consumed the hours of inaction which hung heavy on his hands; with these he indemnified himself for the business of the forum and the senate-house,

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* xv. 4.: "Gratiosi eramus apud illum, quem Di mortuum perduint."

in which he had vainly hoped that the tyrant's overthrow would have opened a new and splendid career to a champion of the gown. His treatises on Old Age, on Friendship, on Glory, and on Fate, took their high spiritual tone from the mental discipline under which they were now written. Their author had attained a frame of mind more nearly approaching to religious resignation than under any previous afflictions. From his letters at this time we learn that his judgment of others was more charitable, his confidence in himself less overweening, and his prospects on the whole calmer. We may now believe him when he avows that life is become indifferent to him, that he flies from the centre of affairs, not from apprehension of danger, but to maintain his name untarnished. He is old in years, and ripe in reputation, and all he wishes is to retire from the stage with dignity. Athens, the home of the afflicted, *the city of the soul*, is the place to which he could now most cheerfully betake himself. Besides the classic attractions of the land of Greece, it was there that his son was at the moment studying. The first wish of his heart was now to cherish the sentiment of paternal affection. In the wreck of his private fortune, which partook of the general embarrassments, he is still solicitous to maintain his child suitably to his rank and expectations.¹ But in abandoning Italy he took leave of the most intimate of his friends, and when he heard that Atticus had shed tears at their parting, he declared that had he but witnessed this manifestation of tenderness, he might perhaps at the last moment have relinquished his intended journey.

While the foes whose opposition would have been most formidable to him were thus removed from the centre of affairs, and seemed only to await for an opportunity of retiring from Italy with honour, the plans of Antonius had been ripening. He was not satisfied with the province of Macedonia, which he had already extorted. He wanted the government of the Cisalpine, from which he

Antonius intrigues to obtain the government of the Cisalpine, together with the legions destined for the Parthian war.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* xv. 15.: "Id etiam ad dignitatem meam pertinere, eum non modo liberaliter a nobis sed etiam ornate cumulateque tractari."

might keep one hand stretched almost to the gates of the city. At the same time he coveted the command of the legions destined for the Parthian war, six legions without a general, for the service of whose swords several competitors were already suing.¹ They were the flower of the forces of the republic, and the quarters in which they lay, on the coast of the Ionian gulf, were within sight of Italy. Could he transport these soldiers to Ravenna, the commonwealth would lie at his mercy; the Rubicon had ceased to be a barrier against so docile a pupil in the art of military usurpation. He had already gratified his colleague Dolabella by obtaining for him the province of Syria. To this command the conduct of the Parthian expedition would necessarily attach; but Antonius was determined to wrest from his rival's hands the forces destined for this purpose. Accordingly he caused advices to be forwarded to Rome, importing that the Getæ, to the north of Macedonia, had crossed the frontier, and were committing depredations upon the colonists and provincials. Upon the strength of this alarm the consul demanded of the senate a military force to chastise the marauders. He gave out that the dictator himself had proposed to postpone his vengeance upon the Parthians to the pacification of this frontier; and he urged further, that there was no immediate danger in the East, where the conquerors of Crassus were content to repose upon their laurels. Dolabella was persuaded to accept of a single legion, and allow the transfer of the remaining force to his colleague; the senate was wheedled into consenting to it, notwithstanding that the emissaries it sent to inquire into the state of the province declared that they met with no traces of the supposed invaders. They reported, however, that though the Getæ had not really penetrated across the border, they might be expected to do so, as soon as the legions were withdrawn.²

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* xvi. 7.

² Appian, *B. C.* iii. 25.: εἴτ' ἀληθὲς, εἴθ' ὅπ' Ἀντωνίου διδασθέντες. This writer accounts for the yielding of the senate by supposing that Antonius introduced at this time his decree for the abolition of the dictatorship. This

It was decided that these troops should not be dispatched to Syria. They remained in their old quarters, and Antonius could now send his brother Caius to assume the command of them. This point gained, it would be easy to summon them to Italy when the time for employing them should arrive.

The assurance that the consul was intriguing for an exchange of his province alarmed the senate. Communications were held with Decimus; he was put on his guard against the machinations in progress against him, and exhorted to hold his own against the enemy. What could not be extorted from the

Baffled by the senate he effects a hollow reconciliation with Octavius.

assembly of the nobles, Antonius contemplated obtaining from the people. If the senate refused to submit the appointment to the comitia, he knew that it dared not resist an appointment which the comitia should itself decree. But the people, whom he had so long amused or coerced, were falling under the influence of a rival. Octavius, sheltered behind the name of the great Julius, had aimed many covert blows at the consul's popularity. Antonius had irritated many of his supporters by the measures of repression which had won him the acclamations of the senate: the protection he had extended to the assassins, and his extenuation of their crime, his neglect to discharge the dictator's legacies, and still more his allowing another to make up the sum from his private funds, had placed weapons in his adversary's hands, which he wielded with a vigour and adroitness beyond his years. Antonius had not only insulted Cæsar's heir, he had threatened him. Octavius took advantage of this ebullition of temper to surround his own person with armed attendants, and he paid his court the more assiduously to the veterans, by glowing harangues in praise of their lamented chief, and in defiance of the consul who had hesitated to avenge him. Even the officers of the consul's body guard responded to these stirring appeals. Honoured and enriched as they had been by their new master, they could not renounce the memory of earlier

had undoubtedly taken place before. We may presume that the consul bought its acquiescence by some other concession.

obligations. They surrounded their imperator with clamorous importunity, urging him, for their sakes, for his own sake, to abstain from his contumelious disparagement of their common benefactor. Antonius felt the ground shake beneath his feet. It was necessary to conciliate his own supporters; it was not less necessary to make terms with Octavius. The young upstart had become an important political character. Accordingly the veteran intriguer made the requisite overtures, and a conference between them resulted in a pretended reconciliation.¹

His position thus opportunely strengthened, the consul no longer hesitated to apply to the people for an exchange of provinces. He desired that Macedonia should be transferred to his brother Caius, the Gaulish provinces to himself. The paltry forays with which Decimus had indulged his legions in the Alpine valleys might have screened him from the imputation of hostile intentions against the government at home; but it suited Antonius to charge him with preparing to attack the Cæsareans, and assert the cause of the tyrannicides with arms; and he urged the recall of the Macedonian army to Italy, for the defence of the commonwealth itself. The senate was agitated and perplexed. For a moment it threatened to interpose with the tribunitian veto. A warier and more statesmanlike method of defeating the intrigue indirectly was suggested. It was now for the first time proposed to admit the whole of the Cisalpine Gaul within the bounds of Italy; and thus place it with the rest of the peninsula, under the direct control of the central government. Such an arrangement would obviate the danger which threatened the freedom of the state from the immediate vicinity of a military commander. There would no longer be a proconsular army quartered within ten days' journey of Rome. Such a measure, however, was too bold and vigorous for the grasp of the feeble assembly before whom the idea was now broached. Upon one statesman in Rome, and he the youngest of all, it

With his assistance he obtains from the people an exchange of provinces.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* iii. 28-30.

made the impression it deserved. Octavius felt at once the full importance of such a change in the relation of the province to the metropolis, and when the time and opportunity arrived to turn it to his own advantage, we shall see that he did not neglect it. Now, however, when a motion was made in the comitia for transferring Gaul to Antonius, he exerted himself in its favour, and prevailed on the tribes to sanction it. The policy of wresting so much power from Decimus, the avowed enemy of his house, might naturally dispose him to this course. He was moreover desirous of founding upon it a claim to the consul's services on no distant occasion. The tribunes, corrupted by a skilful application of the dictator's treasures, abstained from interposing; and Antonius seems to have required no further pretext for ordering the embarkation for Italy of the Macedonian legions.¹

It is difficult to disentangle the order and dates of this series of events from the confused narratives in which they are recorded. I presume that the exchange of the provinces was made in the month of July. The legions did not reach Italy, as we shall see, till the beginning of October; but to put in motion a large force long quartered in distant cantonments is always a work of time, and requires a full military chest, which, doubtless, was wanting. Antonius, meanwhile, assured of such an overwhelming force behind him, could view the intrigues of the republicans without alarm. The prætors, Brutus and Cassius, had demanded a formal release from their obligation to residence in Rome. While they proposed to undertake the discharge of their commissions abroad, they would not relinquish the advantage of their position as prætors in the city. They now required the consul to summon the senate to pass this decree in their favour: and when he named the first of August for its assembling, they addressed urgent solicitations to the gravest and most influential of the order to attend. Fear of personal violence, a sense of insulted dignity, disgust perhaps at their own insignificance, had

Brutus and
Cassius obtain
leave of ab-
sence from
Rome.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* iii. 30.

driven many consulars and men of authority to retire to their country seats. They returned, however, on this solemn invitation, and assisted, no doubt, in carrying the object for which the prætors had desired their presence. The sitting was rendered remarkable by a furious invective pronounced against Antonius by Calpurnius Piso, the dictator's father-in-law. Connected with both the principal parties in the state, he had hitherto trimmed between them. His sudden attack upon the consul's policy was hailed by the republicans as a symptom of reaction. But when Antonius replied with equal acrimony, the courage of the senators quailed, and Piso found no supporter. Neither Brutus nor Cassius had ventured to appear. They rejoined indeed, some days afterwards, with a fierce but impotent manifesto.¹ They declared that if they judged it necessary to defend the commonwealth with arms, the consul's menaces should not deter them. They bade him remember not how long Cæsar had lived, but how briefly he had reigned. But Antonius knew that they durst not confront him in the senate, and treated their bravado with not unmerited contempt.

Cicero, as we have seen, had quitted the shores of Italy, leaving it to be understood that he should return by the first of January, when the new consuls would commence their year of office. As long as Antonius remained at the head of the government, he could not hope to effect or to witness any good, but he looked for the commencement of a new and happier era under the administration of upright and honourable men, such as Hirtius and Pansa, although they too were Cæsareans. But it was not permitted to the patriot statesman to forsake the commonwealth at the consummation of her long agony. He had embarked from his villa at Pompeii about the middle of July, in company with three other vessels, and coasted as far as Rhegium, landing more than once, on his route, to visit friends. From thence he crossed the straits to Syraeuse, which he

¹ This document is preserved in the collection of Cicero's correspondence (*ad Div.* xi. 3.). It is dated August 4.

reached on the first of August. Anxious to avoid whatever might excite the jealousy of his enemies, and in Syracuse the prosecutor of Verres believed himself too popular to be able to linger there without arousing suspicion, he remained in the island a few days only, and was proceeding on his voyage direct for the coast of Greece, when adverse winds twice drove him back on the promontory of Leucopetra, near the extremity of the Bruttian peninsula. Here he was greeted with the rumour that Brutus and Cassius, whom he had left at Nesis, were about to come to a friendly understanding with Antonius. The senate, it was announced, was summoned for the first of August, and the republicans were expected to muster in strength. His informants went on to assure him that his presence was much desired in Rome, where his flight had been made the subject of some harsh animadversion. Whatever danger there might be, and danger there undoubtedly was, in returning, Atticus reminded him that he had published to the world his deliberate sentiments, that to die for one's country is the most blessed of deaths.¹ It was too late for him to attend the expected meeting, nor had he perhaps much hope of a favourable result: but Rome had still its imperishable attractions for the patriot who had once saved it, and, with many a solemn foreboding, he turned his steps once more in the direction of the city. On his way he fell in with Brutus and Cassius at Velia. From them he learnt the issue of the deliberations of the first of August, the defeat of Piso, the prostration of the republican party: they spoke with resignation of their own misfortunes, and when he declared his resolution still to proceed, they cheered him on his road to martyrdom. The time, he felt, had come to obtain a crown of immortal glory, and he had no other object in life but to leave it with honour.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* xvi. 7., written August 19.: "Scripsisti his verbis, veni igitur, tu qui εὐθανασίας, veni. Relinquis patriam?" Atticus may have had in his eye the passage in the *Tuscul. Quæst.* i. 45.: "Sed profecto mors," &c. Billerbeck, in loc. Or possibly the treatise on Glory, which is lost, may have supplied the allusion.

On the thirty-first of August he re-entered the city, determined to abide whatever fate was in store for him, and never again to abandon the post to which duty, honour and affection conspired to bind him.¹

¹ Cic. *l. c.* Compare *Philipp.* i. 3, 4.

CHAPTER XXV.

CICERO RE-APPEARS IN THE SENATE, AND ATTACKS ANTONIUS.—THE PHILIPPICS.
 —ANTONIUS REPAIRS TO THE CISALPINE, AND PREPARES TO DISPOSSESS DECIMUS.—OCTAVIUS ARMS FOR THE REPUBLIC.—CICERO EXHORTS THE SENATE TO DECLARE ANTONIUS A PUBLIC ENEMY.—THE SENATE NEGOTIATES WITH HIM, AND HE REJOINS WITH INCREASED INSOLENCIE.—HIRTIUS AND PANSA SUCCEED TO THE CONSULSHIP, A. U. 711.—HIRTIUS LEADS AN ARMY AGAINST ANTONIUS.—CASSIUS OBTAINS SUCCESES IN SYRIA.—TREBONIUS IS DESTROYED BY DOLABELLA.—PANSA JOINS HIS COLLEAGUE.—TWO BATTLES ARE FOUGHT BEFORE MUTINA.—THE CONSULS ARE VICTORIOUS, BUT ARE BOTH SLAIN. (A. U. 710, 711. B. C. 44, 43.)

THE acclamations of the nobles and the populace which greeted the illustrious consular, on his appearance before the gates, gratified but could not re-assure him. Antonius had summoned the senate for the morrow, and as soon as he heard of Cicero's arrival he invited him particularly to attend. But he was preparing all the thunders of his eloquence to launch upon the head of the public enemy, and had not yet forged the bolt. At the last moment he had perhaps not quite determined upon his course, and still called Antonius his friend. The consul's offences were not quite inexpiable. Accordingly he staid away from the sitting. To the consuls and senate he feigned sickness, and the fatigue of his late journey; to his friends he pleaded his disgust at the divine honours which he expected would be paid to Cæsar. There was some formal business to be transacted: supplications were to be decreed to the gods for certain public successes, and Cæsar's name would be invoked among the Roman divinities.¹ He wished

Antonius inveighs against Cicero in the senate.

¹ Cic. *Philipp.* i. 6.

rather to be attacked than to attack. Antonius was the first to draw the sword. In his address to the senate he inveighed furiously against the cowardly absentee, and threatened with his usual rude violence to send workmen and demolish the house on the Palatine, which the citizens, after its first destruction by Clodius, had erected to their unworthy idol. After this ebullition of malice and defiance the consul left the city to indulge himself in revelry at his Tiburtine villa.

One of the consuls had thus quitted his post; but the other was still in Rome. Dolabella convened the senate again in the temple of Concord for the following day, to deliberate on the state of public affairs.

Cicero delivers
his first Philip-
pic in reply.

This was the spot where Cicero had delivered the most effective of his harangues, on the day which witnessed the condemnation of Catilina's accomplices. The place and its associations nerved him now with the courage of his younger and more hopeful days. The insults flung upon him by Antonius had stung him to the quick. He rose before the assembled senators, and proceeded in the first place to explain and vindicate his own conduct, both in abandoning the city and in returning to it. Refraining from any allusion to the tyrannicide itself, he began his retrospect of affairs with the meeting in the temple of Tellus. He showed that all parties had at first combined for the common good. If he claimed for himself the merit of having proposed the amnesty, he allowed Antonius the praise of having accepted it, and given his own son as an earnest of his good faith. The liberators, he said, were satisfied, the decrees of Cæsar were respected, the citizens were re-assured, the noble and the good approved. Up to this point the acts and demeanour of Antonius had been mild and conciliatory: he restored no exiles, he conferred no immunities, he abolished the dictatorship; no whisper did he yet breathe of Cæsar's posthumous demands. The senate had been justly charmed, and had issued a decree in grateful acknowledgment. But the consuls had gone still further in the same honest course. They broke up the riotous assemblages in the forum, they proscribed the pre

tended Marius. It was not till the first of June that Antonius had changed his conduct. From that time all his actions were in strong contrast with the policy which he had already stamped as true loyalty. He ceased to consult the senate, and carried his measures through the comitia of the tribes. He recalled whom he would from banishment, made what laws he pleased, appointed his own creatures to place and office, and pleaded the will of the dead tyrant for every act of selfish and venal policy. The liberators were frightened from the city, the veterans were incited to sedition, and fed with hopes of a new revolution. Then at last had the orator consented to retire from Rome for the remainder of the year, intending to return with the commencement of the new consulships; for he did not expect that the usurper would deign to convene the senate again during his term of office. Cicero then detailed the circumstances of his leaving the shores of Italy, and of his speedy return. He praised the gallantry of Piso, once his bitterest enemy, on the first of August; and now, he said, he had come forward to echo Piso's protest, and if any harm should befall him, to leave this crowning monument of his patriotism. The senate listened with admiration. The applause which thundered from its benches warmed his blood, and redoubled his energy. Dolabella himself, on whom he had heaped many fulsome compliments, was not displeased at being favourably contrasted with the colleague he secretly detested. When indeed Piso had attacked Antonius to his face, the same recreant audience had cowered under the consul's fierce reply: and now too, had he been present to defend himself, it would doubtless have shrunk from supporting Cicero's invective. But this second attack was better timed. Antonius had not deigned to listen to it; the field was open to the assailant; he declaimed with all the boldness of a man who has no fear of contradiction, and his declamation sank deep into the minds of favourable hearers.

The series of speeches against Antonius which Cicero composed in the course of the following months is known by the name of the *Philippics*, a title first given them perhaps

Characteristics
of the first
Philippic.

by the orator himself in allusion to the harangues of Demosthenes against the tyrant of Macedon.¹

They pretended, like their immortal prototypes, to be the last indignant assertion of a country's freedom against a daring aggressor. In this first speech, however, Cicero still kept some terms with his enemy. He seemed to feel his ground before committing himself irrevocably.² The declamation is directed entirely against the consul's policy; his personal habits and views, a moderation very unusual with Cicero, are left untouched. He is denounced as dangerous to the state, but he is not defamed as a disgrace to humanity. In this respect the first of the Philippics differs widely from the second, and generally from those which follow. After the lapse of some days Antonius returned to Rome; in his Ti-

Antonius re-
joins.

burtine retreat he had learnt the unexpected spirit with which his last attack was rebutted. After due deliberation he had framed a rejoinder, and on the nineteenth day of September he delivered it in a speech to the senate. It was a virulent invective against his enemy's whole political career, and accused him of the murder of the Catilinarians, the assassination of Clodius, the rupture between Cæsar and Pompeius. It strove to unite against him the hostility of every faction in the state, and above all it denounced him to the veterans as the real contriver of their hero's destruction. Cicero again was absent: his friends dissuaded him from appearing before the armed bands with which Antonius overawed debate. The two gladiators were destined never to meet on the same arena. They continued

¹ It is only in the letters to Brutus (ii. 4.), which are universally rejected as spurious, that this title is put into Cicero's own mouth. In an early letter to Atticus, however (ii. 1. A. U. 694), he alludes to the Philippics of Demosthenes, and expresses a hope that his own Catilinarian and other orations may be known by the name of "Consulares." It is not unlikely therefore that he gave the designation of Philippics to his Antonian invectives, as Plutarch (*Cic.* 48.) asserts, and that the fabricator of the *Epistolæ ad Brutum* was guided here, as elsewhere, by a genuine tradition.

² *Cic. Philipp.* v. 7.: "Locutus sum de republica minus equidem libere quam mea consuetudo, liberius tamen quam periculi minæ postulabant."

to wage the war of words, but they never saw each other again alive.

The reconciliation however which had been publicly avowed between Antonius and Octavius was not long maintained even in outward seeming. The city was filled with rumours, propagated, as was generally surmised, by the consul and his friends, that Octavius had suborned assassins to take his rival's life.¹ It was in vain that considerate people reflected that the consul's life was of great importance to the younger and weaker of the competitors for Cæsar's succession, inasmuch as it was only by authority such as his that the republicans could be kept in check. Octavius vehemently protested his innocence; but men's minds remained fretful and unsettled, and all ears were open to receive tales of scandal against those in power, and all mouths to propagate them. Antonius was in reality far more disturbed by the advices which reached him of the doubtful disposition of the legions he had summoned to Italy. Both the legionaries and the disbanded veterans resented his remissness in the pursuit of Cæsar's murderers. He left Rome for Brundisium to put himself at their head. Octavius was constrained to arm in his turn. He visited the colonies in Campania, which had pressed their services upon him, five months before. He collected among them a force of ten thousand men, by the lavish donative, as was reported, of two thousand sesterces a-piece. But they were neither equipped nor officered as regular troops; and the arrival of such a ferocious

Quarrel between Antonius and Octavius. Rumours that Octavius had conspired to take his rival's life.

Antonius repairs to Brundisium to assume the command of the legions summoned from Macedonia. Octavius collects forces in Campania.

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 10.; Plutarch, *Ant.* 16.; Appian, *B. C.* iii. 39.; Dion, xlv. 8.; Seneca, *de Clem.* i. 9. Cicero alludes to the rumour, and insinuates its truth (*ad Div.* xii. 23.): "Prudentes et boni viri et credunt factum et probant:" but he is evidently trying to encourage his correspondent Cornificius, by representing the precariousness of the consul's power; and after all he cannot help admitting that it was generally disbelieved. Appian also throws suspicion upon it. In the recently discovered fragment of Nicolaus (*vit. Cæs.* ci. 30.), the story is told more at length, but no new light is thrown upon it. Nicolaus's life of Octavius is an unqualified panegyric of his hero, and is evidently compiled entirely from Cæsarean authorities.

rabble alarmed the citizens of Rome, who knew not which most to deprecate, a bloody contest between the rival leaders in the streets of the city, or a combination between them to oppress and plunder it. This turbulent soldiery, however, had not surrendered their independence, or lent themselves as blind instruments to the caprice of their leader. As Octavius drew near to the city, Canutius, one of the tribunes engaged in his interest, harangued the people against Antonius, and denounced him as aspiring to the tyranny. He exhorted them to accept the services of the only patron who was at the head of an armed force for their protection; and thereupon he went forth in person to meet the new comer, and brought him into the forum, surrounded by a body of veterans with concealed weapons. In the presence of these supporters the tribune inveighed a second time against the consul's ambition, and Octavius proceeded to dwell upon the merits of his father Cæsar, and to complain that his cause had been deserted by Antonius. He ended with offering himself as the defender of the commonwealth and the avenger of the murdered hero. But he had gone too far. The veterans had not left their farms to espouse a private quarrel. They would not array one section of the Cæsareans against another. Antonius had been their emperor; he was now the consul of the republic: in either capacity they respected him, and would not draw their swords against his person. They insisted upon the rivals uniting in the common cause. Octavius gave way, at least in appearance. He spoke the veterans fair, thanked them for their loyalty to his father, and while he dismissed with courtesy such as chose to leave him, he loaded with caresses and promises all that remained. By flattery, persuasion, and dexterous management, the whole number was slowly won over. Octavius determined at once to employ them. He marched them forth from the city to the frontier of the Cisalpine. He visited Ravenna and the neighbouring towns in person, expended fresh sums in tempting recruits to his service, and finally appointed Arretium for the headquarters of his assembled armaments.¹

¹ Appian, *B. C.* iii. 41, 42. These events took place, apparently, in October.

While Octavius was thus occupied, Antonius was acting with equal vigour. He arrived at Brundisium early in October, and was there met by four of the Macedonian legions.¹ No acclamations greeted him in their quarters. They were come to avenge Antonius quells a mutiny among his legions, Cæsar's murder; he had dallied with the murderers; they bade him mount the tribunal and defend his conduct as best he might. But he failed not to confront the malcontents with the firmness of his great commander. It was not the part of the Roman imperator to defend his own conduct, but to enforce obedience to his commands. He scornfully rebuked their ingratitude for the exchange he had given them from the sultry plains of Parthia to the voluptuous cantonments of Italy. He complained of the ready ears they had lent to the emissaries of a petulant stripling, for so he styled Octavius; he threatened to discover and chastise the most culpable; but he mingled promises with threats, and held out the prospect of a largess of four hundred sesterces a-piece, and quarters in the *Happy Gaul*, the fertile Cisalpine province.² When the discontent was not thus appeased he demanded the roll-call of the legions, on which the conduct and habits of every private were carefully noted, and of those whom their centurions had branded with censure, he picked out every tenth man for capital punishment. He contented himself, however, with inflicting death upon only a few of them.³ Nevertheless this act of rigour did not check the progress of disaffection. The agents of Octavius had penetrated into the camp, and contrasted the liberality of their patron with the sordid offers of his rival. The Macedonian legions entertained a personal regard for the young compan-

¹ Cic. *ad Div.* xii. 23. (written October 9.): "Brundisium erat profectus obviam legionibus Macedonicis quatuor." Comp. *ad Att.* xv. 13., written October 24.; Appian, *B. C.* iii. 40-45; Dion, xlv. 12, 13.

² Appian, *l. c.* *χώραν εὐδαίμονα Κελτικήν.*

³ Such is the temperate statement of Appian. Cicero paints the transaction in flaring colours. "He slew three hundred valiant Romans—many of them centurions—before the eyes of his consort Fulvia. Tarquin shed no Roman blood." Cic. *Philipp.* iii. 4., xii. 6.

ion of their exercises at Apollonia: they were not, like the disbanded veterans, devoted to the memory of Cæsar alone, and indifferent to the quarrel between his successors. Antonius felt his insecurity. He was obliged to precipitate his measures, and to increase his bribes. Having made some changes among the superior officers, he broke up the whole force into detachments, and directed them to take the road along the coast of the Adriatic, and unite again at Ariminum. Movement and action, he thought, were the surest remedies for their growing insubordination.

The consul now hastened back to Rome, the report of the attitude assumed by Octavius adding much to his anxiety.

He returns himself to Rome and complains of Octavius to the senate.

The squadron of horse which accompanied him he left outside the walls; but he entered them with a battalion of infantry, accoutred for battle, and from the formidable array in which they surrounded his dwelling, with their sentries, their watch-words, and their gestures of defiance, it seemed as if they had taken military possession of the city.¹ But scarcely had he entered his house when he was summoned to quit it in haste and alarm. He had convened the senate to hear his complaint against Octavius; but as he approached the curia he encountered the fatal news that one of his legions, named the

Two of his legions revolt and go over to Octavius.

Martian, had transferred its eagles to his rival. Stopping short, and pondering for a moment on this alarming intimation, a second courier reached him with the further intelligence that another legion had also abandoned him.² He recollected himself enough to take his seat in the curia and utter a brief address, to save appearances; he then hastily left the spot and took horse for Alba,

¹ Cic. *Philipp.* v. 6.: "Unus M. Antonius in hac urbe post urbem conditam palam secum habuit armatos: quod neque Reges fecerunt, neque ii qui regibus exactis regnum occupare voluerunt. Cinna memini: vidi Sullam: modo Cæsarem . . . non possum affirmare nullis telis eos stipatos fuisse; hoc dico, nec multis, et occultis."

² Appian, *B. C.* iii. 45.; Cic. *Philipp.* iii. 8-10. The senate was convened for November 28

whither the deserters had retired, hoping yet to recall them to their allegiance. But the gates of Alba were shut against him, and arrows were aimed at him from its walls. His last resource was to issue a promise of two thousand sesterces to every soldier who still remained firm; and when he had thus raised his bidding to an equality with his competitor, he fixed the loyalty of the legions which had not yet abandoned him.

With the command of the Cisalpine province, Antonius had obtained also the commission to drive out of it any pretender to the government. Accordingly he now summoned Decimus to withdraw, and prepared to expel him by force of arms. He raised his standard at Tibur; the civil war was openly proclaimed, and great numbers of senators flocked to his quarters. The commonwealth lent its sanction to his enterprise. Besides his Macedonian legions, which since the arrival of fresh transports amounted to three, he had another corps of veteran troops under his command, and considerable reinforcements of new recruits. At the same time Lepidus was on his route to Spain at the head of four legions, and the force of Pollio in those parts was estimated at half that number. Plancus commanded three legions in the Further Gaul. These were the forces on which Antonius, it was deemed, might rely in his contest with the republicans. On the other hand, however, the position of Octavius was hardly less formidable. Alba, the stronghold nearest to the city, was held for him, as we have seen, by two veteran legions; he commanded two more at Arretium, and to these a fifth of new levies was about to be added. Though possessed of no ostensible command, no magistracy or office of public trust, still citizens of all classes flocked to his residence, and paid their court to him. He addressed the senate with a well-timed manifesto, and suddenly found himself applauded and caressed by the same men who had just before given their countenance to Antonius. Such was the vacillation, or such the perplexity of the Roman nobles. They

Antonius prepares to expel Decimus from his province.

The armaments of Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavius respectively.

would have preferred another leader to Octavius; but even him they were prepared blindly and eagerly to adopt as a counterpoise to Antonius. Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls elect, chiefs trained to the command of Cæsar's legions, might yet, they fondly hoped, wrest from both the one and the other the affections of Cæsar's veterans. Brutus and

Brutus and Cassius quit Italy, and resolve to seize the provinces originally assigned them.

Cassius had at last quitted Italy for the East.

There was little disguise about their present intentions. They were expected to betake themselves to the provinces bequeathed them by Cæsar, and maintain themselves by force of arms

against the proconsuls appointed by the actual government.

Dolabella proceeds towards Syria.

Dolabella, in haste to secure Syria, had abandoned his post in the city, and quickly followed in their track. Trebonius had already established himself

in the government of the lesser Asia, and it was upon his position

Trebonius is established in Asia.

there that the republican chiefs, who had neither money, nor troops, nor regular authority, to oppose to their antagonist, mainly relied for the

success of their future operations. Decimus sullenly awaited

Decimus prepares to maintain his position.

the impending attack, but of his various assailants he could not yet tell who would be the first to strike him.

Such was the complication of affairs during the months of October and November. Cicero, meanwhile, was working

Cicero's activity and spirit. He composes his second Philippic.

with feverish activity among the senators and the citizens, striving to build up a strong and consistent party against the pretensions of Antonius.

He exhorted and encouraged Decimus; he flattered and caressed Octavius; but in the West he depended

chiefly upon the loyalty of Hirtius and Pansa; at the same time his eyes were most anxiously directed to the opposite quarter, and fixed upon the movements of Brutus and Cassius. But it was against Antonius that he concentrated all his energies. He replied to the consul's late rejoinder with his second Philippic, an overwhelming torrent of invective, to which the history of popular eloquence perhaps affords no

parallel. The second of the Philippics deserves, on the whole, to be pronounced the greatest of the great orator's harangues; and it is undoubtedly that on which his renown for eloquence rests above all others.¹ The desponding patriot has at length roused himself to declare deadly war against his country's foe. Long had he hesitated, long had he schemed for his personal safety, amidst the ruin which he saw too clearly closing around the commonwealth. But all timid, all wavering, all selfish counsels he now discarded for ever. The attack he had just sustained had lashed him to frenzy. He beheld all his danger, and he resolved to meet it without shrinking. Rome should be saved, or he would perish with her. He had saved her once before, and no man, he believed, could save her now, except himself. Or, if he did not really cherish a hope of saving her, he would at least destroy her tyrant with her, and build his own fame upon the overthrow of a personal enemy. The death-struggle to which he had now pledged himself, the fanatic rage he breathed against the object of his hate, the vast interests at stake, the awful scene of murder which had just closed, and the train of proscription, massacre, and civil war, the anarchy crowned by tyranny which loomed in the distance, all combine to invest with solemn interest this divine effort of expiring liberty. *By what fate, it began, has it happened, that throughout the last twenty years no man has proved himself notorious as an enemy to the commonwealth, but he has also persecuted me?* Clodius and Catilina are the two arch-traitors mentioned: but where is the name of Cæsar himself? The dictator is denounced in every page as a tyrant and usurper,

¹ Compare the celebrated allusion in Juvenal, x. 125.:

"conspiciuæ divina Philippica famæ

Volveris a prima quæ proxima."

Fabricius (*Bibl. Lat.* i. 165.) supposes that it is to this speech that Pliny refers (*Ep.* i. 20.): "M. Tullium, cujus oratio optima fertur esse quæ maxima." The second Philippic is, I believe, the longest of the political orations extant. Nevertheless, Pliny's phrase is probably an allusion to what Cicero himself said of Demosthenes. Being asked, which of the Greek orator's speeches he deemed the best, "Oh," he replied, "the longest." Plutarch, *Cic.* 24.

as the bitterest foe to Rome, as justly slain, as a traitor in whose murder the speaker himself would have gladly borne a part; yet Cæsar had always befriended Cicero, he had treated him with a consideration which he could not extort from his friends in the Pompeian camp: Cicero dared not inscribe Cæsar's name on the list of his personal enemies; but its absence blunts the point of his most indignant sarcasm. The speech proceeds to brand the vices and crimes of Antonius, in the strain of one who has drawn the sword against his adversary and thrown away the scabbard. It may be doubted, however, whether either the personal or the political crimes it imputes to the ambitious intriguer were such as would degrade their perpetrator in the eyes of the Romans. The charges of cowardice are merely puerile. The abilities of Antonius had been judged by the greatest of their statesmen to be of the rarer kind. Cæsar had many excellent captains, but Antonius was the best of his civil administrators. No senator could have been misled by the contrast the orator draws between Dolabella, who served in all his master's campaigns in Egypt, Africa, and Spain, and Antonius, who resided with sheathed sword in the city or made his progresses through Italy with mimes and mistresses at his side. Far too much indeed of this famous invective consists of startling rhetorical points, which could have had no effect upon an audience acquainted with the facts, deeply interested in the truth, and apt to resent an attempt to seduce their judgments. The second of the Philippics, however, was never actually spoken.

The second
Philippic was
never delivered.

Cicero had withdrawn himself from Rome at the moment of his antagonist's return thither. It was composed in the orator's private chamber, and an acute critic may perhaps discover something in its tone to distinguish it from a speech delivered before the face of the assembly it was intended to convince. Had it been checked and guided by the eyes and voices of an audience, it might have been less cogent, less elaborate, less cumulative, less complete; but it would have gained in practical earnestness and even in immediate effect. In none of his spoken orations

does Cicero indulge in such open declarations of hostility to Cæsar: neither senate nor people would have tolerated the direct denunciation of a man of whom after all every class of citizens was justly proud. But in his closet the orator forgot what the shouts of an assembly of his countrymen would have compelled him to remember; and not even the fear of offending Octavius sufficed to check the flow of his genuine sentiments, when he had once taken the pen in his hand.

Cicero had not yet ventured to confront the new tyrant in an assembly which, however it might be moved by the orator's eloquence in his absence, continued in his presence to be the mere echo of his sentiments and registry of his decrees. The second Philippic was the work of a month of enforced leisure, during which its author seems to have been chiefly resident in Rome, but to have refrained from all public action. It was towards the end of October that he sent the completed oration to Atticus, asking his advice whether he should publish it, and desiring him to correct it himself, and submit it to the critical perusal of some common friends.¹ He is conscious that while Antonius still retains his power in the city, it would be madness to provoke him by the publication of such a manifesto; but the defection which had taken place among his legions, and the increasing strength of Octavius's position, encourage him to anticipate a time when it may be safely given to the world, and help to fan the flame of liberty, and restore the gallant liberators to their homes and honours. In the meantime he persisted, notwithstanding the warnings of Atticus and others, in lending all the weight of his influence to the cause of Octavius. Brutus and Cassius were alarmed at this policy. They justly surmised that Cæsar's heir would never surrender the inheritance of dignity and power to which Cicero was thus helping to advance him. Lamentably indeed did he fail in penetrating the young dis-

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* xv. 13.: "Orationem tibi misi: ejus custodiendæ et proferendæ arbitrium tuum. Sed quando illum diem quum tu edendam putes!"

Cicero's mistaken estimate of Octavius.

sembler's character. His easy vanity had been repeatedly misled by the attention paid him by the young. It was an amiable weakness which had already cost him dear, especially in the instance of the younger Curio; and now when Octavius affected to seek his advice, and addressed him as *his father*, the warm heart of the aged statesman yearned at once towards one so graceful in his person, so winning in his demeanour, so apparently helpless and inexperienced. Cicero remembered, too, that Octavius had been born in the year of his own famous consulship, and even on the morning of his deliverance of Rome from Catilina, and his enthusiasm on his behalf was not untinted perhaps with a shade of superstition.¹ At the same time he was encouraged by the rumoured successes of Bassus, who still headed a Pompeian force in Syria; he relied upon the military talents of Decimus in the Cisalpine; he hoped to attach to their common cause both Plancus in the Further Gaul, and Cornificius in Africa; and he looked to the succession of the new consuls in the ensuing January for the restoration of legitimate government.

Effect produced by the second Philippic on the senate, the veterans, and the citizens generally.

During the month of November Cicero wandered from one of his villas to another, occupied in correspondence with the republican leaders, and watching the movements of the rival candidates for the favour of the veterans and the legions. Yet even then he devoted every moment of leisure to the engrossing interests of philosophy. In this feverish interval he composed for the instruction of his son his graceful treatise on Moral Duties. But as soon as Antonius withdrew to the protection of his soldiers assembled for the conquest of the Cisalpine, the orator returned to the centre of affairs,

¹ Plutarch, *Cic.* 44. The *Epistola ad Octavianum* of the pseudo-Cicero seems to be a forgery compiled from genuine materials. It purports to be an invective of the disappointed orator after Octavius had falsified his hopes. "Ego, patres conscripti, ad parricidium induxi; ego rempublicam fefelli; ego ipse senatum sibi manus inferre coegi, quum te Junonium puerum, et matris tuæ partum aureum esse dixi."

and strained every nerve to stimulate both the senate and people to arm in defence of Decimus, and proclaim the invader of his province a public enemy. The moment had arrived for the publication of the second Philippic. The satire came forth from the orator's desk fortified with the warm approbation of Atticus, and polished to the keenest edge by repeated touches of the great master himself. Its appearance was happily timed. The hateful object of the attack had just turned his back; he was constrained to retire from the city by the growing insecurity of his position, and the treachery rife among his own friends. At the moment when his popularity was trembling in the balance, the patriot thundered against it and shook it to the ground. The effect of the pamphlet was electrical. It scared the people from their deferential awe of the claimant of Cæsar's succession. It nerved the senate to defy him with a boldness it had never before exerted. It proved to the veterans under Octavius's banner that he had treated their young favourite with intolerable contumely. They grasped their swords more firmly, and demanded to be led against him in the name of the senate. The consuls elect, just about to seat themselves in their ivory chairs, were fixed at once in the interest of the senate by the general acclamations which hailed this proclamation of its wrongs. Cicero himself, not unjustly elated with the applause which echoed around him, easily believed that he was now the mediator between parties, and the real though unostensible leader of the republic. For a moment indeed he really swayed the commonwealth, not by the splendour of office or the terror of the imperium, but by the influence of his character and the charm of his genius. It was the noblest, as it was the purest triumph that any Roman citizen had attained since the days of an Africanus or a Camillus. It was the just reward of so many years of self-devotion, and all our painful sense of the weaknesses by which that career had been disfigured gives way, at least for a moment, to the heart-felt pleasure of contemplating it. It would indeed have been distressing had Cicero been permitted to close his day of toil

and perplexity without such a gleam of brilliant sunshine to gild its evening. But the sun was rapidly declining towards the horizon, and clouds and darkness were gathering to receive it. Octavius watched it with serene anticipation, assured that its next rising would illuminate his own fortunes, and its beams settle on his own head.

The third and fourth Philippics followed upon the publication of the second in rapid succession. In the absence of both

The third and fourth Philippics. Enthusiasm of the people.

the consuls from the city the tribunes had convoked the senate for the twentieth of December. Some matters of form were to be expedited, and possibly some extraordinary precautions devised for the secure transmission of the supreme magistracy to the consuls elect on the first of the ensuing month. Cicero burst upon the assembly with a freedom and boldness of speech to which its ears had been long strangers. This, he said, was the first day of liberty: on this day, he afterwards boasted, he had laid the foundation of his country's freedom. Presumptuous indeed was such a boast at such a moment. But all that he required for its accomplishment was that the senate should decree its thanks to Octavius, to the veterans, to the legions which had deserted from Antonius, to Decimus, who had pledged himself to maintain the Cisalpine in the name of the senate and people, and to the other faithful governors of provinces. He gloried in this sturdy assumption of authority on the part of the Roman Fathers: it sounded in his ears like an echo from the days of old. He persuaded himself that it would breathe new life into the commonwealth; that it would strengthen the hands of its military defenders, and strike awe into every aspirant to illegitimate power in whatever quarter. When these decrees had been passed, the orator descended from the curia into the forum, and repeated to the people the oration he had just delivered. The citizens, released from the immediate fear of the consul's myrmidons, gave way to their bitter recollection of his severity in repressing their movements, both under the rule of the dictator and since his death. They were prepared to listen to

the praises of the young Octavius, and cared little for the assumption of dignified condescension with which the orator and the senate sought to cloak their need of him. They flattered the speaker by shouting at the end of his address that he had twice saved the state.¹ Cicero indeed had brought both elements of the government into harmony. He watched over them and bade them co-operate for the war which now seemed inevitable. Hirtius was confined to his house by sickness, and Pansa was never inclined to active exertion;² but the zeal and unwearied energy of the brave old consular supplied every deficiency, and arms and troops were rapidly collected under his auspices for the defence of the government. The adversary indeed was not unworthy of the effort. Antonius had learnt the art of war under its ablest teacher, and few teachers had ever had a more able pupil. Dissolute as he was in conduct whenever he could securely indulge his sensual appetites, he had not yet surrendered his judgment or his resolution to the seductions of love and pleasure; and when he burst away from Rome and threw himself into the camp in the depth of winter, he called his soldiers at once to arms, and challenged Decimus to confront him in the open field. When the proconsul shrank from the shock of battle, and shut himself up in Mutina, the strongest fortress in his province, Antonius instantly drew his lines round it, and sate himself down to reduce it by siege.³

Antonius beleaguers Decimus in Mutina.

Octavius stepped forward. He made a pretence of consulting Cicero, and then offered to lead his forces to the proconsul's rescue. The senate was alarmed indeed at his danger, but it hesitated to accept the proffered aid. The new consuls expressed with firmness their resolution to maintain the inviolability of the republic; but they still seemed to entertain

Octavius offers to defend Decimus. Hesitation of the senate. Negotiations commenced.

¹ Cic. *Philipp.* vi. 1

² Cic. *ad Att.* xvi. 1. : "In Pansa spes? *ἀλγος πολὺς* in vino et in somno torum." Comp. *ad Div.* xvi. 27.

³ Appian *B. C.* iii. 49.

hopes from mediation, and shrank from the bold and irregular step which Cicero advocated. The new Demosthenes would have had the aggressor denounced as a public enemy: but this was not to be lightly ventured. The province had actually been assigned to him; he had been invited to expel all intruders; he was not without friends in the senate to urge this consideration, and nothing but sheer violence could overrule it. Calenus spoke forcibly for his old comrade in arms, and even Piso recommended moderation. Negotiation was proposed, and many who had least hopes from negotiation, still regarded the interference of Octavius with such jealousy that they were willing to fly to any alternative in preference.¹

But to any middle course Cicero opposed himself with all the vehemence of his excitable disposition, easily elated with success, and confident in his power to represent in glowing colours the justice of the course he advocated. *Would Antonius have peace?* for so his friends at least had represented: *let him lay down his arms, let him solicit us, let him deprecate war: he shall find no more just arbiter of his claims than myself, though to gain the favour of the evil-disposed he has chosen to make me his enemy rather than his friend.* Such had been the futile reasoning of the foes of Cæsar. He too had been exhorted to dismiss his forces, and trust to the justice of the senate for the redress of his grievances. But what reasonable man had ever expected Cæsar to give ear to such a summons? The declamations of the Marcelli and Clodii had only served to drown the arguments of more intelligent counsellors, and precipitate a crisis which was perhaps in any case ultimately inevitable. But to lean to moderation now would be to condemn the votes of the last meeting. Cicero could remind the senate how it had thanked the gallant men who had undertaken to anticipate its commands for the coercion of Antonius. And his character, he contended, was one with which it was

Cicero opposes
this proceeding
in his fifth
Philippic, Dec.
20.

¹ Compare the speeches of Calenus in Dion, xlvi. 1-28., and of Piso in Appian, iii. 54. foll.

vain to treat: his known ferocity, his insatiable cupidity, his avowed determination to give up the city to the plunder of his soldiers, could admit of no parley: negotiation would be interpreted by all Italy as a sign of fear and indecision; no one would inquire what were the terms proposed; the mere avowal that terms had been offered would spread consternation through the land. *Let him retire forsooth from Mutina! let him desist from assailing Decimus! let him by all means withdraw from the province! Surely we are not to entreat him with words; we must compel him by arms.* Having exhausted his invention in representing this necessity by argument and illustration, the orator finally insisted that no embassy should be sent, that there should be not an instant's delay, but the consuls should proclaim a state of tumult, and receive extensive and summary powers for the defence of the republic. All civil affairs should be suspended, every citizen assume the military garb, levies be raised, and no excuse of previous service be admitted, throughout Rome and Italy.

But the most remarkable passage in this earnest appeal was that in which the orator lamented that the elder Cæsar had not preferred at the commencement of his career the approval of the best citizens to his own personal aggrandizement. He had wasted on the frivolous and unworthy multitude the influence which might have ennobled his name for ever. But it was not so, he affirmed, with his son Octavius. The experienced statesman pledged his own knowledge of the young Cæsar's inmost thoughts; nothing was so dear to him as the laws; nothing so venerable as the dignity of the senate; nothing more desired than the applause of the optimates; nothing so attractive as the meed of genuine glory.¹

But all the eloquence, all the logical acuteness, the authority and influence of their veteran adviser, could not bend the more cautious or more interested among his audience to adopt these decisive measures. The honours he proposed for the defenders of the

His glowing
panegyric on
Octavius.

Nevertheless
the senate de-
termines to
treat.

¹ Cic. *Philipp.* v. 18.

commonwealth were ratified without hesitation: he solicited permission for Octavius to sue for civil magistracies before the legal age, and the dispensation was freely accorded.¹ But after much discussion and intrigue the proposal of Calenus for treating with Antonius was at last affirmed.² Three of the gravest of the senators, Piso, Sulpicius, and Philippus, were charged with this commission. They were instructed to state peremptorily the demand of the senate that the consular should desist from his attack on Mutina; and from his camp they were enjoined to repair direct to the quarters of Decimus, and thank him for his spirited and loyal behaviour. Cicero thus baffled by the partisans of his enemy in the senate strove to draw closer the bands which now united him with the people, and hastening to the forum recounted to an excited throng the result of the debate, which had lasted three consecutive days. He exhorted them to remain firm, to hope the best, and to trust to his vigilance for their protection. From their zeal and the vast numbers in which they had crowded to hear him, he augured well of the event. *Many and*

Cicero harangues the people in his sixth Philippic, circa Dec. 28.

*mighty crowds have I addressed, he said, as consul, but none such as I now see before me. And all of you think alike, hope alike, and will act alike. Never will the Romans be slaves, whom the gods have destined to be lords of all mankind. Other nations may endure servitude, but freedom is the right of the Roman people.*³ It was easier to rouse an excitable populace than to control the conflicting interests and sordid calculations of an assembly of statesmen. Cicero was intoxicated with the delight of swaying to and fro the passions of the vast multitude before him. He used the people to act upon the senate,

¹ Appian, *B. C.* iii. 51.

² Dion, xlv. 29., asserts that Cicero lost his advantage by allowing himself to stray into scurrilous abuse of Calenus: αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορεῖ τῇ παρρησίᾳ αἰεὶ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἐχρήτο . . . καὶ τότε οὖν ἀφελὲς τὸ τὰ δημόσια διασκοπεῖν ἐς λαιδορίας αὐτῷ κατέστη. Dion's bitterness against Cicero is nowhere more strongly marked than in this part of his history; nevertheless such testimony against him must not be overlooked.

³ Cic. *Philipp.* vi. in fin.

and keep it firm in its purpose. He now whispered to his correspondents, with a smile of satisfaction, that he, through life the staunchest bulwark of the aristocracy, had become in his latter days a mob-orator. But he easily suffered himself to be deceived as to the effect of his own restless enthusiasm : or rather perhaps he strove, by desperate asseveration, to blind himself and deceive others, when he declared to Plan-
cus, to Decimus, and to Cassius, that the feeling of the citi-
zens against Antonius was unanimous, and the whole people
prepared to rush to arms at the consul's summons : so great
is the longing of the Romans, he said, for freedom, so bitter
their hatred of the long servitude they have endured.¹

The new consuls entered upon their office at the com-
mencement of the year, and Hirtius followed the envoys in a
few days to the frontier. Though war had not
been declared against Antonius, he carried some
troops with him, to give more weight to the
message of peace on which they were bound.
Octavius with becoming loyalty surrendered to
the consul of the republic the command of the
legions which he had attached to himself. The departure of
Hirtius inspired Cicero with new hopes ; the zeal he mani-
fested in thus arming, while still languid from recent sick-
ness, was held up to the admiration of the more indolent col-
league he had left behind. But the life-blood of the govern-
ment centred in Cicero's own breast. It was he that encour-
aged the senate, he that inflamed the people, he that awed
the discontented, he that communicated with the officers of
the commonwealth in every distant province, and imparted
whatever sympathy of views and sentiments existed among
them. The records he has left us of his daily life are the
history of the times. As letter succeeds to letter, and the
long series of the Philippics unfolds itself before us, we are
more and more impressed with the energy and versatility of
the powers displayed by their author. We feel that he
stands alone in the centre of public action, and we see all the

The new con-
sul Hirtius
marches to the
Cisalpine (circa
Jan. 1. 711),
and Octavius
places himself
under his com-
mand.

¹ Cic. *ad Div.* x. 3., xi. 8., xii. 1.

policy of the state revolving around him. This short and brilliant interval forms the most glorious epoch of the venerable statesman's career. His studies are now at last put aside; but in his private correspondence we still trace the playful wit, the cheerful hopefulness which never abandoned him, in whatever straits and perils, as long as he could feel satisfied with himself, and knew that he was providing for the applause of posterity. A letter to Pætus, written in the month of February, is a delightful specimen of the pleasant raillery in which Cicero could indulge even at such a moment;¹ but it concludes with a solemn adjuration that he should not be misinterpreted, or supposed, because he thus unbends in the midst of his solicitude for the state, to have surrendered one moment which could have been seriously employed, or one thought which could have been applied with advantage to graver matters.

But events meanwhile were hurrying on with a rapid pace. Towards the close of January the envoys returned. They had lost Sulpicius by illness before they reached Antonius's camp. That eminent statesman and jurist was the steadiest friend of liberty among them. He loved the laws, the wisdom and equity of which he had been bred to expound. He sank perhaps under the consciousness that his task was hopeless, and that neither zeal, honesty, nor genius, could avail to wrest the drawn sword from the rebel's hand. The answer brought by the envoys to the senate fully confirmed Cicero's worst anticipations; but the pusillanimity of Piso and Philippus in submitting to become the bearers of so insolent a message filled the patriot's breast with indignation and alarm.² *It was mere treason. They were sent to convey the commands of the senate; the rebel has obeyed in no single point, and now they have come back with his demands in return.* Antonius, it seems, required the senate to ratify his grants of land and

The envoys return, *circa* Jan. 31, with demands from Antonius.

¹ Cic. *ad Div.* ix. 24.

² Cic. *ad Div.* xii. 4. to Cassius: "Nihil fœdus Philippo et Pisone legatis, nihil flagitiosius."

money to the soldiers ; to waive all right to examine into his expenditure of the public treasure ; to assign to him for five years the government of the Further Gaul, which he was prepared to accept in exchange for the Cisalpine ; finally, to confirm whatever he might produce from Cæsar's pretended papers. Antonius was playing the same game as his master before him, but with less specious excuse : he was advancing claims which he knew could not be granted ; but it was not, like Cæsar, for self-preservation, but merely to gain a few days, by which time he hoped that Mutina would fall into his hands. He forbade the envoys to communicate with Decimus ; and when he dismissed them from his own quarters he prevailed upon them to carry to Rome his quæstor Cotta, and introduce him to the senate to expound and justify his demands.¹ Cicero was shocked at this miserable

compliance : he groaned over the death of Sulpicius and the sickness of Lucius Cæsar. *We are deserted*, he exclaimed, *we are deserted*, O

Cicero expresses his indignation in his eighth Philippic.

Fathers, by the chiefs of the commonwealth ; the consulars have abandoned us to our fate, the very envoys whose return should have revived our confidence, have only thrown us into deeper perplexity and despair. And then he reminded his hearers of the spirit of the ancient ambassador Popilius, who, when he had delivered the senate's orders to king Antiochus, and the foreigner made excuses for delay, drew a line round him with a stick, and forbade him to step beyond it till he proffered his humble submission.

Nevertheless the orator would not confess himself dismayed, but still persisted in exhorting his hearers to expect decisive success from a bolder policy. He insisted

more urgently than ever that the offender should be declared an enemy of the state. Calenus and

The senate declares a state of tumult.

his supporters contended warmly against this demand, and even Lucius Cæsar shrank from pressing the matter to such an extremity against his own nephew. It was indeed impossible, after the rejoinder of Antonius, to avoid an armed

¹ Cic. *Philipp.* viii. 8.

contest; but his hostile attitude might be designated more mildly as a tumult than a war, the recusant himself might be styled more indulgently the adversary of Decimus than his enemy.¹ But meanwhile the swords of the combatants had

Commence-
ment of hostil-
ities between
Hirtius and
Antonius.

already met. Hirtius had acted with promptness and vigour. The consul Pansa read to the senate his colleague's despatch: *he had stormed a post, he had seized Claterna, he had driven in some horsemen, he had joined battle, and blood had been shed on both sides.* The advantage seemed to be on the side of the government. Antonius occupied Bononia with the greater part of his force, and only a small division was left to watch Decimus in Mutina: Octavius was posted at Forum Cornelii, the modern Imola: except Bononia, Rhegium, and Parma, the whole province was in the power of the republican forces, and assurances were received that the Transpadanes, of whose loyalty some doubt had been entertained, were extremely well disposed to the cause of the senate.² The hopes of the republicans were raised, and Cicero seized the moment to propose a statue to Sulpicius, the patriot who had died in the service of his country. The ninth Philippic is a graceful panegyric on the illustrious jurist, and the monument which it urged the Roman people to erect to him remained standing before the rostra through many generations. At the end of three centuries of the peaceful triumphs of law the name and honours of Servius Sulpicius were still associated with this brazen effigy, and possibly it was not forgotten that the eloquence of Marcus Tullius had helped to raise it.³

While the government at Rome was thus slowly rousing itself to the struggle for freedom, the faction of the liberators

¹ Appian, *B. C.* iii. 63. Cicero (*Philipp.* viii. 2.) maintained on the contrary that the term *tumultus* was stronger than *bellum*. The one properly implied a sudden unforeseen attack, the other a declared state of war.

² Cic. *ad Div.* xii. 5.

³ Pomponius, in the *Digest*, i. tit. ii. § 43. "Servius quum in causis orandis primum locum aut pro certo post Marcum Tullium obtineret . . . hic quum in legatione periisset statum ei pop. Rom. pro rostris posuit et hodie que extat pro rostris Augusti." Cic. *Philipp.* ix. 7.

was receiving some addition of strength in the Eastern provinces. Cassius had reached Syria, and was arming himself with the diligence of a good soldier against the expected attack of Dolabella: he had attracted to his standard one legion which had maintained the cause of the republic under Cæcilius Bassus throughout the period of Cæsar's ascendency:¹ L. Murcus and Q. Crispus, who held commands on the Eastern frontier, had placed themselves under his orders, and four legions, which Dolabella had summoned from Egypt, had been constrained to surrender to him. Deiotarus, the Galatian chief, offered him the swords of a numerous native army trained in the Roman manner. Cassius found himself early in the year at the head of an imposing force, and his favourable statement of affairs in the East reached Cicero just at the moment when he could employ it with effect to reinforce his own arguments for vigorous and decisive action. At the same time Brutus had been acknowledged by Hortensius in Macedonia as his legitimate successor, and had driven C. Antonius, the rival claimant, into Apollonia, where he kept him closely shut up.² He commanded the quæstors to pour into his military chest the tolls and tributes they were collecting for the expenses of the province.³ With Macedonia both Illyricum and Achaia were determined to the side of the republic.⁴ The same cause might count also with some confidence on the support of Plancus in Gaul and Pollio in Spain: for both these officers, though recently attached to Cæsar, had no personal connexion with Antonius, and were known to be waiters upon the winning side.⁵ Pollio openly avowed that he longed for rest and yearned after the graceful studies to which he was addicted. He was disposed to throw the weight of his sword into the scale that now seemed the heaviest, for the sake of obtaining,

Cassius obtains
some advantages
in Syria.

¹ Cassius to Cicero, March 7, (*ad Div.* xii. 11.); Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xiv. 11.; Appian, *B. C.* iii. 11.; Dion, xlvii. 27, 28.; Cicero, *Philipp.* xi. 12.

² Cic. *Philipp.* xi. 11.

³ Vell. ii. 62.

⁴ Cic. *Philipp.* x. 6.

⁵ Comp. Asinius Pollio to Cicero (in the middle of March), *ad Div.* x. 31., and Plancus to the consuls (about the same date), *ad Div.* x. 8.

irrespective of men or principles, peace at any price and from any hands.

But the cause of freedom sustained a grave reverse in the loss of a good officer and zealous partisan, Trebonius. Dolabella, as we have seen, had left Rome in the autumn, anticipating by three months the termination of his consulate, in his haste to possess himself of his province, or rather to amass plunder in the cities on his route. For after quitting Italy, he made, it appears, no expedition to reach his destination, although the attitude Cassius had assumed there must have soon been made known to him. It was not till the commencement of the following year that he crossed over into Asia. He had encountered no open resistance in Macedonia, nor did Trebonius, who commanded in Asia, venture to defy him with arms. But his progress was harassed and impeded, supplies were refused him, and the cities on his route closed their gates against him. Dolabella resented this affront. He took measures to throw the proprætor off his guard, scaled the walls of Smyrna in the night, and caused him to be seized in his bed. When Trebonius begged to be conducted into the consul's presence, he received the taunting reply, that he might go where he pleased, but he must leave his head behind him. Dolabella required the death of Cæsar's murderer. Trebonius, it was remarked, was the first of the parricides who suffered the penalty of his crime, and that within less than a year from the date of its perpetration. With the dawn of day the gory trophy was seen suspended from the consul's tribunal; the legionaries and camp-followers vied with each other in heaping insults on the mutilated trunk, and the head itself was torn down and kicked like a ball through the streets, till no vestige of the human countenance was visible upon it. This bloody tragedy was enacted towards the end of February, at the very time when Cassius was vaunting the prosperous issue of his affairs in Syria. Cicero in his eleventh Philippic amazed and shocked the senate by its recital. He coloured and perhaps aggravated the details, to excite his hearers' in

Trebonius is
seized and mur-
dered by Dola-
bella.

dignation. The tortures to which, according to his passionate account, the captain was subjected through two entire days before his head was struck from his body are inconsistent with the statement of a later historian: but the slaughter of a Roman citizen, an officer of the highest distinction, by a magistrate of the republic, the perpetration of the worst excesses of civil war in the midst of peace, sufficed to alarm and enrage the fathers without any fictitious exaggeration.¹

Thus did Cicero's long-suppressed bitterness against his son-in-law break out. The imprecations he uttered against him stunned the senate and bowed it to his will. Dolabella was at once proclaimed an enemy of the state, and all the servants of the commonwealth in the province were charged to chastise and destroy him.² But he had been formally appointed to the government of Syria, while the attitude there assumed by Cassius was directly opposed to the mandate of the republic. Even Cicero was constrained to admit that Cassius was serving the interests of the Roman people in defiance of their own decree. When Dolabella was solemnly deposed from his office, the question arose who should succeed to it? Of the secret opponents of Cassius some wished to send out P. Servilius, the same who had been Cæsar's colleague in his second consulship; others, among whom was Calenus, that the actual consuls should assume the vacant governments of Asia and Syria. Cicero perceived that Calenus sought to divert the attention of the consuls from duties nearer and more urgent: he opposed himself to both propositions, and counteracted them by a bold step, so bold that even Servilia and Cassius's own relations would have dissuaded him from it.³ The senate he feared might prove intractable; he addressed himself to the people. To them he expatiated on the services of Cassius, who by his promptness

Dolabella proclaimed an enemy of the state.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* iii. 26.; Cic. *Philipp.* xi. 2. foll.

² Appian, *B. C.* iii. 61.

³ Cic. *ad Div.* xii. 7., to Cassius, at the end of March: "Id velim mihi ignoscas quod invita socru tua fecerim. Mulier timida verebatur ne Pansa animus offenderetur."

had wrested Syria from the grasp of the hateful Dolabella; he hinted that he would not wait for the confirmation by the senate of the charge with which he had, so fortunately for the state, already invested himself; he lauded his determination to act for the public good, and for that alone. Thus he prepared the citizens for the event which he knew was impending. Cassius had resolved to hold his own, and maintain himself in the government he had so boldly seized.¹ He assumed the name and functions of proconsul, and neither waited for the decree of the senate, which assigned the province to the consul,² nor heeded it when it was made known to him.

Andacity was indeed required to save the republic, if saved it yet could be, in spite of itself. While the senate faltered and allowed the Antonians to hold its bolts suspended, Cicero was fearful of losing his hold upon Lepidus. He had obtained honourable distinctions for the proconsul of Spain, in the hope of securing his services for the good cause: but Lepidus had not deigned to express gratitude in return; on the contrary he continued to urge the senate to treat with Antonius, and plied both Plancus and Pollio with insidious representations, tending to cool still more their lukewarm loyalty. It was a moment of deep anxiety to the patriot orator: all his plans and hopes seemed on the point of being frustrated; the fate of Trebonius excited and unnerved him, and with the fear of death and torments before him he demanded for himself and for his country the extermination of the armed oppressors. At such a moment the consul Pansa, moved by the friends, the wife, and the mother of Antonius, sought to avert the horrors of civil war by a second attempt at negotiation. Antonius, he was once more assured, would listen to reasonable

The consul
Pansa joins
his colleague
in the Cisal-
pine.

¹ The eleventh Philippic urged these arguments on the senate, but they were defeated in that assembly by Pansa. (Cic. *ad Div.* xii. 7.) He proceeds to say: "Quod autem in senatu pluribus verbis disserui, et dixi in concione . . . promisi enim et prope confirmavi te non exspectasse nec expectaturum decreta nostra, sed te ipsum tuo more rempublicam defensurum."

² This appears from a letter of Lentulus (Cic. *ad Div.* xii. 14.), but the arrangement, as will appear, never took effect.

terms. The senate, ever ready to shift responsibility from itself, acceded to the consul's suggestion. Four consulars were named to compose the deputation. Cicero himself was included in the list. He wavered and for an instant acceded; in the next, he saw his error, and launched against the base concession the thunders of his twelfth Philippic. With redoubled energy he urged the indignity of discussing the terms of obedience with an avowed traitor. The cruelty of Dolabella had been learnt from his master Antonius. It was only a foretaste of the tyranny to which the noble and good would be subjected, when Antonius, with every scheme successful and every passion inflamed, should enter the city at the head of his unresisted legions. He shrank with disgust from the service the senate would have imposed upon him. Once in the power of his enemy, no laws, human or divine, he was assured, would protect him from his bitterest vengeance. Cicero himself, in the single campaign he had served in early life, had witnessed the interview between Pompeius Strabo the consul, and Scato the general of the Marsians. He remembered the courtesy and mutual respect with which in those days avowed antagonists could meet in parley. Scato being asked in what relation he deemed himself to stand to the Roman general, had replied, with dignified urbanity, *I am his friend by inclination, his foe by circumstances*. But those were honourable men, and honourable times: warfare had then its principles and its laws: in those days noble citizens were not torn from their beds, insulted, tortured, and slain by men bearing the commission of the republic. *Besides*, he continued, *of what service could my treating with the monster be? I have only one word to utter, one reply to make, one condition to require,—and he knows it,—Obey the senate*. The assembly seems to have been at last convinced that further parley could only weaken its moral force; and the consul's feeble proposition fell unsupported to the ground. Pansa's levies were now completed, and at the end of March he went forth with four legions to join his colleague and Octavius, and bring the affair, which had been suffered so long

to linger, to the final decision of the sword. But both the consuls had quitted Rome without celebrating the Latin feriæ, and it was remarked afterwards, if not at the time, that this omission had never yet occurred without fatal consequences.¹

At first the unfitness of the season for field operations may have retarded the crisis which was impending under the walls of Mutina. Antonius, as the winter advanced, had drawn out the greater part of his troops from Bononia, leaving there only a small garrison, while he strengthened with additional battalions the legions which occupied his lines in front of Decimus. He might hope, by thus pressing the blockade, to reduce the enemy by famine; for Mutina was too strong to be taken by assault, and the obstacles he had thrown in the way of the senate's declaration of war against him gave him time and opportunity. Octavius watched his operations, but hesitated to attack him. Antonius asserted loudly that he was assailing Decimus as one of Cæsar's murderers, and this plea was not perhaps without its influence even upon his rival's soldiers. Octavius might be deterred from rushing to the defence of one whose crime rendered him so deeply obnoxious to the Cæsarean veterans. He was mortified, moreover, at the vacillation of the senate. He required a formal authorization to assail Antonius as a public enemy, and the senate sought to quiet and cajole him by sounding titles and empty distinctions. While a reconciliation between the senate and his adversary was still possible, his merit was still dubious and his position insecure.² The nobles, he perceived, would gladly have kept both himself and Antonius in check by playing off one against the other, and he already contemplated, no doubt, the turn in the wheel of fortune which should throw them into each other's arms for mutual defence. Nor even when Hirtius arrived were the combined armies at once brought into the field. The paralysis at the heart of the government extended to the hand which it vainly held out to strike. The

The consuls
unite with
Octavius to
relieve Decimus
in Mutina.

¹ Dion, xlv. 33. Comp. Liv. xxi. 63

² Appian, *B. C.* iii. 64.; Dion, xlv. 35.

first active movement on the part of the republican forces was made at the instigation of Octavius. He persuaded Hirtius to seize Bononia, in which enterprise he met with no resistance. The combined leaders then drew near to Mutina, and apprised Decimus of their arrival to relieve him. At first they sought to communicate the intelligence by means of torches affixed to the summits of trees; but as these signals were not understood, a brief message scratched on a leaden tablet was conveyed across the river by a diver. This mode of communication was thenceforth adopted by both parties, within and without the walls.¹

Antonius meanwhile, emboldened by the senate's long indulgence, and confident in the intrigues of his adherents in the city, had replied to Cicero's invectives with an angry and insolent letter. He resented the decree by which Dolabella had been proclaimed an enemy, for pursuing a parricide to the death. He justified and exulted in the slaughter of Trebonius; he vaunted the righteous judgment which had overtaken the assassin within a year from the day of his crime, and appealed to it as a manifest proof of divine providence. He upbraided the senate with conniving at the usurpations of Brutus and Cassius; Decimus he branded as a vulgar cut-throat; Octavius he rudely apostrophized as *a boy*. Alluding to the disaster upon which his opponent was ever most sensitive, he taunted the senate with choosing for its general *the vanquished Cicero*. He sneered at it as a mere Pompeian club, sworn to undo all that the great Cæsar had done, to degrade his name, and honour his assassins. What, he asked with bitter irony, what would become of Cæsar if he could come to life again? ² To all these charges and insults Cicero replied in his thirteenth Philippic, retorting upon them, one by one, with a flashing torrent of indignant sarcasm, and answering scorn with scorn, rebuke with rebuke, and defiance with

Antonius replies to Cicero's invectives, and Cicero rejoins in his thirteenth Philippic.

¹ Pliny informs us (*Hist. Nat.* x. 53.), that Decimus made use of carrier pigeons to convey intelligence.

² Cic. *Philipp.* xiii. 17.: "Quid faciat si reviviscat?"

defiance. Though the formal denunciation was still withheld, it was now manifest that each party was resolved to provoke the other to extremity, and if Antonius was not even yet declared an enemy of the state, the thirteenth Philippic proclaimed aloud that the government had taken up its position, and planted itself firmly on ground from which it would never recede.

During the absence of both the consuls from the city, Cicero had become the real head of the republic. He caused the tribunes to convoke the people, whose enthusiasm he nursed by almost daily harangues; he prevailed upon the armourers to furnish weapons gratuitously, he raised contributions for the public service, and laid his hands heavily upon the property of the Antonians.¹ His diligence, his vigilance, and feverish activity bore down all resistance and extorted submission to every demand. The arrival however from Mutina of a false report of the consuls' defeat elated the depressed faction with fresh hopes, and they conspired to seize the Capitol, to murder Cicero, and make a general massacre of the patriot senators. It was intended, apparently, to put some one forward to propose that the dictatorship should be conferred upon the great orator. The Antonians were prepared to take advantage of the odium such a proposition must excite against him, to raise a tumult, and direct it to their bloody purpose. The intrigue was detected and frustrated. Appulcius, a tribune of the people, came forward to vindicate the veteran statesman from

¹ Plutarch (*Æmil. Paul.* 38.) asserts that the property-tax remitted to the citizens of Rome after the conquest of Macedonia (A. U. 587) was re-imposed in the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa. He refers doubtless to the extraordinary contributions exacted at this time under Cicero's administration. In the disturbed years which followed we shall find similar exactions made by other rulers. (Comp. Dion, xlvii. 14. 16., xlviii. 34.; Appian, *B. C.* iv. 5. 32., v. 67.) But there is no reason to conclude with many writers on Roman antiquities and finance that the tributum of the ancient constitution was permanently re-established at this period. Later writers continued to speak of it as obsolete. See Val. Max. iv. 3. 8.; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 17.: "A quo tempore pop. Rom. tributum pendere desiit." Comp. Savigny, *Röm. Steuerungsverfassung*: erst. Nachtrag: ed. 1842.

the charge busily circulated against him of affecting supreme power; and within three hours from the conclusion of his speech, to which the citizens had given a most favourable hearing, rumours arrived, exaggerated indeed and premature, of a complete and glorious victory over the common enemy.¹

On the approach of Hirtius and Octavius, Antonius had broken up from his lines before Mutina, leaving his brother Lucius to watch the town, while with his cavalry, in which arm he was well provided, he operated upon the front and flanks of the advancing forces. Three months passed without a blow being struck.

Engagement
at Forum Gal-
lorum, April
15. Pansa is
mortally
wounded.

At length Antonius was informed through his friends in Rome that Pansa was bringing up reinforcements; but he was not strong enough to occupy the passes of the Apennines, and the consul met with no opposition till he had nearly reached Forum Gallorum, on the road from Bononia, about eight miles from the beleaguered city. Antonius was aware that his new opponent led four newly raised legions, and he knew the vast superiority of his own veterans over such raw levies. With only two legions therefore, the second and thirty-fifth, he had pushed forward to intercept their progress. He kept his legions in reserve, behind the banks and water-courses with which the flat and marshy country was intersected, while he detached some picked cohorts and a few veterans from the colonies to draw the inexperienced foe into his ambushade. But the night preceding, Hirtius, divining the enemy's intention, had despatched one veteran legion, the Martian, together with two cohorts of guards, to his colleague's assistance. The Martians were one of the corps which, incensed at the treatment of the mutineers at Brundisium, had deserted from Antonius at Alba. They were full of vengeful feelings against their late commander, and moreover they had no hope of quarter. Accordingly, no sooner did they perceive the Antonian squadrons before them, than they rushed forward, overcoming the control of their officers, and hurrying

¹ Cic. *Philipp.* xiv. 6. This is Cicero's own account, and is liable certain-ly to the suspicion of invention, or at least of morbid imagination.

them along in their furious career.¹ Pansa, though taken by surprise, ordered two of his legions to follow in support, and while the Martians thronged the causeway which led to Mutina, these auxiliaries strove gallantly to keep up with their advance, along the rough fields on either side. Antonius rapidly brought up his forces, and fearful was the shock of the collision. The causeway, elevated some feet above the plain, concealed the combatants on either side from those on the other: but the veterans who met in furious conflict upon it were conspicuous to all, and great was the admiration of the new recruits at the steadiness with which they kept their ranks throughout the day, and the grim silence in which they laid themselves to their work. Step by step the Antonians overbore the stout resistance of the Martian legionaries. Pansa, transfixed with the thrust of a spear, was carried off the field mortally wounded. But the rout of his forces was averted by the timely diversion of Hirtius on the rear of the Antonians; a second combat of hardly less obstinacy than the first succeeded; the fresh troops maintained their advantage over the weary victors of a struggle which had already lasted many hours, and Antonius was compelled to draw off his legions before the close of the day. According to one account he passed the night in the same quarters he had occupied in the morning; but the narrative of a combatant in Pansa's army, which states that he retired to his camp before Mutina, seems the more worthy of credit.²

¹ The battle of Forum Gallorum took place on the 15th of April, as appears from the letter of Galba to Cicero (*ad Div.* x. 30.), which begins, "A. d. xvii. Kal. Mai. quo die Pansa in castris Hirtii erat futurus." Ovid errs in placing it a day earlier (*Fast.* iv. 625. seqq.); but it would seem from his notice that the anniversary of the two battles of the 15th and the 27th (see below) was kept on the same day; and as we cannot doubt that he followed the existing calendar, we are driven to the supposition that the real date, as in other instances, was not strictly regarded.

² Galba to Cicero (*ad Div.* x. 30.); Appian, *B. C.* iii. 67-70.; Dion, xlv. 37. Our first authority is Serv. Sulpicius Galba, the lieutenant of Cæsar, who conducted the campaign in the Alps, *Cæs. B. G.* iii. init. (see Chapter VII. of this history.) He became one of the conspirators against the dictator. He describes in a letter to Cicero the battle narrated in the text, in which he held

While the news of a great victory was conveyed in a despatch crowned with laurel to the senate, while Pansa was lying prostrate with the fatal wound he had just received, another action took place before the walls of Mutina, with the same chequered result as the former. Hirtius, following up his partial advantage, had sought to draw Antonius forth from his camp to a second engagement, but without success. At last on the 27th of April, by the feint of throwing succours into the town, he forced the besiegers to place themselves in his way. Fearing that Mutina would thus be snatched from his grasp, Antonius allowed two of his legions to take up a position between it and the Hirtians. The combat once begun was sustained by fresh detachments from the Antonian camp, until the whole of the besieging army was engaged. But the battalions thus brought forward in detail fought with less confidence, and at last gave way. Hirtius pursued them even within the lines of their camp, and fell fighting on the very threshold of the prætorium. Octavius coming up to his support carried off the consul's body, and for a moment held possession of the camp. The Antonians however finally rallied, and recovered their position; but the honours of the day remained with the assailants, who had forced their enemy to leave his lines to meet them, and had driven him ignominiously within them again.

Engagement
before Mu-
tina, April 27.
Hirtius is
slain.

Hirtius thus fell in the midst of his enemies, and Pansa died of his wounds almost at the same moment; but the news of the first battle, unalloyed by any knowledge of this double disaster, had already entered the walls of the senate-house at Rome. It came

The news of a
victory reaches
Rome. Cicero
delivers the

a command in Pansa's army. He had been legatus of the Martian legion. Appian's account is more favourable to Antonius; but this historian exhibits much prejudice against the republicans throughout these transactions, and many of his statements seem totally devoid of credit. In some particulars I have combined the two accounts, which are not altogether consistent with each other. Dion enters into no details, but gives a decided victory to Hirtius: πολλὴ ἐκράτησεν.

fourteenth and last Philippic, April 22. most opportunely for Cicero, at the moment when the tribunes' interference in his behalf had defeated the machinations of the Antonians in the city, and restored him to the favour of the people, which had been for an instant shaken. The enthusiasm of the citizens towards him was now unbounded. They rushed in crowds to his dwelling on the Palatine, insisted upon his coming forth to them, and then carried him in a kind of triumph to the Capitol, as if, he says, he had been himself the victorious imperator, and thence back to his own house.¹ The day following, the 22nd of April, the senate was convened by the city prætor, M. Cornutus, who in the absence of both the consuls occupied the highest executive office in the state.² The despatch of the consul Hirtius was read, and Servilius moved a thanksgiving to the gods for the public victory. It was also proposed that the senate should now lay aside the military garb which it had assumed since the commencement of hostilities. Then arose Cicero, and delivered the fourteenth and last of the Philippics: it was fitting that so unparalleled a series of bold and generous declamations should be crowned at last with one song of triumph. The vigilance of the statesman was not laid asleep by the first appearance of success. He deprecated the resumption of the peaceful toga, as at least premature. The military garb had been adopted when Decimus was to be relieved from his besieger, and the victory, splendid as it was reported to be, had not yet effected his deliverance. But he seized with eagerness on the decree proposed by Servilius, as implying more than at first sight appeared. A thanksgiving had never before been voted except for a victory over a foreign foe. Antonius had never yet been formally declared an enemy: but this decree implied it. Cinna and Sulla had gained victories in the civil wars, but no such compliment had been paid to them: Cæsar had won the

Cic. *Philipp.* xiv. 5.

² The date is fixed by an expression of Cicero, if at least we may adopt a conjectural but very satisfactory reading: "Pridie Vinalia (for per idus quintiles) qui dies hodie est." The Vinalia was the 23rd of April. See Kalend Maffei. Prænestin. in Orell, *Inscr.* ii. 388.

great battle of Pharsalia, but he had not ventured to demand such a token of public satisfaction. But if the gods were to be thanked for this signal triumph of the Roman arms, if Antonius was to be pronounced, what he had long really been, a public enemy, why should not the victorious generals be addressed with the title of imperators? This again was a title due to the conqueror of a foreign enemy: its adoption in this case by the senate in a formal manifesto would doubly stamp the rebel and traitor as the enemy of Rome. Cicero further proposed that the leaders of the combined armies, the victors of the triple engagement, Pansa, Hirtius, and Octavius,¹ should be united in the honours decreed upon this occasion, and that the thanksgiving should be extended to fifty days. He urged the peculiar merits of the Martian legion, which had displayed a valour worthy of its patriotism. He lamented the dead and consoled the surviving friends, in strains borrowed from the famous speech of Pericles to the Athenians, and concluded with expressing the terms of his resolution, not in the dry technicalities of customary form, but in the noblest accents of impassioned declamation. And so terminates the long series of speeches of Cicero: the fourteenth Philippic is the last that has come down to us, perhaps the last he uttered. Like the rest of its author's harangues, it was bold, vigorous, high-minded, and persuasive; but the victory it celebrated was dubious, the disaster was grave, and the contest had yet to be decided on other fields and with other combinations.

¹ It must be remembered that this speech was delivered on the report of the first battle, that at Forum Gallorum, and it was a great stretch of flattery on Cicero's part to include Octavius among the generals to whom the victory could be ascribed. Dion says (xlv. 38.): *ἡττηθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ (Ἀντωνίου) αὐτοκράτορες οὐ μόνον ὁ Ἰρτιος ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Οὐδιούτιος καί περ κακῶς ἀπαλλάξας, ὃ τε Καῖσαρ, καίτοι μὴδὲ μαχεσάμενος, καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ὠνομάσθησαν.* Antonius indeed gave out that his young rival had fled ignominiously in the first battle (Suet. *Oct.* 12.), but there is every probability on the side of Dion's assertion that he took no part in it. It is perhaps to another slander of Antonius's that we owe the statement that Octavius caused the deaths both of Hirtius and Pansa by bribing the surgeon to rub poison into their wounds. But the story is insidiously countenanced by Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 10. Dion also alludes to it, xlv. 39.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ANTONIUS WITHDRAWS FROM THE CISALPINE AND EFFECTS A JUNCTION WITH LEPIDUS BEYOND THE ALPS.—OCTAVIUS EXCUSES HIMSELF FROM PURSUING HIM.—THE SENATE SEEKS TO CAST OFF OCTAVIUS.—IRRITATION OF HIS SOLDIERS.—HE CLAIMS THE CONSULSHIP AND MARCHES UPON ROME.—THE SENATE GIVES WAY.—OCTAVIUS CONSUL, SEPT. 711.—HE JOINS ANTONIUS AND LEPIDUS.—DECIMUS IS ABANDONED BY HIS SOLDIERS AND SLAIN.—THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE.—PARTITION OF THE PROVINCES AND LEGIONS.—THE TRIUMVIRS ENTER ROME.—THE PROSCRIPTIONS.—DEATH OF CICERO.—THE REPUBLICANS COLLECT THEIR FORCES IN THE EAST.—SEXTUS SEIZES SICILY.—ANTONIUS AND OCTAVIUS CROSS OVER TO MACEDONIA.—THE ARMIES MEET AT PHILIPPI IN THE AUTUMN OF 712.—TWO ENGAGEMENTS AT PHILIPPI.—ROUT OF THE REPUBLICANS.—CASSIUS AND BRUTUS KILL THEMSELVES. (A. U. 711, 712. B. C. 48, 42.)

THE historian Appian has drawn in this part of his work from sources which were evidently unworthy of implicit credit. The long ascendancy of the Cæsarean dynasty had corrupted the springs of history, and both the reverses of Antonius and the treacheries, as we shall hereafter see, of Octavius, had been extenuated by the authorities to which he was content to refer. We are perplexed by the next occurrence which we meet with in this writer's pages. Among the officers in whom Antonius most confided, both for his zeal and ability, was Publius Ventidius; and at the moment when he was compelled to engage the superior forces which surrounded him, he was expecting succours under this captain's command, drawn from the Cæsarean colonies in the south of Italy, which the want perhaps of money or arms had so long delayed. Appian, always inclined to enhance the successes of the Antonians, assures us that

Apocryphal
exploit of Ven-
tidius.

Ventidius led these forces, amounting to two legions, to the relief of his patron's adherents in the city, who were groaning under the severe exactions imposed upon them by Cicero. He entered the walls unopposed; the senate, and among them Cicero himself, took flight, and abandoned to their enemy's lieutenant the seat of government.¹ But if we are to believe this historian, this sudden rout of the republican party had no result, and Ventidius quietly marched out of the city again to join his commander beyond the Apennines. Besides the manifest improbability of such an occurrence, it must also be remarked that neither Cicero nor any other writer gives any hint of it.² Nor is it possible to find a sufficient interval of time between Pansa's leaving Rome and the battles before Mutina, for the train of circumstances which are said to have preceded and produced this momentary revolution. All that we can depend upon in Appian's account is the statements which other authorities corroborate, that Ventidius marched to the succour of his general with two legions of newly-enlisted veterans; and presently, that finding he could not anticipate the junction of Hirtius and Pansa, or hearing perhaps the disastrous issue of the battles, he turned to the left out of the Flaminian Way, and skirted the southern slopes of the Apennines in the direction in which he hoped to meet the retreating Antonians.

The same writer, whose partiality to Antonius has been thus displayed, would fain persuade us that his hero was on the whole successful in both the engagements before Mutina. So far was this from the fact, that he lost not a moment after the event of the action of the 27th in breaking up from his camp, and striking westward under cover of his numerous cavalry, with which the enemy was unable to cope.³ Though

Antonius
retires from
before Mutina,
and makes
a hasty retreat
across the
Alps.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* iii. 66.

² A solitary passage in a letter to Atticus (*Cic. ad Att.* xvi. 1.), "de Ventidio *παυκὸν* puto," is too obscure to be cited in confirmation of Appian's statement. There is no allusion to it in Dion, nor in the epitome of Livy.

³ *Cic. ad Div.* x. 15. 34.

beaten off from his immediate object, Antonius was far from despairing of ultimate success. Before his second engagement with the consular forces, he had received partial and underhand succours from Lepidus, and he trusted to the ascendancy he had heretofore exercised over that vacillating politician, to gain him over completely, as soon as he should come in personal contact with him. The quarters of Lepidus were fixed in the province. From thence he watched the inclinations and imposed a check upon the movements of Plancus in the Narbonensis, who still hesitated to declare for the senate. Beyond the position of Plancus, and watching his undecided attitude, lay Asinius Pollio in Spain: a chain of posts thus extended from the Alps across the Pyrenees, and a shock imparted to the first link would be communicated along the whole line. Antonius hastened to cross the Alps. His infantry had suffered severely in the late actions, and he did not scruple to recruit it by drafting into his ranks the inmates of the public gaols along his line of march.¹ At Vada, in the neighbourhood of Genua, he fell in with Ventidius and three fresh legions, and the whole force continued its route in two divisions. But his march, though unpursued, was harassed by famine and fatigue. Antonius now displayed the determination of his character, and his capacity of enduring hardships. Fresh from the lap of luxury and dissipation, he amazed his hardiest veterans by the cheerfulness with which he drank the foulest water, and contented himself with the most loathsome food, in the laborious passage of the mountains.²

Decimus was now released from his long confinement within the walls of Mutina. The forces he maintained there amounted to three legions, perhaps incomplete; but he was exceedingly weak in cavalry, and unprovided with beasts of burden, which doubtless within his beleaguered fortress he had been unable to maintain. He seems also to have been in straits for

Decimus is retarded in his pursuit by the want of cavalry and of money.

¹ Cic. *ad Div.* xi. 10.

² Plut. *Anton.* 17.

want of money.¹ All these deficiencies may have contributed to the fatal delay of two days which he allowed to intervene before he set forth in the track of the fugitives. On the day after the second engagement, Pansa, who was still living, begged to confer with him at Bononia, but expired before he could reach him.² Decimus distrusted Octavius. As proconsul of the province he assumed authority over him, and directed him to seize the passes of the Apennines, and prevent the junction of Ventidius with his general. At the same time he assumed for himself the duty of occupying the roads which led from Mutina to the Alps, and closing the northern outlets of the province against the retreating enemy. We have seen how Antonius had already escaped out of the net. Neither would Octavius obey the proconsul, nor if he had proposed to do so would his soldiers have obeyed him.³ They protested against the authority of one of Cæsar's assassins. They declared that they had chosen the dictator's heir as their leader; Decimus they could only regard as an enemy. The want of money still crippled the proconsul's movements; the vanquished could fly much faster than the victor could advance; Decimus had exhausted his own and his friends' credit, and all the wealth of Varro, as he said, could hardly suffice to extricate him from his embarrassments.⁴

Octavius declines to join in the pursuit.

Before the first blow of civil war had been struck at Mutina, Plancus had already crossed the Rhone, expecting to be summoned to aid in crushing the common enemy. He now threw a bridge across the Isère, for the transport of his four legions, with the view of supporting Lepidus, whose position, menaced

Antonius effects an union with Lepidus in the Transalpine province.

¹ Decimus to Cicero (*ad Div.* xi. 10.): "Alere milites jam non possum. Septem legiones nunc alo: qua difficultate tu arbitrare." Pontius Aquila had expended large sums from his private resources in supporting Decimus's troops. Dion, xlv. 40.

² Decimus to Cicero (*ad Div.* xi. 13.).

³ Decimus to Cicero (*ad Div.* xi. 10.): "Neque Cæsari imperari potest, nec Cæsar exercitui suo, quod utrumque pessimum est."

⁴ Decimus to Cicero, *l. c.*, from his camp at Dertona, the fifth of May.

with a sudden attack from Antonius, had become extremely precarious. But the proconsul of the Transalpine, as he soon discovered, was under no alarm. The old allies were about to effect a new combination. Antonius had played successfully upon the compassion of the veterans under the proconsul's banner, and Lepidus himself, though pretending to be coerced by his own soldiers, was well disposed to take part with the crafty dissembler, who addressed him by the name of father, and doubtless offered to act under him, and acquiesce in the second place in their contemplated distribution of honours.¹ They met with all their forces near Forum Julii. Had Plancus crossed the frontier he would have been crushed by their superior force: his lieutenant Laterensis, whom he had employed to communicate with Lepidus, killed himself in despair at the consummation of the treason. Meanwhile Pollio had contrived to station himself at the furthest

Plancus and
Pollio shrink
from attacking
them.

corner of his province, in the assurance, as he declared in his despatches to the senate, that no outbreak of civil war was to be apprehended. Before the month of April no vessels, it seems, crossed the Mediterranean; and the letters which he sent overland were liable to be intercepted by Lepidus. Even the couriers who were conveying to him the news of the events before Mutina were detained, as he says, nine days by the proconsul in the Transalpine. Such was the excuse he now made for his avowed want of preparation, and for declining to move towards the theatre of operations. Under such circumstances Plancus hesitated to cross the Isère; he broke down the bridge he had constructed, and called loudly on Decimus, Octavius, and even Cornificius, to come to his succour, and enable him to assume the offensive. But Cornificius was too distant to hear his cries; Octavius refused to listen, and remained unmoved at Mutina; while Decimus kept marching to and fro within the limits of his own province, which he seemed to shrink from leaving, with no definite purpose, ex-

¹ Plut. *Anton.* 18. See Lepidus's letter to the senate. *ad Div.* x. 35.

cept to raise money and make new levies of raw conscripts.¹ Of all the captains of the republic at this perilous crisis, he was the only one on whose fidelity she could securely lean; as one of the tyrannicides, it was with him a question of victory or death, and his steadiness was assured by the necessities of his position. Nevertheless he must be charged with committing a fatal blunder in the conduct of the campaign; while the tone of despondency betrayed to us in his correspondence, as well as the distrust he exhibited towards the government in Rome, indicate a mind unfit to cope with the difficulties around him.

At last, when it was too late to deter Lepidus from his treachery, Decimus crossed the Alps and added a force, amounting now to ten legions, of which however one only had seen service, to the army of Plan-
Decimus crosses the Alps and joins Plan-
cus.
 eus.² They had suffered severely, it seems, in the passage of the mountains; at all events they were dispirited by the consciousness of their inexperience, and of the fatal consequences of their leader's delay. The hope of aid from Octavius waxed more and more faint. Planus openly denounced him to Cicero, as having postponed the defence of the republic to the furtherance of his personal views on the consulship. He accused him of being the cause of Antonius's escape, of Lepidus's treason, of the formidable attitude the two associates had assumed, of all their hopes and all their manœuvres. If Planus however still clung to the hope that Octavius might yet lend his hand to prop the state, Cicero himself had by this time renounced any such expectation. From the moment he deserted Decimus, the veteran penetrated his views, and was convinced that they were confined to his own aggrandizement. From henceforth Cicero declares his dependence to rest upon Decimus and Planus

¹ Decimus's letters to Cicero are dated successively from Dertona, Statellæ, Vercellæ, Eporedia, and Pollentia: (*ad Div.* xi. 20.): "Legiones armo, paro: Ego nisi valde necesse fuerit ex Italia non excedam."

² Planus to Cicero (*ad Div.* x. 24.): "In castris Bruti una veterana legio altera bima, octo tirum."

Cicero abandons all hope from Octavius.

alone in the West, and he exerts himself with gallant constancy in exhorting and encouraging them to the utmost. But his eyes are wandering

towards Macedonia and Syria; and it is from Brutus and Cassius, after all, the leaders of the brave band of patriots, that he expects the deliverance of his country. From Syria the rumour reached him that Dolabella had been destroyed. He hardly ventured to credit it; but it was speedily confirmed. After the murder of Trebonius the ruffian had cast off all disguise. He had declared open war against the rival who pre-occupied the province he claimed to govern. He had seized upon the city of Laodicea: but here his career was arrested by a better general with a stronger force than his

Dolabella, attacked by Cassius, commits suicide.

own.¹ Cassius, anticipating the decree of the senate, by which the intruder was formally proscribed, or acting in the spirit of Cicero's counsel,²

Be yourself your own senate, marched against him, stormed the city in which he had posted himself, and drove him to seek death from the hands of one of his own soldiers.

The report of this success might sustain the drooping spirits of the republicans in Rome. In the first flush of victory they had not cared to conceal their distrust

The senate treats Octavius with contumely, and tries to create dissension among his soldiers.

of Octavius, whom they now deemed unnecessary to them. He had declined to join with Decimus in pursuit of Antonius; his excuse had been questionable, his attitude uncompliant; Cicero him-

self discovered that he was reserving his strength for personal objects, and avowed that he had been deceived as to his real disposition. Doubtless Octavius read in the bitter spirit displayed against Antonius, an edict of proscription against, not the flagitious consular, but the friend of Caesar. He lay himself under the same ban, and might expect to be made the next victim. The bearing of the senate towards him had entirely changed. The honours awarded for the first victory had been divided equally between him and the consuls, and

¹ Lentulus to Cicero (*ad Div.* xii. 14.), from Perga, June 2.

² Cicero to Plancus (*ad Div.* x. 16): "Ipse tibi sis senatus."

Cicero had pronounced his praise amidst the applause of the still trembling assembly: but now that the enemy was a second time worsted, and the victorious consuls had both fallen, it had transferred all its acknowledgments to Decimus, it had decreed thanksgivings in his name only, as if he had been the conqueror on the field of battle, and Octavius the beleaguered skulker behind the walls of Mutina. Of the real victor, the sole survivor at least of the three combined victors of those days, no mention was made.¹ It was not against Antonius, whom it no longer feared, but against the possible projects of Octavius that the senate provided in the decree by which it now called Sextus Pompeius to the command of its naval forces, and directed all its officers from the Ionian to the Euphrates, to place themselves at the disposal of Brutus and Cassius.² When Octavius boldly demanded a triumph, his application was contemptuously disregarded. The voice of Cicero was silent on his behalf, or if it expressed any recognition of his claims to distinction, the acknowledgment was accompanied by a truculent jest, implying that the young man must be got rid of under pretence of caressing him.³ Meanwhile every effort was made to detach the veterans from their youthful favourite. The senate treated with them about their pay and promised lands, without noticing their general; and when the mass continued unmoved by these solicitations, attempts were made to sow dissension among them by showering rewards upon some and withholding them from others.

But Octavius, it was reported, had declared that he would take care not to be got rid of. The veterans were discontented with the senate, which had promised them, and especially the two legions which had aban-

Octavius, supported by his veterans, de-

¹ Cic. *ad Div.* xi. 18.; Appian, *B. C.* iii. 74. 80.; Dion, xlv. 40.

² Dion, *l. c.*

³ Decimus to Cicero (*ad Div.* xi. 20.), May 24: "Ipsum Cæsarem nihil de te questum, nisi dictum quod diceret te dixisse, laudandum ornandum tollendum: se non commissurum ut tolli posset." The equivoque is untranslatable: it would run in English, he must be *lifted up* and then *taken off*. The story is also preserved by Suetonius (*Oct.* 12.), and Velleius (ii. 62.), and the jest is much in Cicero's style.

mands the consulship, doned Antonius, a gratuity which it had not at once the means of paying. The government appointed decemvirs to contrive a new distribution of lands, by which the Antonians should be mulcted for their advantage. But it displayed its spite against their leader by omitting to name him on this commission, and this neglect the veterans resented as an insult to themselves, murmuring loudly against Cicero as its supposed adviser. Octavius fostered the growing spirit of discontent.¹ He was now in secret communication with Antonius himself, and when a peremptory order from the government reached him, to lead his army against *the parricides and brigands*, as they were styled, now combined in the Transalpine province, he replied by despatching to Rome a party of four hundred of his soldiers to demand for him the consulship. He had been already released from the *lex annalis*; so that no disqualification could be pleaded against him on the score of youth; but the senate, which had now the power, as was presumed, of securing the election for its own nominee, sought to parry his claim by delay. The envoys were thereupon instructed to demand an amnesty for the Antonians; and this again was evaded rather than refused. The soldier-ambassadors now lost their temper; they had entered the curia unarmed, but one of the party rushed out to seize his sword, and returning, laid his hand upon it before the astounded senators, with an oath, that if they refused his chief the consulship, that steel should extort it for him. Cicero was the first of the august assembly to recover his speech. *If this be the way*, he said with a sneer, *that you sue for the consulship, doubtless your chief will acquire it.* The words were reported to the candidate, who deeply resented the freedom with which his sinister projects were laid

¹ Appian, *B. C.* iii. 86.

² Plutarch (*Cic.* 45.) asserts that Octavius blinded Cicero by pretending to unite with him to obtain the consulship for the two conjointly, and thus prevailed upon him to assist his canvass, and gain over the senate; of which Cicero, he says, afterwards bitterly repented. Such a tradition must not be entirely passed over; nevertheless I am not disposed to attach credit to it. Cicero had shown his distrust of Octavius before this time.

bare, and treasured it up, as was said, for the moment of revenge which was not long in coming. He now advised Lepidus and Antonius of his readiness to combine with them, and invited them to follow him to Rome, whither, still pretending that he was constrained by his own soldiers, he directed the march

He marches upon Rome, pretending to be coerced by his soldiers.

of his eight legions. The track of this licentious soldiery was marked by rapine and violence; the bands of discipline were cast away; the senate, in its terror, sought to arrest the invasion by bribes. But the Octavians continued to advance; no time was to be lost; an effort was made to check the rolling storm by conceding the consulship to the armed aspirant. But the senate was amazed to find that even this degrading concession now came too late. Thereupon, summoning the ancient courage of the Roman patriciate, the Fathers solemnly forbade the legions to approach nearer than within ninety miles: they then assumed the military garb, charged the prætors with the defence of the city, and threw up hasty fortifications on the Janiculan, where two legions, just landed from Africa, were posted most opportunely for their protection.

The advance of the Octavians was retarded by the lust of plunder in which their leader indulged them, so that time was given for these tumultuary preparations, and as long as the enemy was still distant the citizens acted with promptitude and spirit. But no sooner did he actually appear under the walls than all this ardour vanished. One by one senators and consulars slipped through the gates and betook themselves to the invader's camp. Even the prætors descended from the Janiculan, and surrendered their legions into his hands. Cicero indeed was among the last to parley. He was received with a bitter sarcasm. The following night, on a wild rumour of a defection among the troops, he resumed his courage and counselled resistance. Orders were hastily given, and expresses dispatched into the country for levying troops. Presently the rumour was contradicted, and the senators fled

The senate surrenders to Octavius, and allows him to assume the consulship, with Pedius for his colleague.

in confusion from the city. Cornutus, a sturdy republican, slew himself.¹ The gates were now thrown open amidst the acclamations of the populace. A remnant of the senate consented to nominate their conqueror; the tribes assembled in the comitium; there were no consuls—to hold the election of their successors; some excuse was made to evade the creation of an interrex;² the city prætor was deputed to appoint two persons to occupy the place of the consuls, and go through the requisite forms with a mere show of conventional usage. Octavius apparently had himself insisted on this farce being played out. He fulfilled his own part by abstaining from entering the forum, armed as he was, and surrounded with military ensigns. The polling proceeded without interruption, and Q. Pedius, cousin to Octavius, was given him as his colleague, or rather as his lieutenant, in the office.³ This was the twenty-second of September: on the following day the consul completed his twentieth year.

Quintus Pedius had strong claims to this elevation. He was closely connected with the late dictator, as the grand-son of his sister Julia. He had served with distinction under his kinsman's banners in the Gallic war. Throughout the civil contentions his sword had been at Cæsar's disposal, and when raised to the prætorship in the year 706 he had done him good service in crushing Milo's insurrection. The merit he displayed in the final campaign against Cæsar in Spain had gained him the honour of a

Q. Pedius,
grand-nephew
of Julius Cæ-
sar.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* iii. 92, 93.

² The creation of an interrex might be frustrated by the veto of a tribune, and the fear of such an impediment may have caused this form to be disregarded. Dion says that there was no time; but this could hardly be so (see note below); or that many patricians were absent, and the appointment rested with the patrician houses. He is evidently at a loss, and suggests reasons without much consideration of their value.

³ Dion, xlv. 45, 46.; Vell. ii. 65.: "Consulatum iniit Cæsar pridie quam viginti annos impleret, x Kal. Octobris: (= 22 Sept.)." But Dion makes the creation take place August 19.: for he says that Octavius died August 19.: being the anniversary of his first election to the consulship (lvi. 31.). Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 9. We may suppose that the earlier day was that of the senate's decree, the later that of the actual election. Comp. Suet. *Oct.* 31.

triumph, and a proconsular command. The dictator had named him among his heirs, on the same footing as his grand-nephew Pinarius, reserving, as has been already said, the bulk of the inheritance to his favourite Octavius. Pedius had recently resigned his share of the patrimony to his cousin; and while his own ambition was satisfied with the second place, he zealously aided Octavius to secure the first. The senate succumbed to this last revolution without a murmur. Its only care now was to heap extraordinary distinctions upon the dictator's heir. It decreed prospectively, that when he should have completed his year of office, he should retain, at the head of his legions, precedence over the consuls his successors. It surrendered to him the guardianship of the city, to be administered during his absence by a prefect of his own appointment, and even issued an order to Decimus to transfer the troops he commanded to the new generalissimo of the republic. Cicero and the sturdiest of the patriots had disappeared; all who despaired of forgiveness had concealed themselves; the remnant were cowards and voluptuaries, or secret partizans of Octavius and Antonius; and all these vied with one another in abandoning to the conqueror the liberties of the citizens and the honours of the state. Octavius easily obtained the legal ratification of his adoption. He then caused Pedius to propose a bill for the condemnation of Cæsar's murderers. His friends and adherents rushed forward as their accusers. L. Cornificius persecuted Brutus, and Agrippa Cassius. When these illustrious personages were cited to appear as criminals, the multitude, it is said, groaned deeply, and the nobles hung their abashed heads. One man only ventured to vote for their acquittal, and judgment passed against them by default. The conspirators were interdicted from fire and water, in the barbarous phrase of the ancient formulas, with the consent and approbation of the assembled people.¹ Sextus Pompeius, who had watched the course of affairs from Massilia, and had re-

The liberators
are accused
and condemned
in their ab-
sence.

¹ Vell. ii. 69.; Liv. *Epit.* cxx.; Plut. *Brut.* 27.; Appian, *B. C.* iii. 95.; Dion, xlv. 49.; *Mon. Ancyr.* col. i.

cently launched with a well-appointed fleet into the Italian seas, was included in this hostile decree, while that against Dolabella was rescinded, though too late to save him.

Octavius could securely leave the city in the charge of his zealous colleague, and summoning his legions to his side, he

Octavius leaves Rome and opens negotiations with Antonius and Lepidus.

was once more on his way to the north of Italy by the middle of September. He intended to effect a junction with Antonius and Lepidus, who were preparing to cross the Alps together, and no one perhaps really expected that he would execute the commission with which he was ostensibly charged, of defending the republic against them. Brutus and Cassius were in arms against the government with a force of twenty legions. Decimus, the associate in their crime, was united hand and heart with them. Plancus, it might be expected, would fall under his control, and the attitude of Pollio was at least dubious. Sextus swept the seas and menaced the islands. It was only by the swords of Antonius and Lepidus that the existing authorities at Rome could hope to maintain their usurpation, and the conjunction of Octavius with his mortal foe was a political necessity. Accordingly, no sooner had he quitted the city, than Pedius, as concerted between them, proposed that Antonius and Lepidus should be restored to favour. The senate, wearied and confused with the rapid change in public affairs, unsupported or unawed by the fervour of Cicero's eloquence, deserted by the most illustrious consulars, and willing to be deceived by the hollow pretexts of forgiveness and oblivion, consented to adopt his counsel.¹ The personal animosity between Antonius and his younger rival was soothed by the mediation of Lepidus. The report of this sudden turn in events wrought immediate conviction on the minds of Plancus and Pollio, both of whom renounced their adherence to the party which had vanished from the curia and the forum. Their fidelity had long wavered: neither Cicero nor any of the statesmen to whom he had disclosed his correspondence with them, could be surprised at their defection.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* iii. 36.

They had never had the cause of the republic at heart. They now returned to the Cæsarean banner, under which they had so long served, to the friends and to the interest to which they had been through life attached.

Decimus prepared to wrestle with his adverse fortune with the sullen resolution which belonged to his character. He had mustered not fewer than ten legions; but they were mostly, as we have seen, raw troops, and he could depend neither upon their steadiness in battle, nor on their constancy to the leaders whom they had chosen. Recrossing the Alps, he sought to effect a junction with his associates in Macedonia, by following the route of Aquileia and Illyricum. The advance of Octavius threatened to intercept him: he dared not accept the challenge of the veteran legions, but turned suddenly to the left, intending to scale the lofty gorge of the Septimer pass, and descend perhaps by the valley of the Inn into the more hospitable regions of the north. The difficulty of the route, and the vast circuit to be traversed before the retreating battalions could thus gain the frontiers of Macedonia, terrified his undisciplined recruits. Several of the new-raised legions deserted in a body, and offered their arms to the consul. The veterans quickly followed their example, and joined the standards of Antonius. Decimus saw them depart with manly resignation; to some of the auxiliaries and cavalry, who were the last to leave him, he pretended to give a free discharge, and even supplied them with money from the military chest, which he could no longer transport with him. Three hundred horsemen still remained faithful, and with this devoted band he began to penetrate the gloomy defile. But the number of his followers gradually dwindled to ten; with so scanty an attendance the luckless fugitive hoped he might escape undiscovered by the level route he had been constrained to abandon. He retraced his steps into the plain of the Cisalpine, and was making his way stealthily to Aquileia, when he fell into the hands of a Gaulish chieftain, named Camelus.¹ The barbarian notified his

Decimus, deserted by his soldiers, is taken and slain.

¹ Appian (*B. C.* iii. 97, 98.) gives the account of the last days of D. Bru

capture to Antonius, who immediately demanded the prisoner's head, though, it is said, he avoided a personal interview with the old comrade he had resolved to sacrifice. Thus fell the second of the assassins within a year and a half from the day of his crime. A third, Minucius Basilus, perished by a violent death about the same time, being murdered by his own slaves, upon whom he was perpetrating some brutal cruelties.¹ The name of this last-mentioned conspirator does not occur in the civil or military annals of the period which had elapsed since Cæsar's death. We have no means of estimating the loss the republic may have sustained from his early destruction: but we can hardly overrate the fatal consequences which ensued to it from the death of Decimus. Of all the captains trained in Cæsar's school he was undoubtedly the most distinguished. His services indeed had been chiefly performed at sea; but he had displayed on that element a fertility of resource, and a skill in the training of men and officers, such as would have proved not less invaluable on land. In designating him for the consulship his master showed that he discovered in him the materials of a good civil administrator; and assuredly among the soldiers and statesmen of the republican party there was no one upon whose steadfast resolution more entire dependence could be placed.

Antonius and Lepidus moved slowly and circumspectly on their progress towards the city. They confronted Octavius at Bononia, and arranged a conference on an islet in the river Rhenus, which took place at the end of October.² The spot selected for their

Octavius, Lepidus, and Antonius hold a conference to-

tus. I have done some violence to his topographical details, to make the narrative consistent and intelligible. Appian speaks of four veteran legions; but we know on surer authority that Decimus had but one. (See above, p 127.) Comp. Vell. ii. 64., Dion, xlii. 53.

¹ Appian, l. c.: ὑπὸ τῶν δεραπόντων ἀνῆρέθῃ εὐνοῦχίζων τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τιμαρίᾳ.

² Fischer, *Röm. Zeit.* p. 327. The spot assigned by modern antiquarians for this celebrated meeting is called Crocetta del Trebbio, where there is an island in the Reno, half a mile long, about two miles to the west of Bologna. Appian places the island in the river Lavinus, a confluent of the Rhenus.

meeting was approached by a bridge on either side. Each of the Cæsarean chiefs was followed by a force of five legions to a camp posted at a convenient distance. From thence they were escorted respectively by a body of three hundred horse to the foot of the bridge; and while Antonius and Octavius halted on the brink, Lepidus, according to agreement, crossed into the island. He there waved the skirt of his cloak, and the others, leaving their attendants on the bank on either side, advanced alone and unarmed at the same moment. As they drew near they watched each other's mien and movements, and were heard to demand of one another whether they bore any secret weapon concealed in their bosoms.¹ After thus satisfying themselves of their personal security, they opened the subject of their conference, which was no less than the terms on which they should agree to share the sovereignty of the state. Octavius, as consul, assumed the place of honour between the others, and thus seated they debated for three days successively, and in that interval, passed under review all the complex relations of men and parties, and by mutual concessions came at length to a perfect understanding. The name of the dictatorship was generally odious; Antonius had enacted its perpetual suppression, and besides, the office never had been nor could, consistently with the theory of its functions, be shared by three occupants. But the state of affairs, it might be urged, demanded the creation of an extraordinary magistracy for the settlement of public affairs. The manner in which the senate had been driven to violate its own decrees and supersede its own appointments, might furnish a specious pretext for invoking the strong arm of power to protect its deliberations and impart consistency to its action. Accord-

gether, and
agree to share
the empire be-
tween them.

Cramer, *Ancient Italy*, i. 88. Comp. Plut. *Anton.* 19.; Dion, xlv. *fn.*; Appian, *B. C.* iv. 2.

¹ Dion, xlv. 55.: Μὴ καὶ ξιφίδιον τις ὑπὸ μάλῃς ἔχει: under the arm-pit. The Roman threw the skirt of his toga over his left shoulder, and often carried his right hand in the folds on his left breast. This was the place where he could conceal a dagger so as to draw it forth most readily.

ingly the self-constituted guardians of the state declared themselves a commission of three, a triumvirate, for the settlement of the commonwealth.¹ Their office, they proclaimed,

They declare themselves triumvirs for the settlement of the commonwealth.

should subsist for five years, and its functions should be equivalent to those of the consulate. But they assumed a licence far beyond the powers of any legitimate, or, indeed, of any extraordinary magistracy of former times. They appointed officers of government throughout the whole term prospectively, and they partitioned among themselves all the western provinces of the empire, that is, all the regions which were not in the actual possession of the republican leaders beyond the Ionian. Antonius, it was arranged, should rule the Gauls on either side of the Alps, with the exception of the Narbonensis, which, together with Iberia, fell to the share of Lepidus. Octavius received the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, together with the province of Africa, the granaries from which Rome and Italy mainly drew their subsistence. But the sacred soil of the peninsula, the hearth of Roman freedom, was exempted from this proconsular imperium. Lepidus was designated for the consulship of the ensuing year, and to him, as the first magistrate of the commonwealth, the centre of the empire was peculiarly entrusted; but in return for this concession to him of the place which neither of his more active and aspiring

They divide among themselves the provinces and the legions.

colleagues could consent to resign to the other, he agreed to retain only three of his ten legions, and to place the others at their disposal for the impending war against Brutus and Cassius. Of

¹ At the head of this chapter I have allowed myself to apply to this compact the designation of the "second" triumvirate, by which it is commonly known. But in fact the alliance of Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompeius, or the so-called "first" triumvirate, was no more than a private understanding; it pretended to no official powers, nor was it recognised by the state. On the other hand, the alliance of Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavius was avowedly a league for the settlement of public affairs; it was founded upon certain constitutional analogies (see in the treatises on Roman antiquities the various objects for which triumvirates or commissions of three were appointed, among others "*reipublicæ constituendæ*," for settling the commonwealth); and it received, as we shall see, the deliberate sanction of the senate and people

these seven legions, three fell to the lot of Octavius, four were transferred to Antonius, and their armies were thus raised to the strength of twenty legions each.

The partition of the empire, as if it were a patrimonial inheritance, was perhaps the least arduous of the arrangements which had to be effected. The successors to Cæsar's power had neither the clemency nor the magnanimity which rendered his usurpation illustrious in the annals of revolution. But the fate

The triumvirs
concert a
proscription
of their ene-
mies.

with which his generous self-reliance had been requited might steel the triumvirs against any sentiments of compassion. Antonius knew the danger which threatened his own life. Cicero had justified the murder of the dictator; he had lamented the weakness which had spared the dictator's friend. The liberators had confessed their error: if Brutus alone was still unconvinced, the time was past for romantic scruples like his: the return of the patriots to power would renew the horrors of the Sullan proscription. Antonius had a thousand personal enemies, and assured that they were ready to strike him, he hastened to be the first to strike. Octavius, unlike his colleague, had no personal quarrels; the excitement of action and of danger neither inflamed his blood, nor blunted his feelings; but he had plunged abruptly into the arena of civil strife, where he knew himself to be the aim of the swords and daggers of every party; to extricate himself from the peril, and to raise himself to the elevation which he claimed, seas of blood must be shed; and he calmly contemplated the necessity without remorse and without passion. Lepidus, a man neither of feeling nor foresight, was easily persuaded to crimes, of which he could estimate neither the advantage nor the odium. The associates, thus prepared for the work of slaughter, sate with a list of the noblest citizens before them, and each in turn pricked the name of him whom he destined to perish. Each claimed to be rid of his personal enemies, and to save his own friends. But when they found their wishes clash, they resorted without compunction to mutual concessions. Octavius could easily permit Antonius to pro-

scribe the detested author of the Philippics. Antonius surrendered to him in return his own uncle by his mother's side, Lucius Cæsar. It is uncertain whether Lepidus claimed the slaughter of his brother Paulus Æmilius, or whether he only abandoned him to the malice of his colleagues.¹ As they proceeded their views expanded. They signed death-warrants to gratify their friends. As the list slowly lengthened new motives were discovered for appending to it additional names. The mere possession of riches was fatal to many; for the masters of so many legions were always poor: the occupation of pleasant houses and estates sealed the fate of others; for the triumvirs were voluptuous as well as cruel.² Lastly, the mutual jealousy of the proseribers augmented the number of their victims, each seeking the destruction of those who conspicuously favoured his colleagues, and each exacting a similar compensation in return.³ The whole number extended, we are told, to three hundred senators and two thousand knights; among them were brothers, uncles, and favourite officers of the triumvirs themselves. At the same time the soldiers put forward demands which required consideration. A list of eighteen Italian cities was drawn up to be delivered to them with the districts adjoining, by the dispossession from their estates of the existing inhabitants. Among these were some of the finest cities of the peninsula, as may appear from the names of Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Beneventum, Nuceria, and Ariminum.⁴ The soldiery, it is said, in return interested themselves in effecting a marriage between the young Octavius and the

Octavius
espouses the
daughter of
Fulvia.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* iv. 3.; Dion, xlvii. 6., from whom we learn that both these illustrious nobles escaped with their lives. He ascribes indeed the escape of Æmilius to the contrivance of his brother Lepidus, and that of L. Cæsar to his nephew Antonius.

² Pliny reports (*H. N.* xxxiv. 3.) that the notorious Verres was put to death by Antonius merely for vaunting the superiority of his Corinthian bronzes.

³ Dion, *l. c.*, who asserts that the number of the victims was much larger than in the Sullan proscription.

⁴ Appian, *l. c.*

daughter of Antonius's consort Fulvia, by her first husband the tribune Clodius.¹

Cicero had betaken himself to his retreat at Tusculum, and was there making arrangements with his brother Quintus for escaping to the camp of Brutus in Macedonia. It is probable however that many of the chiefs of the republican party, who had fled from the city when Octavius entered it, had returned, in the vain hope that his elevation to the consulship would be a pledge of restored security. They beheld a protector also in Pedius, and were inspired perhaps by the honourable feeling that it was their duty to seek once more the post of usefulness and danger. At this post they were found when the news arrived of the combination which had taken place between the defender of the state and its deadly enemies. This announcement was presently followed by the manifesto of the triumvirs, in which they proclaimed the league they had formed for the subjugation of the republic, but concealed as yet the proscription to which they had pledged themselves. Seventeen however of their principal enemies, and among them Cicero, they had already doomed to massacre, and they dispatched emissaries to execute their vengeance upon these first victims, before they should proceed to disclose to the citizens the extent of their hideous designs. Their agents attacked the houses of the appointed victims in the middle of the night: some they seized and slew unresisting; others struggled to the last, and shed blood in their own defence; others escaping from their hands raised the alarm throughout the city, and the general terror of all classes, not knowing what to expect, or who might feel himself safe, caused a violent commotion. Pedius, himself entirely ignorant of the views of the triumvirs, strove to calm the tumult. He ascertained the names of the seventeen proscribed, and took upon himself to declare, in the name of his colleague, that the exigencies of the commonwealth required the blood of so many traitors and conspirators, but that with their destruction justice would be

First proscription of seventeen names.

satisfied. Of the denounced most had already fallen, a few had outstripped their pursuers; the mass of the republicans, rejoicing in the safety assured to themselves, desisted from attempting to save the lives of the miserable remnant. The city breathed once more from its panic consternation; but Pedius, overcome with fatigue or shame, was seized with mortal sickness and died the following night.¹

Pedius dies suddenly.

The triumvirs enter the city: the triumvirate is proclaimed. A second and third list of proscription.

Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavius, entered the city on three successive days, each accompanied by a single legion, and surrounded by a prætorian cohort.² The temples and towers were immediately occupied by troops, the banners of the republic waved in the forum, and cast their ominous shadow over the heads of the assembled people. Titius, one of the tribunes, had convoked the comitia for the creation of the new magistrates, and the armed usurpers were now formally invested with the title of triumvirs, and all the powers they claimed conferred upon them. Their impatience indeed cut short the delays which the law in strictness required: the triumvirate was proclaimed on the twenty-seventh of November, and the next night the new reign was inaugurated by the publication, or proscription, of the names of one hundred and thirty senators and knights. Soon afterwards an hundred and fifty more were added to the list, which was placarded throughout the city, with offers of reward, in money to the freemen, in freedom to the slaves, who should bring the heads of the denounced to the triumvirs. Every dwelling was ordered to be thrown open to the inquisitors of blood: to obstruct the vengeance of the law, or conceal a fugitive, was forbidden under penalty of death. The formula of proscription set forth that the destined victims were implicated in the murder of Cæsar, or in abetting and caressing his murderers; and pleaded that the triumvirs, before marching to crush the conspirators in the provinces, were compelled to purge the capital of their

¹ Appian, *B. C.* iv. 6.

² Appian, *B. C.* iv. 7.

adherents, by whom they had been themselves insulted, cut-lawed, and proscribed.¹

And now all the horrors of the Sullan and Marian massacres were repeated after an interval of fifty years. The executioners, armed with the prostituted forms of authority, rushed unresisted and unhindered in pursuit of their victims. They found many to aid them in the search, and to stimulate their activity. The contagious thirst of blood spread from the hired assassins to all who had an ancient grudge to requite, a future favour to obtain. Many fell in the confusion whose names were not included in the list of the proscribed. Many a private debt was wiped out in the blood of the creditor. Robbers and cut-throats mingled with the bitter partizan and the private enemy. While the murderer carried the head of his victim to fix it on a spike before the rostra, and claim the proffered reward, the jackals of massacre entered the tenantless house, and glutted themselves with plunder. Among the first to fall was the tribune Salvius, whose office invested him with presumed inviolability. This man had been a staunch adherent of Antonius. He had interposed his veto when it was first proposed to brand him as a public enemy; but the eloquence of Cicero had convinced him of his error, and he had attached himself recently with ardour to the policy of the republicans. When he heard that the triumvirs were entering Rome he knew that his fate was sealed. He summoned his friends to a banquet, and entertained them as one soon to be taken from them. Armed men burst into the room, and when the guests rose in dismay, the centurion bade them resume their seats, and look on in silence. He then seized Salvius by the hair, and dragging his head across the table, severed it from the body with a blow. Paralysed with horror the guests sate motionless into the middle of the night, and gazed on the mangled remains.

But the death of Annalis, one of the prætors, was peculiarly touching. He was in the act of suing the citizens for

Anecdotes of
the proscription.

Death of
Salvius.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* iv. 8-11.; Dion, *xlvi.* 1-19.

Death of Annalis, their suffrages on behalf of his son, who was a candidate for the quæstorship, and was passing from house to house, escorted by his lictors, and attended by a troop of friends and clients, when his name was described on the fatal list. In a moment he found himself alone. He contrived to escape to the dwelling of one of his clients in an obscure spot outside the walls. There he might perhaps have eluded the bloodhounds of the triumvirs: but the son discovered his hiding-place and revealed it to the assassins, seeking and obtaining the ædileship as his reward. But the same night, as he was returning intoxicated from a feast in which he had celebrated his guilty success, he met the very party who had just slain his father, and fell himself by their hands

and of Thoranius, in a drunken quarrel. Another of the proscribed, named Thoranius, having a son who stood high in favour with Antonius, besought the assassins to allow him an hour that his son might exert his influence in his behalf. They grinned, and replied that the son had just demanded his death. The old man begged for a last interview with his unnatural offspring, and when brought into his presence warned him to reject the patrimonial inheritance, lest his brother should in like manner denounce him also. This monster met with his punishment in due time, though less sudden and less striking than in the former instance. It was remarked that he quickly spent his ill-gotten wealth, was accused of theft or peculation, and driven into exile.¹

Both our principal authorities, Appian and Dion, especially the former, have given full details and abundant anecdotes of this frightful period. They balance against each other the traits of devotion and perfidy, of meanness and generosity, which were displayed by wives and husbands, children and parents, masters and slaves.² But the interest which attaches to one name, the

Proscription of Marcus and Quintus Cicero.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* iv. 18.

² Velleius is particularly smart on this subject: "Id tamen notandum est, fuisse in proscriptos uxorum fidem summam, libertorum mediam, servorum aliquam, filiorum nullam." (ii. 67.)

most conspicuous, and probably the first, on the bloody list, the name of Marcus Cicero, attracts us irresistibly to the event in which all our sympathy centres. The last days of the most amiable of Roman statesmen, in the midst of his utter despair for the republic, and too abject alarm for himself, had been brightened at least by the society and renewed confidence of his brother Quintus. He had deeply lamented, without resenting it, the apostasy of Cæsar's lieutenant from the cause of liberty; an act which had been darkened still more by the ill offices, which at least in Cicero's apprehension he had not scrupled to do him with the dictator. But since the event of the tyrannicide Quintus had repented of his treachery, and had devoted himself, though in no conspicuous post, to the service of the republic, and the advancement of his brother's policy. He too was now marked out for death. The brothers were together at the Tusculan villa. From thence they fled in company from one retreat to another, anxious to effect their escape into Macedonia, an asylum which they preferred to Syria or to Sicily, where Sextus Pompeius had now raised the standard of liberty. They bent their steps towards Astura, a maritime residence of Marcus Cicero, borne in litters, from which they had the mournful satisfaction of conversing together as they proceeded. On the way they recollected that they had not with them money sufficient for their contemplated expedition.¹ Quintus determined to return to Rome for the necessary supply, while the elder brother, whose danger was perhaps the most imminent, should prosecute his flight alone. A mournful separation ensued. Quintus reached the city, but was immediately recognized by the assassins, and slain together with his son, after an affecting scene of mutual devotion. Each had claimed to be the first to die: the soldiers

They fly together from
Tusculum.

Quintus returning to Rome is slain with his son.

Plut. *Cic.* 47. Astura was an island at the mouth of a little stream of the same name, on the coast a few miles south of Antium. Cicero describes it (*ad Att.* xii. 19.): "Est hic quidem locus amœnus, et in mari ipso, qui et Antio et Circæiis aspici possit."

divided themselves into two parties and slew both at the same moment.¹

Meanwhile the surviving fugitive reached Astura, and there embarked. A favourable breeze wafted the vessel off the promontory of Circeii, and from thence the sailors were about to stand out to sea, when Cicero once more determined to land, and throw himself, as was supposed, on the clemency of Octavius. He proceeded some miles on the road to Rome; again he changed his mind, and retraced his steps to Circeii. There the night overtook him, and the hours of solitude and darkness increased his sleepless agitation. Some said that he now conceived a design of getting secretly into Octavius's dwelling, and slaying himself upon his hearthstone, *to fasten upon him an avenging demon*.² But from this design he was driven by the fear of tortures, and the recollection of Trebonius's cruel fate. With the dawn of day a gleam of hope once more visited the miserable sufferer. He besought his attendants to bear him once again to the sea-shore, and put him on board a bark. But adverse winds, or the distress of sea-sickness, or his own wavering resolution, induced him to return to land a second time, and he took up his abode for the night in his villa near Formiæ.³ In vain was he warned of the danger of these wretched delays. Utterly prostrated by anguish of mind and weariness of body, he only replied, *Let me die, let me die in my father-land, which I have so often saved*. But his slaves now shut their ears to their master's

M. Cicero
seeks to escape
from Italy.
His fatal vacil-
lation.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* iv. 20.; Dion, xlvii. 10.⁶

² Plut. *l. c.* Drumann remarks that he would rather have sought the house of Antonius. But the tradition seems to indicate the bitter mortification and remorse Cicero felt at having been deceived in his estimate of Octavius. See the *Epistola ad Octavium*, before referred to.

³ Formiæ, now Mola di Gaeta, four miles from Gaeta, the Caieta of the Romans. Cicero's villa was one mile from the coast, and at that distance considerable remains are now visible. The wood commemorated in this narrative has dwindled into "vines, olives, and hedges." (Eustace, *Class. Tour*, ii. 313.) A sort of obelisk in two stories close by is believed by the natives to be Cicero's tomb.

moans, and taking him in their arms, replaced him in his litter, with which they hurried again towards the coast, through the thick woods which lay between. The bloodhounds were already on the scent. Scarcely had the house been quitted, when a band of soldiers, led by an officer named Popilius, a client whom Cicero's advocacy had saved from the penalty of parricide, approached and thundered at the closed doors. No one appeared to give them admittance, and when they burst them open, the servants of the house denied any knowledge of the fugitive's movements. There was a traitor, however, near at hand. A young man, who had been emancipated by Quintus, and educated by Marcus Cicero, by name Philogonus, put the assassins on his track. Some of them followed in pursuit, while Popilius made a rapid circuit to occupy the outlet of the path through the woods. Cicero had not yet reached the open shore, when he perceived the pursuers gaining upon him. His party were more numerous than the enemy: they would have drawn their swords in their master's defence, but he forbade them; or, according to another account, they were deceived by a stratagem into the belief that they were attacked by superior numbers, and desisted from the attempt.¹ Cicero now bade his slaves set down the litter, and leaning his chin on his left hand, his usual posture in meditation, he fixed his eyes steadily on his murderers, and offered his throat to the sword.² The ruffians were shocked at the squalid unshorn visage of the great man whose blood they thirsted for. Many covered their faces with their hands, and their leader's nerves were so shaken, that he drew the blade three times across the victim's throat like a saw, before he could sever the head from the body.³ With the head the murderer carried off the hands also; such was the command

He is pursued and overtaken.

Cicero is slain, and his head and hands

¹ Comp. Liv. *cxv.* fragm., with Appian, *B. C.* iv. 20.

² Besides the authorities for the circumstances of Cicero's death above referred to, comp. Val. Max. v. 3, 4.; Seneca, *Suas.* i. 7.; Vell. ii. 66. Livy, Appian and Plutarch are not quite consistent with one another.

³ Lucan, viii. 673.: "Nondum artis erat caput ense rotare."

placed by Antonius on the rostra.

of Antonius: the thunder of the Philippics had issued from the one, but the other had inscribed them upon parchment more durable than stone or brass. They were carried to Rome, and set up in front of the rostra, to the amazement and horror of the people, who for so many years had been swayed by the expression of that countenance, and the majestic movement of those hands.¹ Antonius openly exulted in the sight, and rewarded the assassins with profuse liberality. Fulvia, with all the littleness of female resentment, pierced the tongue with her needle, in double revenge for the denunciations it had uttered against both her husbands.²

Reflections on the death and character of Cicero.

Many writers, it has been remarked, have related the death of Cicero, but Plutarch alone has painted it. In the narrative here laid before him the reader has the substance of this picturesque account, together with some touches introduced from collateral sources. In this, as in many other passages of his Lives, the Greek biographer has evidently aimed at creating an effect, and though he seems to have been mainly guided by the genuine narrative of Tiro, Cicero's beloved freedman,³ we may suspect him of having embellished it to furnish a striking termination to one of his favourite sketches. Nevertheless the narrative is mainly confirmed by a fragment of Livy's history, which has fortunately been preserved. The Roman author vies with the Greek in throwing dignity and interest over the great statesman's end. But in reviewing the uneven tenor of his career, Livy concludes with the stern comment, *He bore none of his calamities as a man should, except his death.* These are grave words. In the mouth of one who had cast his scrutinizing glance over the characters and exploits of all the heroes of the great republic, and had learnt by the training of his life-long

¹ Vell. l. c.; Juvenal, x. 120.

² Hieron. *adv. Rufin.* ii., following the earlier authorities: "Fecerunt hæc et Fulvia in Ciceronem, et Herodias in Joannem, quia veritatem non poterant audire, et linguam veriloquam discriminali acu confoderunt." Drumann, vi. 379.

³ Asconius (*ad Cicer. pro Mil.* p. 49.) refers to the fourth book of Tiro's *Life of Cicero.* Comp. Plut. *Cic.* 41. 49.

studies to discriminate moral qualities and estimate desert, they constitute the most important judgment on the conduct of Cicero that antiquity has bequeathed to us.¹ Few indeed among the Romans ever betrayed a want of resolution in the face of impending death. But it was in the endurance of calamity rather than the defiance of danger that the courage of Cicero was deficient. The orator, whose genius lay in the arts of peace and persuasion, exhibited on more than one occasion a martial spirit worthy of other habits and a ruder training. In the contest with Catilina he displayed all the moral confidence of a veteran general: in the struggle with Antonius he threw himself without reserve into a position where there was no alternative but to conquer or to perish. In the earlier conflict he had still his fame to acquire, his proud ascendancy to establish; and the love of praise and glory inspired him with the audacity which makes and justifies its own success. But in the later, he courted danger for the sake of retaining the fame he so dearly prized. He had once saved his country, and he could not endure that it should be said he had ever deserted it. He loved his country; but it was for his own honour, which he could preserve, rather than for his country's freedom, which he despaired of, that he returned to his post when escape was still possible. He might have remained silent, but he opened the floodgates of his eloquence. When indeed he had once launched himself on the torrent he lost all self-command; he could neither retrace nor moderate his career; he saw the rocks before him, but he dashed himself headlong against them. But another

¹ Liv. *Fragm.* lib. cxx., apud Sence. *Suasor.* v.: "Omnium adversorum nihil ut viro dignum erat tulit præter mortem." Comp. Quintil. *Inst.* xii. 1. It is easy to say that Livy, writing under the domination of Octavius, was obliged to throw a slur upon the victim of the proscription. There was no such necessity. Velleius has shown that the emperors of the Julian line could tolerate a warm panegyric on Cicero, and were satisfied if the odium of his destruction was thrown upon Antonius. Cicero's memory found severer judges in the descendants of the Pompeian faction (Livy himself was eminent-ly Pompeian), than the Cæsarean. Lucan denounces his perverse impolicy (vii. 65.). It can hardly be accidental that Tacitus, in his historical works,

grave authority has given us the judgment of antiquity, that Cicero's defect was the want of steadfastness.¹ His courage had no dignity because it lacked consistency. All men and all parties agreed that he could not be relied upon to lead, to co-operate, or to follow. In all the great enterprises of his party, he was left behind, except that which the nobles undertook against Catilina, in which they rather thrust him before them than engaged with him on terms of mutual support. When we read the vehement claims which Cicero put forth to the honour of association, however tardy, with the glories and dangers of Cæsar's assassins, we should deem the conspirators guilty of a monstrous oversight in having neglected to enlist him in their design, were we not assured that he was not to be trusted as a confederate either for good or for evil.

Of all the characters of antiquity Cicero is undoubtedly that with which we are most intimately acquainted; for he alone has left to us the record of his thoughts and actions for more than half his public career in a voluminous mass of familiar as well as political correspondence. No public character probably could pass unscathed through the fiery ordeal to which he has thus subjected himself. Cicero, it must be avowed, is convicted from his own mouth of vanity, inconstancy, sordidness, jealousy, malice, selfishness, and timidity. But on the other hand no character, public or private, could thus bare its workings to our view without laying a stronger claim to our sympathy, and extorting from us more kindly consideration than we can give to the mere shell of the human being with which ordinary history brings us in contact. Cicero gains more than he loses by the confessions he pours into our ear. We read in his letters what we should vainly search for in the meagre pages of Sallust and Appian, in the captious criticism

Ample materials for estimating Cicero's character, in his correspondence.

never mentions him. The most glowing tribute to Cicero's merits is the well-known passage in Juvenal, viii. 237., and this is written in the spirit of a Marian, or anti-oligarch. Comp. Vell. ii. 66.

¹ M. Seneca, *Suasor.* ii. 12.: "Nemo sine vitio est; in Catone moderatio, in Cicerone constantia desideratur."

of Dion, and even in the pleasant anecdotes of his friendly biographer Plutarch, his amiableness, his refined urbanity, his admiration for excellence, his thirst for fame, his love of truth, equity, and reason. Much indeed of the patriotism, the honesty, the moral courage he exhibited was really no other than the refined ambition of attaining the respect of his contemporaries and bequeathing a name to posterity. He might not act from a sense of duty, like Cato, but his motives, personal and selfish as they in some sense were, coincided with what a more enlightened conscience would have felt to be duty. Thus his proconsulate is perhaps the purest and most honourable passage in his life. His strict and rare probity amidst the temptations of office arrests our attention and extorts our praise; yet assuredly Cicero had no nice sense of honour, and was controlled by no delicacy of sentiment, where public opinion was silent, or a transaction strictly private. His courting his ward Publilia for her dower, his caressing Dolabella for the sake of getting his debt paid, his soliciting the historian Luceius to colour and exaggerate the merits of his consulship, display a grievous want of magnanimity and of a predominant sense of right.¹ Fortunately his instinct taught him to see in the constitution of the republic the fairest field for the display of his peculiar talents; the orator and the pleader could not fail to love the arena on which the greatest triumphs of his genius had been or were yet, as he hoped, to be acquired. And Cicero indeed was not less ambitious than Cæsar or Pompeius, Antonius or Octavius. To the pursuit of fame he sacrificed many interests and friendships. He was not less jealous of a rival in his chosen career than any of the leaders of party and candidates for popular favour. He could not endure competition for the throne of eloquence and the sceptre of persuasion. It was on this account perhaps that he sought his associates among the young, from whose rivalry he

¹ See the letter to Luceius, *ad Div.* v. 12.: "Itaque te plane etiam atque etiam rogo ut et ornes ea vehementius etiam quam fortasse sentis, et in eo leges historiæ negligas amorique nostro pluseulum etiam quam concedat veritas largiare."

had nothing to fear, rather than from his own contemporaries, the candidates for the same prize of public admiration which he aimed at securing for himself. From his pages there flows an incessant stream of abuse of all the great masters of political power in his time : of Cæsar and Pompeius, of Crassus and Antonius, not to mention his coarse vituperation of Pise and Gabinius, and his uneasy sneers at the impracticable Cato. We may note the different tone which his disparagement assumes towards these men respectively. He speaks of Cæsar with awe, of Pompeius with mortification, with dislike of Crassus, with bitter malice of Antonius. Cæsar, even when he most deeply reprobates him, he personally loves ;¹ the cold distrust of Pompeius vexes his self-esteem ; between him and Crassus there subsists a natural antipathy of temperament ; but Antonius, the hate of his old age, becomes to him the incarnation of all the evil his long and bitter experience of mankind has discovered in the human heart.² While we suspect Cicero of injustice towards the great men of his day, we are bound also to specify the gross dishonesty with which he magnifies his own merits where they are trivial, and embellishes them where they are really important. The perpetual recurrence to the topic of his own political deserts must have wearied the most patient of friends, and more than balanced the display of sordidness and time-serving which Atticus doubtless reflected back in his share of the correspondence between them.

¹ Such at least is his tone up to the time of Cæsar's death. In the agony of the crisis that followed he speaks of him bitterly enough.

² I have noticed several traits, and passed over many more, of what can be called by no milder name than ferocity in Cicero's language towards his enemies. They can be palliated only by reference to the constant exaggeration in which the orator indulged. But Cicero was a moralist as well as an orator, and he certainly left upon his contemporaries an unfavourable impression of the qualities of his heart. Livy continues the sentence quoted above with the words, "(mors) quæ vere existimanti minus indigna videri potuit, quod a victore inimico nil crudelius passurus erat quam quod ejusdem fortunæ compos ipse fecisset." The execution of the Catilinarians was an act of sanguinary panic, such as provokes and may sometimes compel retaliation.

But while Cicero stands justly charged with many grave infirmities of temper and defects of principle, while we remark with a sigh the vanity, the inconstancy, and the ingratitude he so often manifested, while we lament his ignoble subserviencies and his ferocious resentments, the high standard by which we claim to judge him is in itself the fullest acknowledgment of his transcendent merits. For undoubtedly had he not placed himself on a higher moral level than the statesmen and sages of his day, we should pass over many of his weaknesses in silence, and allow his pretensions to our esteem to pass almost unchallenged. But we demand a nearer approach to the perfection of human wisdom and virtue in one who sought to approve himself the greatest of their teachers. Nor need we scruple to admit that the judgment of the ancients on Cicero was for the most part unfavourable. The moralists of antiquity required in their heroes virtues with which we can more readily dispense; and they too had less sympathy with many qualities which a purer religion and a wider experience have taught us to love and admire. Nor were they capable, from their position, of estimating the slow and silent effects upon human happiness of the lessons which Cicero enforced. After all the severe judgments we are compelled to pass on his conduct, we must acknowledge that there remains a residue of what is amiable in his character and noble in his teaching beyond all ancient example. Cicero lived and died in faith. He has made converts to the belief in virtue, and had disciples in the wisdom of love. There have been dark periods in the history of man, when the feeble ray of religious instruction paled before the torch of his generous philanthropy. The praise which the great critic pronounced upon his excellence in oratory may be justly extended to the qualities of his heart, and even in our enlightened days it may be held no mean advance in virtue to venerate the master of Roman philosophy.¹

Cicero judged
by a higher
standard than
other great
men of anti-
quity.

The date of Cicero's assassination is fixed to the seventh

¹ Quintilian, *Inst.* x. 1. : "Ille se profecisse sciat cui Cicero valde placebit."

of December, when he wanted twenty-seven days to complete his sixty-fourth year.¹ As his name stood conspicuous in the original list of seventeen victims publicly denounced before the triumvirs reached Rome, it is probable that nearly a month elapsed between the notification of his danger and his actual death. Assuredly there could be no difficulty in discovering his retreat at Tusculum, and these dates seem to prove that he was not hotly pursued, and might without difficulty have escaped. To the last he could hardly persuade himself that his persecutors were inexorable. Of the associates of his proscription a large proportion probably eluded pursuit, which seems to have relaxed again after the death of the most illustrious victim.² Many crossed the sea to Macedonia, others to Africa; a still larger number took refuge in the vessels which Sextus sent to cruise off the coast of Latium and Campania, for the purpose of rendering them assistance.³ Many also of those who were seized found the enemy not implacable; Lepidus and Antonius were accessible to bribes, if not to entreaties. Octavius seems to have felt already the advantage of placing his own lenity in favourable contrast with his rival's ferocity.⁴ The writers of the empire could assert of him, from the review of his conduct in after life, that he was not by nature cruel, but partook

¹ Tacit. *Dial. de Orat.* 17.: "Ut de Cicerone ipso loquar, Hirtio nempe et Pansa consulibus, ut Tiro libertus ejus scripsit, vii. Idus Decembris occisus est." Cicero was born Jan. 3. A. U. 648. of the old calendar. Fischer's *Röm. Zeit.* p. 332.

² Vell. ii. 64.: "Tribuni (Canuti) sanguine commissa proscriptio, Ciceronis vel satiatio Antonio pæne finita."

³ Dion, xlvii. 12.; Appian, *B. C.* iv. 36. Among those who escaped was M. Terentius Varro, who was concealed by Calenus.

⁴ Plutarch (*Anton.* 21.) says that Antonius incurred the most blame for the proscriptions, as being older than Octavius, and of more influence than Lepidus. Velleius declares that Octavius opposed the measure, but was outvoted by the others. We must not however overlook the testimony of Suetonius, who says of Octavius: "Restitit aliquamdiu collegis ne qua fieret proscriptio, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit." He goes on to mention special instances not only of his selfish cruelty, but of his ferocity. (Suet. *Oct.* 28.) It must be remembered that this writer paints all his characters in the strongest colours. There is no shade in his portraits of the Cæsars.

largely of the generous character of the noble Julius.¹ Nor had he many private injuries to avenge. Antonius alone seems to have really enjoyed the taste of blood. He was urged on by a fiend in woman's shape, the notorious Fulvia; and while the female relatives of the other triumvirs sought to soothe their passions, his wife alone demanded the death of his enemies and sported with their sufferings. The proscription of the triumvirs differed widely from those of Marius and of Sulla. The one was devised principally as a means of extorting money by confiscation, while the others were directed to the extermination of the obnoxious chiefs of the opposite parties. The soldiers still cried aloud for their promised donatives; the equipment of the vast armaments still in preparation for the impending war demanded ready money: but the treasury stood empty, half the provinces were closed against the fiscal officers, every ordinary means of raising revenue proved abortive; confiscation of private fortunes alone offered a ready resource for filling the coffers of the state. The proscription, in short, was a fiscal expedient. A fourth list of victims was shortly put forth; but these were not doomed to death, but only to the loss of their property. Among them many were women, and to these a small portion of their means was ostensibly reserved, though such a provision in their behalf was not perhaps carefully observed.² But this persecution of the female sex was a thing so unprecedented in the annals of civil strife among the Romans, that one historian takes occasion to dress up a fictitious narrative of a female insurrection in consequence.³ So scrupulously did the revolutionary leaders abstain from assailing the innocent sex and age, that when the triumvirs demanded in one instance the

A fourth list of proscription, for the sake of extorting money.

¹ Dion, xlvii. 7.

² Dion, xlvii. 16, 17.

³ Appian, *B. C.* iv. 32. But Valerius Maximus mentions that Hortensia, the daughter of the great orator, delivered a speech before the triumvirs in deprecation of this severity (viii. 3. 3.), and Quintilian states that her discourse was published and known in his day. *Inst. Orat.* i. 1. 6.

sacrifice of a minor, they caused him to be first invested with the robe of manhood before they inscribed his name on the fatal roll.¹

But the triumvirs had employed an instrument which they could not control. The horror of the proscription was more than doubled by the impunity it threw over the gratification of private malice. Every one who rewarded an injury or coveted a neighbour's estate, found the means under this bloody enactment of satisfying his vengeance or his cupidity. The proscribed were not all nor perhaps the greater number of those who perished. Murders were daily committed, and no one was called to account for them. Antonius remarked in one instance, with little emotion, that he knew not the countenance of the mangled head presented to him. The estates of the slaughtered victims were sold at a low price to the assassins, while the soldiers were let loose throughout the broad fields of Italy, ostensibly to hunt out the victims, but really in order to throw upon the country the burden of their support.² The magistracies in the towns were given to tribunes and centurions as the reward of these services, while the highest offices in the city were distributed, immediately or in prospect, among the nobler adherents of the triumphant party. Octavius resigned the consulship in favour of Ventidius, while the seat vacated by the death of Pedius devolved upon C. Carrinas. Ventidius Bassus was a Picenian by birth, and while yet a child had been carried at his mother's breast before the car of Pompeius, the father of Magnus, when he triumphed over the Italians in the Social War. The strange reverse of fortune by which the foreign captive became exalted to the highest dignity of the conquering republic formed a subject of admiring comment to the writers of antiquity.³ It deserved to be remarked as a splendid illustration of the wisdom by which the franchise and honours of the city were so frequently opened to her subjects.

The triumvirs reward their adherents and agents.

Octavius resigns the consulship to Ventidius. His remarkable story.

¹ Dion, xlvii. 6.

² Dion, xlvii. 14.

³ Val. Max. vi. 9. 9. Juvenal (vii. 199.) compares his elevation with that

Ventidius, low perhaps originally in birth and condition, had been for a time a jobber of beasts of burden to the public officers. Cæsar had discovered in him the promise of military talents, and carried him into Gaul. There he had rapidly acquired distinction, and his second patron Antonius was induced to reward his fidelity by investing him with the prætorship, and the consulship in the course of the same year. The trusty veteran had not yet reached the summit of his adventurous career.

But these magistracies could be enjoyed for a few days only. The year 712 was about to commence, and the consuls appointed for this year were Lepidus and Plancus. Both of them could rest their claims to such honours upon the strength of the military reinforcements they brought to the common league. It may be surmised that Plancus had made the consulship the condition of his timely adhesion to the Cæsarean conspiracy. Both he and Lepidus had further demanded the distinction of a triumph: the one pretended to have gathered laurels in Gaul, the other in Spain; but history is silent as to their services. Plancus had sealed his devotion to the cause by demanding the proscription of a brother, and when the two fratricides traversed the streets conspicuous in their triumphal chariots, the soldiers, it is said, with the usual camp-licence, hailed them with the bitter verse, *The consuls triumph not over the Gauls, but over the Germans*, i. e. their brothers.¹ The citizens cursed them as they rode along; and it was in vain that Lepidus issued an edict, commanding them to rejoice and be merry under pain of proscription.

Lepidus and
Plancus consuls
for the year
712.

of the slave-king Servius Tullius. Aulus Gellius (xv. 4.) gives his history, and adds the pasquinade which was made upon him:

“Concurrere omnes augures, haruspices,
Portentum inusitatum conflatum est recens;
Nam mulos qui fricabat consul factus est.”

¹ Vel. ii. 67.: “De Germanis non de Gallis duo triumphant consules.” But the Fasti Capitolini assign the respective triumphs of the consuls to two separate days, Dec. 29. and 31., and the story will not bear to be accepted literally

We now turn to the state of affairs on the other side of the Adriatic. Brutus having seized the government of Macedonia had been engaged in securing the points of communication with Italy. The interests of M.

The republicans beyond the Adriatic.

Antonius were still upheld in those regions by Vatinius at Dyrrhachium, and C. Antonius at Apollonia; and the efforts of the republican leader had been directed to reducing these two strongholds, the gates of his province on the west. Vatinius had maintained himself against his assailant, and had audaciously claimed a triumph for his success against the troops of a compatriot; but the triumvir's brother had been worsted, and fallen into his adversary's hands. Brutus however had magnanimously spared his life.¹ The tyrannicide was still anxious that Cæsar's blood alone should atone for Cæsar's usurpation. He received with generous pride the decree of the senate which confirmed to him the command in Macedonia, wrote to encourage Octavius to arm against the enemies of the state, and declared himself ready to cross over into Italy whenever the expected summons should arrive. He had subdued every appearance of disaffection in his province, and had quelled a mutiny among his own troops, hastily collected together, and consisting partly of deserters from the enemy's ranks. To secure their goodwill he had been constrained to adopt the common practice of the commanders of his time. He had made unprovoked war upon the Bessi for the sake of plunder, and harassed the natives of his own

Brutus collects and exercises his forces in Macedonia.

province with excessive exactions.² There must have been great difficulty in officering these forces with trusty partisans, since we find that the young Horace, then studying at Athens, without birth or connexions and hardly twenty years of age, was entrusted with high com-

¹ Dion, *xlvi.* 21.; Plut. *Brut.* 26. Brutus spared his captive a second time when he discovered him intriguing with his soldiers. It is a question however whether on a third provocation he did not put him to death after he had heard of the massacre of Decimus. Plut. *Brut.* 28.

² Dion, *xlvi.* 25.; Plut. *Brut.* 28-32.

mand immediately upon his enlistment.¹ Brutus continued to exercise his soldiers by various incursions upon the barbarians beyond the frontier, from which he acquired the title of imperator, which carried with it a certain assurance of valour and experience among the Roman legionaries. It was at this time also that he coined money with his own effigy, so forgetful was even Brutus of the traditions of the republic, and stamped the reverse with a cap of liberty between two naked daggers.²

Nor had Cassius been less active and successful in establishing the authority of the senate throughout the province, and on the frontiers of Syria. He had avenged upon Dolabella the cruel murder of Trebonius; he Cassius undisputed master of Syria. had subdued the hostility of the city of Tarsus, enlisted in his service auxiliaries from Parthia, and repressed by the terror of his presence the Cæsarean sympathies of the natives of Palestine. Cæcilius Bassus, who had affected to defend the republic against the dictator's lieutenants, but who had refused to deliver up his forces to the proconsul appointed by the senate, had been deserted by his own soldiers, and Cassius, in consideration of his hostility to Cæsar, had dismissed him unpunished. The two republican chieftains, emboldened by these successes, and now Brutus musters eight legions, Cassius eleven at the head, Brutus of eight, Cassius of eleven legions, met once more in the province of Asia. They were

¹ Horat. *Sat.* i. vi. 48.: "Quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno." There were properly six tribunes in each legion, who commanded by turns. But it is not likely that the old rules of the service were strictly adhered to at this time, and Horace's expression "pareret mihi" must be understood with considerable latitude.

² Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* vi. 24. Dion adds that there was an inscription declaring that he and Cassius had restored liberty to Rome. He alludes probably to the significant EID. MAR. which may be read on these remarkable coins. The tyrannicide's face is thin, and bears out the famous saying of Cæsar regarding both him and Cassius. (See Chap. XXI.) Such is not the character, if I remember rightly, of the fine unfinished bust preserved in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, beneath which the lines have been inscribed:

"Dum ducit sculptor Bruti de marmore vultum
In mentem sceleris venit et abstinuit."

informed by this time of the course of events in Rome, and war having become inevitable, they debated whether to cross the sea at once and seek the foe in Italy, or to await his attack in Macedonia. They agreed to remain on the defensive, and while they relied on the posture of Sextus Pompeius to keep the attention of the triumvirs distracted, contented themselves with stimulating their allies, chastising their enemies, and amassing arms and stores within their own frontiers for the final struggle for freedom.

With Sextus indeed the liberators had had little direct communication. Whether they distrusted the associate of brigands and pirates, who never scrupled to enlist even slaves under his banners, or whether they shrank from the heir to the name and claims of Pompeius, the genuine patriots of the senatorial party were disposed to fight their own battle alone. Sextus, after maintaining a long desultory contest with Cæsar's captains in Spain, having been driven from his retreats by Pollio, had been warmly received by the Massilians after the dictator's death. From their secure haven he had observed the revival of the Cæsarean faction, and had accepted with alacrity the maritime command with which the senate, in its deepest despair, had invested him. While the triumvirs were concocting their schemes of murder and spoliation, he had silently collected a large fleet, and launched upon the waters of the Mediterranean, where he proceeded to wrest from their grasp the flourishing island of Sicily. Here he set up his standard, and soon received the submission of Bithynicus, the Cæsarean pro-prætor,¹ while his vessels ran along the coast and signalled the fugitive proscripts. It was among the first cares of the triumvirs, when firmly seated in power, to contest the sovereignty of the sea with an enemy so near and so audacious. While Lepidus retained as consul the government of the city and the general supervision of the common interests in Italy, while

Sextus Pompeius seizes upon Sicily.

Antonius arms against the re-

Antonius undertook, as the most experienced in military command, to confront the vast arma-

¹ Appian, *B. C.* iv. 84.

ments collected under the republican banner in the East, Octavius was charged with the task of assailing Sextus in his insular stronghold. For this service a fleet of war galleys was equipped in the ports of Ostia and Misenum, and Salvidienus was ordered to engage the flotilla which the young Pompeius had mustered with the friendly aid of the roving pirates of the Mediterranean. But their light vessels were better found, and proved more manageable in the shifting currents of the straits of Messina, where the fleets met, than the heavier barks which were brought against them. Salvidienus was compelled to withdraw, with the loss of an equal number of ships with the enemy, which implies a much greater loss of men, stores, and materials. Octavius had descended to the extreme point of the Bruttian peninsula with a large force to support his naval operations; but finding the means of transport cut off, or, as he himself announced, being summoned peremptorily to his colleague's assistance, he broke up from Rhegium where his quarters lay, and directed his march to Brundisium.

publicans, Octavius against Sextus.

Octavius, unable to cope with Sextus by sea, prepares to join Antonius in the East.

Meanwhile a large division of the triumvirs' forces had been thrown into Macedonia under the command of Norbanus and Decidius Saxa. The passage of the Ionian Gulf, it seems, had not been disputed, and it was not till after several legions had landed that Statius Murcus, who commanded the republican fleets, took up an attitude of observation off the coast of Apuleia.¹ Brutus and Cassius were both at this moment in Asia, engaged in the chastisement or plunder of Rhodes and Xanthus, and the Antonian forces were allowed to penetrate unchecked through Macedonia into Thrace, and to close the defiles of the Rhodope against the republican leaders. The liberators now united their legions with tardy resolution, and crossed the Bosphorus, while Antonius on the other hand was hastening to support his advanced corps, and taking advantage of every favourable breeze to waft men and stores

The chiefs of either party unite their forces, and confront each other near Philippi in Thrace.

¹ Dion, xlvii. 35.

across the Ionian. Murens was unable to cope with the skill or good fortune of the Cæsarean navigators. Antonius crossed in safety first, and was shortly followed by Octavius, who was detained however by sickness at Dyrrhachium, while his colleague hastened to join his lieutenants at Philippi, and by his sudden and opportune arrival saved them from the attack of an overwhelming enemy. The republicans finding the passes barred against them had turned Norbanus's flank by a circuitous route. They occupied two hills facing the city just named, to the south-east, their left flank resting on the sea. They connected their double camp with a long line of rampart, and blocked up the hollow between the hills, through which lay the direct communication with the East. Brutus posted himself on the right, Cassius on the left of these eminences.¹ Their legions amounted to nineteen in number; they were not all raised to their full complement, but counted not less than eighty thousand effective combatants among them. Their cavalry was estimated at twenty thousand, an unusually large proportion, and the rear and flanks of their position were thronged, if not encumbered, by masses of Oriental auxiliaries. The news of a partial check sustained by Antonius reached Octavius on his sick bed. He feared lest his colleague should either lose or win a battle in his own absence; for in the one case he should be unable to withstand alone the victorious republicans, in the other he anticipated that Antonius would speedily turn his arms against himself. Though not yet recovered from his sickness, he caused himself to be carried along with his soldiers on their march, and effected a junction with the other legions, which were now encamped between Amphipolis and Philippi. The three combined armies now outnumbered the republican forces; for though they counted but nineteen legions among them, yet each of these corps rather exceeded than fell below its proper complement. The cavalry of the triumvirs amounted only to thirteen thousand, and their position in a plain liable to inun-

¹ Appian, *B. C.* iv. 107.; Dion, *xlvi.* 35. Col. Leake has shown that our historians' accounts tally sufficiently well with the actual localities.

dition from the river Nestus, was disadvantageous; though the very boldness with which they occupied it, and challenged the enemy to quit his strongholds to attack it, struck terror at the outset into the hearts of their adversaries.

The battle of Philippi, in the estimation of the Roman writers, was the most memorable conflict in their military annals. The numbers engaged on either side far exceed all former experience. Eighty thousand legionaries alone were counted on the one side, and perhaps an hundred and twenty thousand on the other, at least three times as many as fought at Pharsalia. To maintain such immense numbers constantly in a state for active service required all the resources of unscrupulous ingenuity in their commanders. Brutus and Cassius had kept detachments in constant motion from place to place, inventing pretexts, as they exhausted the supplies of one locality, for extorting money and stores from another. The oppression exercised by officers and men upon the natives wherever they were quartered, could not fail to breed impatience and excite tumultuary resistance, and these again furnished excuses for redoubled exactions. The two years during which these proconsuls governed the East cost the provincials not less perhaps of blood and suffering than the ravages of Mithridates, and swelled the cry of the miserable nations for peace at any price, and security under any form of government. The triumvirs may have watched with satisfaction the sure effect of this systematic tyranny in estranging the provinces from the cause of the republic: but neither could they move their vast multitudes to the scene of action without great efforts, pressing exactions, and the loss of much time. Antonius and his colleague had quitted Rome, the one for Brundisium, the other for Rhegium at the beginning of the year; but it was not till the commencement of summer that the former crossed the sea. He had sent forward his first division, as we have seen, under Norbanus and Saxa; but he could not follow them without interposing an interval of some weeks or months. Money was wanting to feed, clothe, and pay the legions;

Their armies
far more nu-
merous than
those which
fought at
Pharsalia.

arms and magazines must be provided; tribunes and centurions strayed from their ranks in the relaxation of the ancient discipline, and could with difficulty be recalled to stated times and places, or when re-assembled be kept strictly together. When at last the march began, it was not as in modern times, in which an army of an hundred thousand men may move on two or three parallel lines to the point of its destination. Two great military roads led from Rome to Brundisium, but from Dyrrhachium a single route passed through the heart of Macedonia, traversing long tracts of mountain and sterile plain, and leaving the abodes of opulence to the right and the left, in its impatience to reach its appointed terminus on the Hellespont; so that the support of an army on the line of march was often precarious and its advance necessarily slow. The rapidity of Cæsar's movements was justly celebrated. He considered speed the first element of success, and in order to attain it he restrained his numbers to the lowest limit. He relied upon training and discipline to supply the place of numbers. He preferred one veteran to a handful of recruits, and the twenty thousand combatants with whom he conquered at Pharsalia could move with many times the speed of such masses as now advanced towards each other, while they could engage, perhaps, on equal terms, with many times their own numbers of less practised swordsmen. It was not till late in the autumn that the three armies of the triumvirs had assembled in their camp at Amphipolis, and there, being destitute of magazines, and having no communication with the sea, they had no choice but to engage at once.¹ The republican generals were surprised and alarmed at the readiness they displayed for the encounter at the moment of their arrival; but in fact delay would have been ruinous, and the promptitude with which they sought the combat was a

¹ Appian, *B. C.* iv. 122.: *ἔδεδοίκεσαν τὸν χειμῶνα προσιόντα*. Comp. Plut. *Brut.* 47.: *χειμῶνα μοχθηρὸν προσδοκῶσιν*. Suetonius, in fixing the birth of Tiberius to November 16. of this year, says that it was after the battle of Philippi. Comp. Dion, vii. 18. This is the nearest approximation we can get to the exact date.

sign of weakness and not of strength. Had their opponents known how to profit by their excellent position and collateral advantages, the fate of Rome would have been decided elsewhere than on the field of Philippi.

But the great battle which ensued was memorable in the Roman annals on another account also. It was on that field that the republic perished. At Pharsalia the contest had been between Cæsar and Pompeius : it was the crisis of the personal rivalry of two competitors for supreme power. We shall remark the same of another great engagement which is yet to follow, the third great battle of the civil wars, the decisive contest of Actium. The republic will lie slain before us, and the struggle will be between Antonius and Octavius over its dead body. But at Philippi there were still chiefs who fought honestly for the republic, and for what they believed to be the common weal. Weak, wavering, and hasty as they had proved themselves at every crisis of their cause, they betrayed at least no selfish views of personal aggrandizement. But the patriot leaders sufficiently proved by their own example since Cæsar's death, that the continuance of legitimate government was impossible. The authority they held in the provinces they had seized for the good of the state indeed, but in direct defiance of its authority ; their only plea being the appointment of the very tyrant whom they had murdered, and whose acts they had denounced. Cassius rebuked Brutus for controlling the profligate corruption of one of their adherents, L. Pella ; and Brutus before his last battle promised his soldiers the plunder of Thessalonica and Laedæmon.¹ The philosopher indeed renounced all confidence in his own principles. He had adopted them from reading or imitation, they were not the natural growth of instinct or genuine reflection, and as may easily happen in such a case, his faith in them failed when they were tested by adversity. As long as there seemed a chance that the *godlike stroke* would be justified by success, Brutus

The republic
perished in the
battle of Philippi.

¹ The Laedæmonians sent aid to the triumvirs. We are left to guess the provocation they had received.

claimed the glory of maintaining a righteous cause ; but when all hope fled, he could take leave of philosophy and life together, and exclaim, *I once dreamed that virtue was a thing, I find her only a name, and the mere slave of fortune.*¹ He had blamed Cato for flying from misery by self-murder ; but he learnt to justify the same desperate act when he contemplated committing it himself.² The legend that when preparing for the encounter with the triumvirs he was visited by the ghost of Cæsar, which summoned him to meet again at Philippi, marks the conviction of the ancients that in the crisis of his fate he was stung by guilty remorse, and haunted by the presentiment of final retribution.

The republican leaders had debated between themselves the tactics they should adopt for the campaign, and the counsel of the more experienced Cassius, who wished to protract the contest and shift it to the eastern side of the Hellespont, had been overruled by the impatience of Brutus, who ascribed his colleague's hesitation to fear, while he was unconscious that his own impetuosity arose rather from disgust and weariness than from any settled conviction on military grounds. At the last moment, when the Antonians challenged their opponents to commence the attack, Cassius would have removed from his position and retreated upon Asia. But Brutus had set his life and fortunes on the event of the morrow, and insisted upon giving battle. Posted on the right wing with the larger half of the combined forces, he was confronted by the legions under the command of Octavius. The eagerness of his soldiers, stimulated by a lavish gratuity, anticipated the word of command, and they rushed with overwhelming force on their adversaries, who speedily gave way, bearing along with them their leader, still feeble from sickness, and so hotly pressed that the litter from which he had just been removed was

Account of the
battle of Phi-
lippi.

¹ Dion (xlvii. 49.) quoting the lines of an unknown dramatist :

ᾧ ὦ τλημων ἀρετῇ, λόγος ἄρ' ἦσθ', ἐγὼ δέ σε
ᾧ ὦς ἔργον ἥσκουν· σὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐδούλευες τύχῃ.

² Plut. *Brut.* 40.

pierced through and through by the exulting pursuers. Brutus stormed the enemy's camp and cut three legions in pieces: but in the mean time Antonius on the right had gained an advantage hardly less decisive over Cassius, whose operations were as feeble and slow as his associate's had been hasty and impetuous. Cassius was defective in eyesight: he mistook the scouts sent in quest of him by Brutus for a detachment of the enemy's horse; and when they saluted and embraced his lieutenant Titinius, he could not be convinced but that they had seized and massacred him. The battle, then, was lost, the cause was desperate, and now his friend was slaughtered, as he deemed, before his eyes. He upbraided himself for having lived too long, and skulking into a tent desired his freedman Pindarus to give him the fatal blow. He had schooled him for this last service in the most imminent peril of the flight from Carrhæ; and he now exacted it. Such was the story; but who was there to attest it? His head was found severed from his body, but Pindarus was never seen again, and the rumour was widely spread that he had slain his patron by secret treachery. Such are the uncertainties of history! Such is the doubt which hangs over the crowning exploit of one whom a partial annalist pronounced the last of the Romans!¹

First engagement: Brutus successful against Octavius, while Antonius has the advantage over Cassius.

Cassius commits suicide.

Brutus, even if he discovered the extent of the disaster on his left in time to repair it, was unable to bring up his legions, scattered as they were in pursuit or plunder. His loss had been much less than that of the Octavians, nor had the division of Cassius, which had fled almost without a blow, suffered any serious damage. But in the mean and cowardly self-sacrifice of its commander the cause had suffered a shock from which it could not recover. The moral effect of this fatal deed dismayed the army and subdued the energies of its surviving

Brutus is incompetent to maintain the discipline of his troops, who force him to fight again.

¹ Plutarch, *Brut.* 43. The expression in the text is attributed to Cremutius Cordus by Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 34. Plutarch and Appian ascribe it to Brutus himself.

leader. Cassius had controlled the turbulence of his soldiers by his rigorous discipline and martial bearing; but the mild student who now remained to console them in their shame, and restore them to confidence, had little influence over their reckless passions. In vain did he scatter money among them, and hold out magnificent hopes of future spoil, while he reluctantly surrendered to their vindictive cruelty the lives of many of his captives. Day by day the legionaries as well as the auxiliaries deserted his standard. Meanwhile the enemy who had suffered much more severely in the late engagement, became seriously distressed by the inconvenience of their position, and were menaced both with famine and sickness. Two legions, among which was the Martian, were cut off by the cruisers of Murcus, in crossing the Ionian straits. It was impossible for the triumvirs to maintain their attitude as assailants, and Brutus might have awaited in security the retirement, if not the dispersion, of their unwieldy multitudes. But the murmurs of a part of his troops, who could neither win a battle nor be satisfied to decline one, forced him against his will to lead forth his army, and meet the enemy, who was more anxious than ever to press the struggle to an issue.

The battle of Philippi was renewed on the same ground after an interval of twenty days. It was well contested:

Second engagement at Philippi. Defeat of the republicans.

there was no sudden and overwhelming onset on the one side, no panic terror and confusion on the other; but both armies advanced to the sword's point with unbroken ranks, and throughout the whole line man challenged man, and each that fell was replaced by a resolute successor. Slowly and gradually, after hours of mutual slaughter, the Cæsareans seemed to gather strength and weight, and at last shattered the foremost ranks of the republicans. When the first line wavered, the second and third yielded to the pressure; all support was withdrawn, and the incumbent mass of the conquerors rushed headlong over the bodies of their adversaries. Among the slain was Marcus, the son of the illustrious Cato, who died a soldier's death, such as his father should have envied, refusing

to fly or to yield, baring his head that he might be recognised, and falling upon a heap of slaughtered enemies. Octavius beleaguered the camp into which the fugitives had poured in confusion, while Antonius urged the pursuit of the scattered multitudes, streaming towards the mountains or the sea. Brutus kept together a force of four legions, with which he gained a secure position among the hills to the rear of his camp; but the slaughter had reached even to the verge of his lines, and Antonius watched him through the night behind a rampart of corpses. The next day he would have made a last effort to break through the ranks of his assailants, and succour the remnant which still occupied the camp. But the soldiers sullenly refused to buckle on their armour again. They bluntly bade their general shift for himself; they had tried the chance of war often enough, and would do no more to cut themselves off from the prospect of quarter. Every hope was fled: the hope of victory, the hope of liberty, even the last hope of dying gloriously in battle. But indignity worse than death might still remain. Brutus retired with a few attendants to a woody covert by the banks of a stream, where he might snatch a few hours of rest and concealment. Here he lamented his slaughtered friends, and invoked, as with his dying breath, retribution upon the head of his enemies. But, as if yet undetermined, he despatched a messenger, to penetrate if possible within the camp, and report the condition of its defenders. Then, hardly waiting for his return, he drew aside his companions one by one, and besought them to strike him to the heart, or hold the point of his sword for himself to fall upon. One after another they all shrank from the horrid service; but as the night drew on, and it became necessary to remove further, he sprang to his feet with desperate resolution, exclaiming, *We must indeed flee, but it shall be with our hands*. Then at last Brutus accomplished the meditated stroke; but it was still un-
Brutus kills himself.
certain whether he held his own sword and threw himself upon it, or prevailed on an attendant to steady the point against his breast. Several of his officers followed his

example. Labeo, having dug himself a grave in his tent, first enfranchised a slave, and then thrust a weapon into his hand to kill him. The ferocity of the victors had been proved by the proscriptions; those who despaired of resisting dared not surrender now, as they had so promptly done at Pharsalia and Munda. Now at last the liberators confessed by their own act of self-murder how much for the worse their change of masters had been.¹ It is affirmed, however, that Antonius caused the body of Brutus to be wrapped in purple and transmitted to his mother Servilia for interment. Porcia's vehement spirit indeed, if we may credit the popular account, was not satisfied with the performance of this last duty. Having threatened self-destruction, she was watched by her attendants, and all apparent means of death removed from her: but she filled her mouth with coals from a burning brazier, pressed her lips firmly together, and perished by suffocation.²

¹ Suetonius, it must be remarked, affirms (*Oct.* 13.) that Octavius behaved with great cruelty to his prisoners after this victory.

² Appian, *B. C.* iv. 136.; Plut. *Brut.* 53., but the latter writer throws some doubt upon the story, or at least upon the motive assigned for it. It has been suggested that she may have inhaled the fumes of charcoal. Comp. the death of Catulus in Florus, iii. 21., "*ignis haustu*," with the expression of Velleius, ii. 22., "*exitiali hausto spiritu*." Regarding the battle of Philippi a curious error was perpetuated among the Roman writers. They persisted in representing it as fought on the same spot as the battle of Pharsalia. The name of Macedonia was given by the Romans to the whole region between the Adriatic and the Hellespont, and such names as Emathia, Hæmonia, were applied very loosely by their poets. I am inclined however to think that the mistake arose from an ambiguity in Virgil's lines, which became a *locus classicus* with succeeding writers:

"Ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi:
Nec fuit indignum superis *bis* sanguine nostro
Emathiam et latos Hæmi pinguescere campos."

The poet here refers to two distinct battles, one in Thessaly (Emathia is not a correct term), the other in Thrace, but the words might very easily mislead. The site of the battles is accordingly confounded by Manilius, i. 908., Ovid. *Met.* xv. 824., Florus, iv. 2., Lucan, i. 680., vii. 854., ix. 271., Juvenal, viii. 242. The mistake may have been favoured by the fact of the double engagement at Philippi. For this meaning of *bis* comp. *Georg.* iii. 33. "*Bisque triumphatus utroque ab litore gentes*," i. e. once on either shore.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ANTONIUS ASSUMES THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EASTERN PROVINCES, AND OCTAVIUS OF THE WESTERN.—LEPIDUS COMMANDS IN AFRICA.—CLEOPATRA FASCINATES ANTONIUS (712), WHO REPAIRS TO HER AT ALEXANDRIA.—INSURRECTION OF L. ANTONIUS, AND WAR OF PERUSIA (713).—RECONCILIATION OF THE TRIUMVIRS: TREATY OF BRUNDISIUM: PEACE RESTORED TO ITALY.—TREATY OF MISENUM AND ADMISSION OF SEXTUS POMPEIUS TO A SHARE OF POWER (715).—VENTIDIUS TRIUMPHS OVER THE PARTHIANS.—QUARREL OF THE TRIUMVIRS WITH SEXTUS.—OCTAVIUS ARMS AGAINST HIM AND IS DEFEATED (716).—TREATY OF TARENTUM.—THE TRIUMVIRATE IS RENEWED FOR FIVE YEARS (717).—AGRIPPA COMMANDS THE OCTAVIAN FLEET.—SECOND CAMPAIGN AGAINST SEXTUS.—ENCOUNTERS WITH VARIOUS SUCCESS.—AGRIPPA'S GREAT VICTORY (718).—LEPIDUS ATTACKS OCTAVIUS, IS DESERTED BY HIS SOLDIERS, CAPTURED AND DEPOSED FROM POWER.—SEXTUS FLIES TO THE EAST AND IS THERE SLAIN (719).—EXTINCTION OF THE SENATORIAL FACTION.—OCTAVIUS COMMANDS IN ROME.—HONOURS HEAPED UPON HIM.—HIS SALUTARY MEASURES.—HIS MINISTERS AGRIPPA AND MÆCENAS: HIS MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCES. (A. U. 712-719, B. C. 42-35.)

THE self-destruction of the chiefs of the republican cause was much more effectual in breaking up their disheartened and deserted party than the vicissitudes of fortune on the plains of Philippi. The loss of men on the side of the vanquished had not been considerable; but the legionaries, of whom a large number had formerly served in Cæsar's ranks, and who were bound to their actual service by no other motive than the hope of plunder, were no longer disposed to support a cause which its own leaders had surrendered as hopeless. They accordingly passed over in large bodies to the other side. Of their officers many hastened to attach themselves to one or

Many of the republican officers make terms with the conquerors.

other of the triumvirs. The younger men, to whom war had not become a trade, and who might hope for distinction in another career, were glad to renounce for ever a profession which they had embraced perhaps in a moment of blind enthusiasm. Such a man was Horace, who had offered his services to Brutus together with young Cicero, the orator's son, and doubtless many other generous students of the Athenian lecture-rooms. Horace lived to merit the favour of Octavius, and to repay it with immortal verse. In his days of ease and security he could afford to raise a smile against himself as the runaway of Philippi, who abandoned his shield to expedite his flight, while the braggarts of the morning lay sprawling in the dust.¹ It would have been impolitic perhaps to remind even the kindest of patrons of the previous action on that same field, in which the Brutians drove the Cæsareans before them, seized their camp, and pierced their general's litter; but history may restore the recreant minstrel to the honours he abused, and claim for him his rightful share in that ineffectual victory.

Some however of the most illustrious of the surviving nobility carried over a few followers to Thasos, which of all the Ægean islands lay nearest to the scene of action. The command of the sea gave them the means of communicating with the detachments of their force which had been left in Asia, and also with their fleet in the Ionian gulf. Valerius Messala, who had stood next to the liberators themselves, in influence and authority among them,² and who headed this band of fugitives, now counselled submission; but while he with L. Bibulus and others gave in his adhesion to Antonius, the rest

Antonius undertakes the subjugation of the eastern provinces, while Octavius returns to Italy.

¹ Hor. *Od.* ii. 7.

² Vell. ii. 71.: "Messala fulgentissimus juvenis proximus in illis castris Biati et Cassii auctoritati." Horace addressed an old comrade with the words,

"Te rursus in bellum resorbens
Unda fretis tulit æstuosis."

Is this merely a metaphor or had the poet in his mind's eye a vision of the flotilla which he had seen wafting the fugitives across the high seas?

joined the armaments of Cassius Parmensis, Clodius, Turulius, and the young Cicero, and betook themselves to the standards of Murcus or of Sextus Pompeius, which still floated triumphantly in the West. The opposite half of the Roman possessions fell at once into the hands of the victors. While Octavius, whose health precluded him from more active exertions, prepared to return to Italy, Antonius undertook the government of the Asiatic provinces, and the consolidation of the authority of the triple league over the dependent potentates of the Eastern frontier. At the same time the presence of a large and still augmenting hostile force in Sicily, Sardinia, and the seas surrounding Italy, compelled them to grasp the control of the provinces nearest the capital also; and under pretence that Lepidus, their absent colleague, was intriguing with Sextus, they assigned to themselves the supreme command in Spain, the Cisalpine, and the two provinces of Africa. They deigned indeed to intimate to Lepidus that the districts last mentioned should be restored to him, if he should succeed in clearing himself from the charge advanced against him; but if he presumed to resist their decree, Octavius was prepared to coerce him with an overwhelming force.

Lepidus however had neither the strength nor the spirit to defend himself. He was easily induced to make the submission required, and was rewarded with the gift of the provinces of Africa.

They compel
Lepidus to sur-
render the com-
mand in Italy,
and content
himself with
the govern-
ment of Africa.

Meanwhile the veterans pressed their demands for lands and money. Octavius undertook to make new assignments of territory, and formed new colonies in Italy, while Antonius proceeded to repeat the same course of exaction and plunder throughout the East which had already ranked the name of Brutus among

Exactions of
Antonius in
Asia.

the spoilers of Asia. He had the merit at least of proclaiming without reserve the motive of his demands. *You deserve death for rebellion*, he declared to the Pergamenes; *this penalty I will remit; but I want money, for I have twenty-eight legions, which with their auxiliary battalions amount to 170,000*

men, besides cavalry and detachments in other quarters.¹ I leave you to conceive what a mass of money must be required to maintain such armaments. My colleague has gone to Italy to divide its soil among these soldiers, and to expel, so to speak, the Italians from their own country. Your lands we do not demand; but instead thereof we will have money. And when you hear how easily, after all, we shall be contented, you will, we conceive, be satisfied to pay and be quit of us.

We demand only the same sum which you have contributed during the last two years to our adversaries; that is to say, the tribute of ten years; but our necessities compel us to insist upon receiving this sum within twelve months.² The case of the Pergamenes was common to all the states which had submitted to the republican proconsuls. On Xanthus, Rhodes and Athens, and other cities which had suffered still more severely in consequence of their resistance to Brutus, the conqueror bestowed favours and immunities: but his hand fell heavy upon Phrygia, Mysia, Gallogræcia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Cœle-Syria, Palestine, Ituræa, and the other districts of Syria. The treasures indeed he grasped at were mostly squandered before they reached his hands by flatterers and parasites, the ministers of his licentious pleasures; and to the despoiled it was little consolation that he was more immoderate in rewarding his favourites than in chastising his foes; or that his rude good humour could endure to be bantered by the associates of his revels.³

Among other political affairs, the triumvir decided the appeals of rival claimants to dependent kingdoms; and in

¹ Appian (*B. C.* v. 5.) says that the number of legions to which lands and gratuities were promised on the establishment of the triumvirate amounted to forty-three, and supposes that the smaller number here mentioned, was that to which they were reduced by the losses of the campaign, which seems a very unsatisfactory explanation. I should rather suppose the fifteen legions to be the ὁμιλος ἑτέρου στρατοῦ, which I have rendered loosely in the text, and the twenty-eight those which were engaged in the actual campaign.

² Appian, *l. c.* The demand was eventually reduced to nine years' tribute within two years.

³ Plut. *Anton.* 25.

these cases he was swayed by his own wanton passions not less than by the demands of his policy. On his passage through Cilicia, whither he arrived in the summer of 713, he was met by Cleopatra, who sallied forth from Alexandria to deprecate the wrath of the conqueror, conscious of her crime in withholding aid from the avengers of her lover's murder. She might indeed reasonably allege the imminent peril to which she had been subjected by the legions of Cassius which menaced her unprotected realm: nevertheless she could plead some efforts in the cause of the triumvirs; she could declare that the armament she had equipped for Dolabella had only been detained in port by stress of weather, and that she was prepared to accompany the expedition in person, had she not been prevented by sickness. It was not however the intrinsic strength of her arguments, but the beauty and genius by which they were enforced, that overcame the amorous Roman. She had quitted her capital for the coast of Cilicia, and ascended the Cydnus, in a bark with gilded stern and purple sails, rowed with silver oars to the sound of pipes and lutes. The goddess of Love was seen reclining under a span-gled canopy, attended by Cupids, Graces, and Nereids, and the air around seemed perfumed with the odours of Olympus. As she approached the quay of Tarsus the people rushed to behold the brilliant spectacle, and left the proconsul alone on his tribunal in the forum. When he summoned her to his presence, she replied by inviting him to wait upon herself, and when he gallantly complied his doom was sealed.¹ Antonius, who had first seen and admired the Queen of Egypt in the suite of Gabinius, but prudently abstained from rivalry with his master Cæsar, now submitted to be the slave of her wildest caprices, and the instrument of her most barbarous mandates. At her instigation he caused the wretched Arsinoë to

Cleopatra
seeks an inter-
view with An-
tonius.

Her splendid
equipage.

¹ Plutarch, *Anton.* 26. Athenæus (iv. 29.) commemorates in considerable detail the magnificence of Cleopatra's fête, and Plutarch notices the vain attempts the rude Roman made to rival the taste of the Egyptian. Comp. Lucan, x. 110. foll.: "Nondum translato Romana in sæcula luxus."

be murdered at the altar of Artemis in Miletus, and compelled the citizens of Tyre and Aradus to surrender to her vengeance some illustrious suppliants who had invoked their protection. Her brother and consort Ptolemæus she had already removed,

*She fascinates
the triumvir,
who follows her
to Alexandria
in the autumn
of 713.*

as was surmised, by poison. Following her to Alexandria the triumvir devoted the autumn and winter to the unrestrained enjoyment of luxury and sloth. He relinquished the duties of an emperor, assumed the ordinary dress of the Greeks, frequented the temples, gymnasiums, and museums of the professors, as a private sojourner in the capital of Oriental philosophy; and thus offered up the pride of the Roman proconsul upon the shrine of the goddess of his lawless affections.¹

Octavius meanwhile was master of half the Roman world, and, still more, he continued master of himself. On his way

*Octavius in
Rome. His
measures for
satisfying the
soldiery.*

towards Rome the sickness under which he had recently suffered attacked him with redoubled violence, and his life was in imminent danger. But Providence spared him for the great work which he had to do, and of which his rival was manifestly incapable. Italy awaited in breathless exhaustion the violence which she must expect to suffer. While Antonius undertook to extort the treasures requisite for the payment of the soldiery, he left to his colleague the more delicate and perilous task of assigning them their promised estates, and settling them in colonies throughout Italy. Every veteran was to receive from fifty to three hundred jugers of land, the population of unfriendly cities was to be expelled to make room for them, and when these confiscations proved insufficient, the exchange, purchase or surrender of still ampler territories were to be negotiated. But no remittances came from Asia to Italy; the exchequer of the capital was exhausted; twenty-seven legions of disbanded veterans clamoured for the fulfilment of their

*Confiscation
of lands in
Italy.*

compact; whole cities with their adjacent districts were ceded to them; and the spoliation spread from the suburban lands to remote tracts.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* v. 11.: Plutarch, *Anton.* 28.; Athenæus, *l. c.*

from municipal to private possessions. Even loyalty to the Cæsarean party proved of no avail: the faithful Mantua shared the fate of its neighbour the disaffected Cremona; and the little township of Andes in the Mantuan territory was involved in the calamities of its metropolis. The confiscations indeed in the Transpadane province had commenced upon the first formation of the triple league, when Pollio was appointed to command there for Antonius. The legatus, himself a lover of literature, had extended his sympathy to the youthful poet Virgil, who was one of the sufferers by this first confiscation. Virgil's modest patrimony had been restored to him, but it was menaced again by this second assignment; and it is to the pilgrimage he now made to Rome, to his application to Mæcenas, the councillor of Octavius, and to Octavius himself, that we owe the piece which stands first in the series of his undoubted works, and eventually perhaps the composition of his two immortal poems, which drew their inspiration from the fountain of imperial favour. Virgil was treated with kindness, and his petition crowned with success; but his good fortune was a rare exception to the calamity which overwhelmed many thousand proprietors. Three of his most celebrated rivals in literature, Horace, Tibullus, and Propertius, were involved in the same sweeping confiscation.¹ The condition of the Ofellus of Horace's satire, who cultivates as a labourer the fields of which he had been dispossessed as a landlord, and consoles himself with sage reflections on the perpetual flux of property from hand to hand,² was realised by a large class of rural proprietors, among whom the descendants of the Sullan colonists were perhaps the most indignant and the least commiserated. But this was not a time in which such injustice could be perpetrated with impunity. The elements of war were fermenting throughout the peninsula; thousands of broken fortunes were suddenly thrown into the floating mass of discontent, which wanted only this ingredient to boil over in a new revolution.

¹ Hor. *Ep.* ii. 2. 50.; Tibull. i. 1. 19.; Propert. iv. 1. 129.

² Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2. 112.

The consuls of the year 713 were L. Antonius, the triumvir's brother, and for the second time Servilius Isauricus.

Consuls, 713,
L. Antonius
and P. Servilius
Isauricus II. Lucius watched with ambitious aspirations the renewed distractions of Italy. He tampered with the Cæsarean veterans, affirming that the upstart

Octavius, an unworthy heir to the great warrior, was intriguing to undermine his nobler colleague. At the same time he listened to the murmurs of the dispossessed Italians, who, thronging into the city with their wives and children, made the temples and forums resound with their groans and imprecations.¹ He condoled with them on their sufferings, and offered himself as their advocate in the senate or their leader in the field. Lucius acted in consort with Fulvia, a woman whose roving passions had at last fixed on a husband whom she could not retain. In order to recover possession of the man she lusted after, she was eager to fan the flames of civil war; for she knew that nothing but a strong political exigency could rouse him from his voluptuous slumbers.²

L. Antonius
heads a rising
in Italy.

In this crisis both Lepidus and Servilius shrank from action. The intrinsic justice of the cause may have animated some nobler spirits, such as Tiberius Nero, but the majority of the republican chiefs favoured any movement which might afford them a chance of regaining their ascendancy. Lucius indeed proclaimed himself the defender of his brother's interests, and assumed the surname of Pietas, to signalise his fraternal zeal.³ Octavius, whose position was eminently perplexing, offered ample concessions. But the consul's aims were really selfish; the increasing difficulties of the times, enhanced by impending famine in the city, and the unchecked turbulence of the urban population, inspired him with the most flattering hopes. Be-

¹ Appian, *B. C.* v. 12.

² Martial has preserved an epigram ascribed in his day to Octavius himself, in which the writer charges Fulvia in language of "true Roman plainness," that is, of shameless coarseness, with having fruitlessly courted him in revenge for one of her husband's infidelities. Martial, xi. 20.

³ Dion, xlviii. 5.

fore the completion of his year of office he threw off the mask, joined Fulvia at Præneste, and unfurled his banner to the breezes of disaffection from whatever quarter they might blow.

Formidable indeed were the forces which the new allies had at their command. While the veteran legions insisted on their discharge, the consul had obtained authority to levy six fresh corps, and Calenus promised to bring him eleven more which were stationed

He effects a formidable combination against Octavius :

on either side of the Alps. The talents of Ventidius were also placed at his disposal ; even Pollio countenanced his enterprise, and money flowed to him from the provinces in the east or the west which were administered by his brother's lieutenants. He excited resistance to the authority of Octavius in the provinces under his command, and beheld with satisfaction the increasing power of Sextus in the islands, and the threatening attitude of Domitius, who maintained a republican armament in the Ionian gulf. Octavius, on the other hand, had only four legions under arms in Italy, together with the prætorian cohorts attached to his own person. He promptly recalled Salvidienus from Spain, whither he was conducting a force of six legions. His want of money he supplied by drawing largely upon some hoards yet, it appears, untouched in the Capitol, and borrowing from the rich temples of Antium, Lanuvium, Nemus, and Tibur. But the military genius and devoted enthusiasm of his friend Agrippa were of more service to him than either men or money. Though compelled for a moment to abandon Rome itself to a superior force, he profited by treachery in the enemy's camp, and soon reduced Lucius to the necessity of retiring towards the Cisalpine. The retreating army occupied

Perusia, a place of uncommon strength, where it

but is blockaded in Perugia.

might hope to await in safety the arrival of succours from Pollio and Ventidius, while Fulvia despatched some hasty levies under Plancus to its assistance. But the first cloud of disaster discomfited these faithless auxiliaries. Pollio stopped short at Ravenna ; Ventidius came no nearer than Ariminum ; Plancus kept close within the defences of Spoletium. Octa-

vius drew his lines round the impregnable works of Perusia, and sat himself down to reduce the fugitives by famine. Lucius made a furious sally, Ventidius essayed a diversion; but neither could obtain any effectual advantage. The Antonians became more and more pressed for provisions; but their leader was obstinate, they themselves were pitiless. Then was consummated one of the most frightful acts of all recorded history: unable to feed the useless crowd of slaves which thronged their quarters, and apprehensive lest, if allowed to leave the city, their flight should betray to the enemy the extent to which famine was pressing upon them, they refused rations to the miserable multitude, and at the same time forbade their egress. While Lucius and his soldiers barely supported life on the scantiest daily allowance, the slaves perished before their eyes, and were hastily shovelled into the earth as they fell, that the smoke of the funeral pyres might not advertise the enemy of the mortality occurring within the walls. The progress of the Perusian

The Perusian famine. L. Antonius capitulates and is spared.

famine was slow, but it failed not to accomplish the views of the besieger. Lucius was compelled at last to capitulate, and the conqueror appears to have allowed him to treat for more favourable terms than his circumstances could have encouraged him to claim. While every indulgence was guaranteed to the combatants, the city itself was to become the scapegoat of the insurrection. It was only saved from plunder by the furious act of one of its own citizens, who fired it and consumed it to ashes.¹ The victors, baulked of their prey, turned their vengeance upon the most illustrious of their captives, and either massacred them promiscuously, or forced their reluctant leader to surrender them to judicial punishment. A story obtained currency among a certain class of political pamphleteers, that Octavius selected three hundred of the number, and sacrificed them to the shade of the murdered demigod Julius.² Such an act, it must be

¹ Appian, *B. C.* v. 49.

² Suet. *Oct.* 16.: "Scribunt quidam." Dion, *xlvi.* 14.: ὡς λόγος γε ἔχει. Velleius says, "Magis ira militum quam voluntate servitum ducis," and Ap-

remarked, would have been totally alien from the spirit of the national observances, whatever may be thought of its harmony with the character of a partner in the proscriptions.

Lucius escaped with his life, and his conqueror even found it his interest, at no distant period, to appoint him to a provincial command. His adherents Pollio, Plancus, Crassus, and Ateius, let their arms drop from their hands. The first allowed himself to be superseded in the Cisalpine by a trustier Octavian,

The insurrection is broken up. M. Antonius intrigues against Octavius.

Alfenus Varus; the second abandoned his soldiers and fled to Athens in company with Fulvia: others escaped to Antonius in Egypt, while even Domitius and Sextus profited by the fragments of the shattered conspiracy. Ventidius still kept some legions together; but he made no hostile movement, and Octavius seems to have abstained from molesting him. Calenus alone remained at the head of a large force; but he too was careful not to exasperate a placable antagonist, and his death occurred opportunely for the establishment of peace, and the undisputed supremacy of Octavius in the West. If throughout this campaign the allies of Antonius had proved themselves lukewarm or unfaithful to his interests, they were not without an excuse in the reserve with which their chief had disguised his own intentions. He had detained their emissaries at Alexandria through the winter, while their operations were in progress, and it was not till the spring, when the elements of the rebellion were dispersed, that he tore himself

pian takes a similar view. Such, no doubt, was the account given by Octavius himself in his memoirs, and followed by Nicolaus of Damascus. Seneca speaks of the "Perusinæ aræ," as a well-known story: still I think it is improbable; for if the massacre had been made under colour of a religious sacrifice, Octavius would not have disguised it; at all events, Dion would have found it recorded in the national archives, from which he drew so much of his information. Compare the distorted account of the sacrifice of Mucius Scævola, where Valerius Maximus has substituted *jugularetur* (ix. 11. 2.) for the *vulneraretur* of Cicero (*pro Rose. Amer.* 12.). Observe also the suspicious recurrence of the number 300, the same assigned to the apocryphal massacre of republicans by Cæsar after Thapsus, of legionaries by Antonius at Brundisium, of senators in the proscription.

from the fascinations of Egypt, like a man roused from sleep after a drunken debauch,¹ and advanced deliberately by the route of Tyre, Cyprus, and Rhodes. But he had not been unemployed. He had been intriguing both with Sextus and Domitius: with the former he entered into an agreement for mutual support against the master of Italy, and he prevailed upon the latter to denounce the hopeless cause for which his father had perished at Pharsalia, to place his vessels at his disposal, and accompany him across the Ionian gulf.

Octavius had already pacified Italy, and was occupied in re-organizing the administration of the Gallic provinces, which had been so long in the hands of his enemies, when he was apprised of this new attack. Brundisium was menaced by Antonius, while Sextus was hovering on the coast of Lucania and Apulia. Agrippa advanced to confront this new combination, and Octavius followed as speedily as his feeble health would permit. Antonius brought over troops from Macedonia, Sextus besieged Thurii and Consentia; the Cæsarean veterans flocked once more to the scene of blood and plunder; another civil war was smouldering in the embers of the Perusian conflagration. But it was now by the passions of the soldiers rather than of the commanders that this renewal of horrors was threatened. The armed bands which roamed the fields of Italy demanded occupation, and compelled their leaders to find them work.

Apprehensions
of another civil
war.

The soldiers
force their
chiefs to an ac-
commodation.

Death of Ful-
via. The treaty
of Brundisium:
marriage of An-
tonius with
Octavia, and of
Octavius with
Scribonia.

When however they came to measure their strength together, to calculate their resources, to discuss the causes and prospects of another struggle, they came to an agreement among themselves, and insisted upon its ratification by their chiefs. The death of Fulvia, in the spring of the year 714, smoothed the way to a reconciliation. Neglected and perhaps rebuked by her husband for her presumptuous interference in public affairs, which had cost him the loss of so many legions, she fell sick at Sicyon, whither she had repaired to meet him on his route from Egypt, and there

died. Mæcenas, Pollio, and Cocceius negotiated the terms of a new arrangement between the triumvirs in the course of the summer. Octavius had divorced Clodia in resentment at the perfidy of her family, and had straightway united himself with the illustrious house of the Scribonii. But on the death of Fulvia Antonius in his turn was at liberty to seek an alliance with the family of his colleague by marrying his sister Octavia. Scribonia, it seems, was already pregnant by Octavius, and the new consort of Antonius was about to give birth to the child of a former husband Marcellus.¹ Pollio also had two sons born to him nearly at this time, though the dates of their birth are not accurately known. The near coincidence of all these distinguished births is connected with one of the most intricate questions of literary history. In his fourth Eclogue, addressed to Pollio, Virgil celebrates the peace of ^{Virgil's fourth} Brundisium, and anticipates, apparently, the birth ^{Eclogue.} of a wondrous boy, who shall restore the Saturnian age of gold, and rule the world with all his father's excellence. The glowing language in which this reign of happiness is depicted breathes some portion of the spirit, while it appropriates almost every image, of the Messianic predictions. We are impelled to inquire to whom among the most illustrious offspring of this auspicious epoch it may be fitly referred. The noble children above mentioned have been severally put forward as candidates for the honour; but when every allowance has been made for the vague language of poetry and prophecy, no one of them can be held to satisfy the conditions required; and after all their claims have been weighed and dismissed, we are still at a loss for an object to whom, in the mind of the writer, the sublime vaticination can consistently be applied. We may presume however that the hope of a per-

¹ Dion, xlviii. 31. This child, if it was ever born, could not have been M. Marcellus, the "Tu Marcellus eris" of Virgil (*Æn.* vi. 884.); for the latter, if any credit can be given to the statement of Propertius, "Occidit et misero ætærat vicesimus annus," must have been born A. U. 711, B. C. 43, as he certainly died B. C. 23. Being ædile at the time, we cannot suppose that he was really less than twenty years of age.

manent pacification, and the yearning for an era of social tranquillity, were no less ardent than general among the citizens of the distracted commonwealth; and we may perhaps be content to suppose that, in adapting the strains of his inspired original, Virgil interpreted the common feelings of his countrymen, and darkly shadowed forth the character of the coming age itself, under the image of an offspring of the gods, a mighty emanation from Jove.¹

Even in a heathen's mouth the divine oracles might seem to retain some portion of their prophetic spirit. The aspirations of the young enthusiast were not wholly unfulfilled. The peace of Brundisium did at least secure the repose of Italy. For a period of three hundred and fifty years, except one day's fighting in the streets of Rome, from Rhegium to the Rubicon no swords were again crossed in war. So long a period of tranquillity among so large a portion of the human family is a fact unparalleled in the history of the world. Many of the recent movements, which history ascribes to the ambition of chiefs, were doubtless caused in reality by the licentious passions of the soldiery; it was the men that forced their leaders to ravage provinces and to plunder towns, and even to pass from one side to another, as caprice or avarice prompted. But the peace of Brundisium finally consigned the centre of the empire to the control of the ablest of its statesmen, and the consolidation of a fixed government in Italy curbed and ul-

Tranquillity
finally restored
in Italy.

¹ Virg. *Ecl.* iv. 49.:

“Cara deum soboles, magnum Jovis incrementum.”

I am constrained to adopt Heyne's solution of this curious enigma. Gibbon (*D. & F.* ch. xx.) leaves it unattempted, and contents himself with remarking that “the different claims of an elder and younger son of Pollio, of Livia, of Drusus, of Marcellus, are found to be incompatible with chronology, history, and the good sense of Virgil.” Octavius himself, strange to say, has been also put forward as a candidate. There is no difficulty in supposing Virgil to have been acquainted with the prophetic portions of the Jewish Scriptures, if not directly, at least through the medium of the so-called Sibylline oracles. Nor can we doubt that the Jewish interpreters themselves favoured the idea that Isaiah's predictions were about to be fulfilled.

mately crushed the spirit of insubordination. The treaty indeed was hardly concluded before the troops of Octavius began to murmur angrily at the non-payment of the gratuities they expected. He withstood them with firmness, and now for the first time they learned that the spirit of the great dictator had descended upon a worthy successor. They were compelled to accept such terms as he chose to offer them, and marched, abashed and humiliated, in the ovation with which the triumvirs entered Rome. The nuptials of Antonius and Octavia were celebrated amidst general acclamations, a fit tribute to the bride's illustrious virtues. If any woman could frustrate the wiles of Cleopatra, and withdraw her infatuated lover from the sphere of her fascinations, such, it was fondly hoped, was the fair, the modest, and the discreet Octavia.¹ At the same time a re-distribution was made of the provinces. Scodra in Illyricum now marked the limits of the dominion assigned to Octavius in the West, and Antonius in the East. Lepidus was allowed to retain Africa. Italy was declared to be the common possession of the triumvirs, among whom the insignificant Lepidus almost ceased to be counted. Antonius undertook to maintain the national quarrel with the Parthians, while his colleague charged himself with the care of treating with Sextus Pompeius, and reducing him by force of arms, if every other method should fail.

Indeed the hostile attitude still preserved by this adventurer seemed, at least to superficial observers, the only obstacle to the establishment of a durable peace.

The young Pompeius may be deemed perhaps unfortunate in having had his character drawn for us by the unfriendly hand of a courtier of the Cæsarean family, who may be suspected of a wish not only to palliate his patron's crimes, but to blacken their adversaries. Velleius declares that he was illiterate and rude in speech,² impetuous

Hostile attitude of Sextus Pompeius.

¹ Plutarch (*Anton.* 31.) calls her *χρημα δαυμαστων γυναικός*. Octavia was own sister to Octavius. This writer is undoubtedly mistaken in saying she was the daughter of C. Octavius by his first wife Ancharia.

² Vell. ii. 73. "Sermone barbaro." Niebuhr draws our attention to this

and headstrong in action, hasty in judgment, disloyal to his country,¹ the freedman of his freedmen, and the slave of his slaves, envious of all that was most noble, and the creature of all that was most base. But in fact the position assumed by Sextus could command neither favour nor justice from his countrymen, of whatever political predilections; for he associated with barbarians and outlaws, he contended openly for his own private objects, and, while he received the remnant of the republicans under his banner, scorned the pretence of asserting any public cause. The parricidal aim of reducing Rome by famine had been ascribed to the father; it was deliberately adopted by the son. His undisputed command of the sea enabled him to cut off the corn ships from Africa and Egypt, while he held in his own hands the granaries of Sicily and Sardinia. Even in the midst of the general rejoicings at the nuptials of Antonius and Octavia the markets at Rome were rising to famine prices, and the murmurs of the populace were gradually swelling into cries of sedition and

The people insist on his being conciliated.

insurrection. Octavius, it was known, had undertaken to conciliate or subdue the last enemy of the people; let him be conciliated, exclaimed the multitude, on his own terms. It was only a question, they declared, of the government of one or two provinces; let Sextus then be satisfied, or woe to the selfish tyrants, who would see the people starve rather than let Sicily or Africa drop from their rapacious grasp. Octavius with the concurrence of his colleagues, would have diverted the rising storm by declaring war against the public enemy; but it was impossible to provide funds. An attempt to impose a tax on slaves and legacies, a tax, that is, upon the richest class, ex-

circumstance. "It is remarkable," he observes, "to see how at that time men who did not receive a thorough education would even neglect their own language and speak a barbarous and corrupt jargon."—*Lect. on Rom. Hist.* ii. 126.

¹ Vell. l. c.: "Fide patri dissimillimus." This writer always speaks with respect of the great Pompeius; in this place he contrasts his extirpation of the pirates with his son's shameful alliance with them.

cited hardly less general discontent than if it had fallen upon the lowest. The Roman patricians still possessed vast influence among their clients, the rabble of the streets, and employed it for their own protection. The triumvirs were assailed with stones in the Via Sacra, and only rescued from serious injury by the swords of the military. They were now constrained to come to terms with their antagonist. They employed the mediation of Libo, the father-in-law both of Sextus and Octavius : and the populace, surrounding the house of Mucia, compelled her by threats to plead with her son the cause of reconciliation. On the other hand Sextus did not lack advisers who urged him to press his advantage, and make no peace till famine should force his opponents to submit to his dictation. But the giddy and frivolous young man, easily elated by the deference now paid him on all sides, yielded to the first overtures. He agreed to confer with the triumvirs in person, and sailed to meet them at Misenum. The conference was conducted with the same ceremony and precaution as that in the island of the Rhenus, and the result at which the contracting powers arrived was similar. Sextus was virtually admitted into partnership with the triumvirs. On condition of his withdrawing his ships and marines from the places he occupied on the coast of Italy, he was invested with full authority over the three great islands of the Tyrrhene sea, for the same number of years as was assigned to the commands of his colleagues. Achaia, also, according to some accounts, fell to his share in this distribution.¹ At the same time an amnesty was granted to all his adherents, excepting only the murderers of Cæsar ; the restitution of their possessions was assured to them ; liberty was offered to the numerous slaves who had served in his armaments, and to such of his soldiers as were already free, the usual military rewards of lands and money. Sextus promised in return to supply the city with corn from Sicily and

Treaty of Misenum.

¹ Vell. ii. 77. ; Dion, xlviii. 34. He was gratified moreover with compensation for his father's property which Cæsar had confiscated, amounting, we are told, to fifteen millions and a half of drachmas. Zonaras, x. 22.

Sardinia. The contract was formally drawn up and sealed, and then transmitted to Rome, and consigned to the custody of the Vestal Virgins. The puissant allies received each other, in turn, at sumptuous entertainments, in vessels moored to the mole of the harbour. The pretext for this arrangement was, that while the chiefs feasted together on board, their numerous followers might be accommodated on the shore. In fact, however, Sextus could not venture on land, nor the triumvirs out at sea. It was reported that Menodorus, the Pompeian admiral, urged his leader to cut the moorings of his vessel, and carry off his rivals in it, but that Sextus rejected the tempting proposal, with the remark, *Would that Menodorus could do this without my order; such treachery might befit him well, but not a Pompeius*. The story wears a suspicious aspect, and we may reasonably conceive that it was accommodated to the known character of the faithless Greek, who betrayed, as will hereafter appear, all parties in turn. The festival of reconciliation was inaugurated with the betrothal of M. Marcellus, the infant whom Octavia had just borne to her late husband, and the daughter of Sextus. The succession of consuls for four years was determined: the first pair were to be Antonius and Libo; the second Octavius and Sextus; these were to be succeeded by Cnæus Domitius, the son of Lucius, and by Sosius; and when Antonius and Octavius should have followed these last, and completed their term, it was hoped that their last of power would be satisfied, their own security established, and that their patriotism would then impel them, according to promise, to restore the commonwealth to freedom.¹

¹ Appian, *B. C.* v. 73. The treaty of Misenum took place A. U. 715. It will be seen by reference to the fasti that the following years were not respectively designated by the names of these consuls. Octavius may have surrendered his turn to Agrippa in 717: certainly he was not consul during the course of these four years. Sextus Pompeius never attained the consulship. The consul of that name in the year 719 was another person (*Dion*, xlix. 18.). The names of C. Domitius and Sosius occur together in the year 722. Antonius became consul for the second time in 720, and resigned on the first day of the year. Octavius was appointed the second time in 721. Appian is not

Sextus now bent his sails for Sicily, while his colleagues returned together to Rome, to enjoy for a moment the blaze of popularity in which they were at once enveloped. The city abandoned itself to a delirium of joy: the civil wars, it was augured, were now finally at an end; the youth of Italy would no longer be torn from their fathers' hearths; the soldiers no longer permitted to live at free quarters; there would be no more confiscation of lands, agriculture would raise her drooping head, above all, plenty would be restored, and abundance extirpate the first cause of war. The usurpers, as they passed along the roads, were surprised to hear themselves hailed as deliverers, and to be greeted with divine honours. None breathed the name of freedom; none sighed for the republic in whose name the great dictator had been stricken to the ground. The new despots planted themselves firmly in his footsteps. They supplied the exhausted ranks of the senate, as he had done before them, with foreigners, soldiers, freedmen, and even, which he had not done, with slaves. The magistracies were filled with men unworthy in character, and not legally qualified. The prætor's bench was crowded with the vociferous aspirants to official dignity: the consuls' chairs were invaded month after month by successive occupants. The triumvirs flung honours and offices among the gaping crowd of expectants with a liberal hand, and the subservient senate sanctioned all their acts, past, present, and to come.¹

They rose from this political debauch, and girded themselves again for work. Before the end of the year (715) Octavius had betaken himself to Gaul, where the Narbonensis was troubled by some native insurrectionary movements, and Antonius had set out from Rome, to lead, as he declared, the le-

Rejoicings in
Rome.

Octavius re-
pairs to Gaul,
and Antonius
to the east, in
the autumn of
715.

to be relied on in these matters. Drumann supposes that he meant to say that the years from 720-723 were disposed of as mentioned in the text, those from 716-719 remaining under a former arrangement. For the utter confusion into which the consular appointments fell at this time, see Dion, *xlvi.* 35., and below.

¹ Dion, *xlvi.* 34, 35.; Appian, *B. C.* v. 75.

gions of the republic against the Parthians. He distributed thrones in Asia at his own pleasure among the petitioners who came to beg them. He gave Pontus to a son of Pharnaces, Pisidia to Amyntas, Cilicia to Polemo, and Palestine to Herod. At the same time he issued orders for the muster and march of troops eastward. But this was the extent of

Antonius
passes the winter
at Athens,
715-716.

his operations for the season. At Athens he rested from the fatigues of military service, and bestowed his whole time upon his new wife Octavia, as devotedly, and to all appearances as much to his own contentment, as recently to his paramour Cleopatra. Throughout the winter he amused himself with throwing off all the restraints of official dignity; and none of those about him was so much shocked perhaps as the grave matron at his side, when he dressed and feasted in the character of Bacchus, or relinquished the stern duties of a Roman emperor for the trifling occupations of the Athenian literati. But Antonius, though he scorned formal and conventional restraints, was never long enslaved by his licentious caprices. With the return of spring he returned to the business of the camp. Once more his door was thronged with officers, heralds, and orderlies; again the word of command thundered from his lips; foreign embassies, which had long danced attendance, received his stern and sententious award; decrees issued from his tribunals, ships were launched, stores were collected, and far and wide resounded the busy preparations for war.

These preparations were intended for the support of Ventidius, who in the autumn of the year preceding had conducted an expedition against the Parthians with brilliant success. Those daring enemies had seldom failed, from the day when they triumphed over Crassus, to seize the moments when the legions were withdrawn from the frontier, to ravage the plains and even the cities of Syria, and menace them with more permanent occupation. Cassius however had succeeded in promoting discord in the royal family of Parthia. The counsels of the invaders had been distracted by their own dissensions, and this

Adventures of
G. Labienus.
A. U. 714.

perhaps alone had prevented them from making a serious impression upon the Roman province. But in the last civil war the line of the Euphrates had been denuded of its garrisons, and at the same moment a Roman officer had tendered his services to the foreign enemy. Quintus, the son of Titus Labienus, had escaped from the field of Munda, and after Cæsar's death had been charged by the liberators with the negotiation of an alliance with the Parthian court. Orodes had kept him in suspense while he watched the turn of affairs in Rome, and when the day of the proscriptions arrived the son of the Cæsarean renegade despaired of safety in his own country. He continued to reside in the land of his adoption, entered the service of the Parthian monarch, and, when the affairs of the triumvirs seemed utterly embroiled, persuaded him to make a vigorous effort to possess himself of Syria. The invaders crossed the Euphrates in the year 713. Antonius, summoned in haste to the west by his brother Lucius, hesitated for a moment whether to plunge into the honourable perils of a Parthian campaign, or to confront his rival Octavius, now exulting in the capture of Perusia, in Italy. His personal interests, or the demands of his soldiers, determined him to the latter course. The invaders divided their forces: Pacorus occupied Syria as far south as the borders of Palestine; Labienus entered Asia Minor, defeated and slew Decidius Saxa, and, elated with his rapid successes, assumed the title of emperor, and by a strange solecism, the surname of Parthicus.¹ But these successes were presently checked by the arrival of Ventidius with legions devoted to the interests of Antonius, and to the person of their leader his lieutenant Labienus fled at his approach: before he could effect a junction with Pacorus he was overtaken and confined to the mountains of the Taurus, while the defenders of the empire hastened to confront the Parthians, whom they speedily de-

¹ His coins still exist, with the legend Q. Labienus Parthicus Imp., and on the reverse a horse saddled and bridled, emblematic, we may suppose, of his Parthian cavalry.

feated and drove across the frontier. Labienus was soon afterwards taken and put to death.¹

But the strength of the Parthian monarchy was not broken by a single defeat. Pacorus returned to the attack in the ensuing spring, and measured his sword with the gallant Picenian in a second and a third battle.

Ventidius triumphs over the Parthians,
A. U. 716.

The last of these encounters took place, it is said, on the anniversary of the great disaster of Carrhæ, the disgrace of which was now balanced by a glorious victory, and the slaughter of the invading general. Ventidius abstained from pursuing his success on the other side of the Euphrates. His courage was more probably damped by the manifest inadequacy of his means, than by the apprehension of his commander's jealousy, to which the historians have ascribed it. There was moreover an enemy on the flank whom it was necessary to chastise. Ventidius besieged Antiochus, king of Commagene, in his city Samosata, and Antonius soon arrived there from Athens to receive his submission in person. The mule-jobber reached the summit of a Roman's ambition; he returned to Rome and enjoyed the gratification of a triumph won *over Taurus and the Parthians*.² Antonius forbore to prosecute the vengeance of Rome against the humbled invaders, and returned, with no personal accession of renown, to the delights of the Grecian capital.

Meanwhile the treaty of Misenum had completely failed in restoring peace in the West. It is remarkable that Virgil,

Octavius takes the sea against Sextus.

in the full flow of his vaticination of a golden age, had paused abruptly, and admitted that for a time some traces should yet remain of the ancient wickedness, that the sea should again be ploughed by ships, another Argo sail under the guidance of a second Tiphys, another war ensue, and an Achilles arm once more for the destruction of Troy. This sudden transition, if it does not

¹ Liv. *Epit.* cxxvii.; Dion, xlvii. 24-26.; Appian, *B. C.* v. 65. 133.; Florus, iv. 9.; Vell. ii. 78.; Plutarch, *Anton.* 30. 33.

² Fast. Capit. ann. dccxv (716) P. Ventidius P. f. pro Cos. ex Tauro et Parthis.

betray a later insertion in the main texture of the poem, may indicate that the parties to the peace of Brundisium already anticipated hostilities with the only remaining power which they had not associated with them in the partition of the empire. In the treaty so lately made, the prophet may have trembled for the fate of his own predictions. But he was speedily reassured. Sextus, it seems, had refused to fulfil his stipulations, and surrender the places he held on the coast of Italy. It is probable that he pleaded in excuse the forcible detention of Achaia by Antonius, while the triumvir on his part insisted on keeping that province in pledge for the payment of some debts he claimed from it.¹ However this may have been, Octavius resented the treachery and requited it. Menodorus had carried over to him a fleet with three legions on board, delivering at the same time into his hands the strongholds of Sardinia and Corsica; and when Sextus demanded the surrender of the traitor, he availed himself of so plausible a pretext for refusing. Sextus, haughty and impetuous, flew to arms. He descended in the spring of 716 upon the defenceless cities of Campania, launched his corsairs upon the waters of the Tyrrhene sea, and cut off from Rome her expected convoys of grain. But Octavius, with his new accession of maritime force, could hope shortly to rival Neptune's lieutenant on his own element.² He ordered ships to be equipped in the ports of Ostia and Ravenna, and transported legions from Illyricum into Italy, while he summoned his colleagues from Athens and Carthage to his assistance. The one obeyed the call, and repaired to Brundisium, where the conference was appointed to be held, but not finding Octavius in attendance, returned quickly to his own provinces, and followed Ventidius, as we have seen, within the Syrian frontier; the other, in pique, or from indolence, remained at home a passive spectator of events.

On the eve of his departure from Brundisium Antonius had addressed a letter to Octavius, in which he exhorted him

¹ Appian, *B. C.* v. 77.; Dion, *xlvi.* 45.

² Dux Neptunius. Hor. *Ep.* ix. 7.

Naval engagements;
defeat of Octavius.

in strong and perhaps peremptory language to maintain the terms of the recent alliance, and even threatened to demand Menodorus for punishment, claiming over him the rights of a master, as the slave of Pompeius Magnus, whose property he had acquired.¹ But this bold assumption passed without regard. Octavius felt himself strong enough to act without the aid of either of his colleagues. He accepted the traitor's services and appointed him to a command. While one of his armaments issued from the ports of Etruria under Calvisius, another was launched at Ravenna. Octavius himself embarked at Tarentum, and joined the latter squadron as it stood across from the Sallentine promontory to the Lacinian, while his legions advanced by land to Rhegium. It was determined to make a combined and decisive attack upon the tyrant of the seas in his Sicilian stronghold. Sextus despatched Menecrates to confront Calvisius, while he awaited under the defences of Messina the assault of Octavius in person. Menecrates sought the foe gallantly in his own waters. The fleets met in the bay of Cumæ, and the Pompeians, superior in skill if not in numbers, gained a considerable advantage, and this was much enhanced by a storm which severely damaged the Cæsareans. But they lost their admiral, and returned discouraged to Sicily. Octavius, who lay off Rhegium and awaited the arrival of Calvisius to make a combined attack with overwhelming forces, was disconcerted by the news of this disaster. He threaded the narrow straits in quest of his shattered detachment: but Sextus pounced upon his hindmost vessels, and compelled the whole armament to take up a position along the coast, to receive his onset with their beaks off-shore. The Pompeians charged with impetuous confidence, stove in the enemy's bows or burst their moorings, and drove them on the rocks. Octavius saved himself by leaping on a reef, and called off his men from their vessels. Some of his captains refused

¹ Appian, *B. C.* v. 79. Dion calls him Menas. The fourth of Horace's epodes, inscribed to one Menas, whose upstart pride is made the object of satire, has been supposed to refer to this personage.

to obey the inglorious signal, and forced their way through their assailant's line. But the work of destruction was more effectually completed by the occurrence of a violent tempest, and the remnant of the Cæsarean vessels was only saved by the supineness of the conqueror.

Octavius was both mortified and alarmed by this discomfiture. He had put forth all his naval resources, and they had been almost destroyed before his eyes. The pressure of scarcity was exasperating the urban populace, and their distress easily convinced them that the quarrel was unjust. The triumvir had to bear up against both the general clamour for peace and the want of money to prosecute the war. But his resolution was constant, and his fortitude never deserted him. He sent the ablest of his counsellors, Mæcenas, to renew negotiations with Antonius. He disposed his numerous land forces at the points of the coast most open to attack. He ordered the construction of fresh vessels, and patiently collected munitions of war, while he trusted that Sextus, incapable of using his victory, would exasperate the Romans by his insolence and cruelty. The prince of the corsairs had indeed no higher conceptions than might befit the chief of a piratical flotilla. Instead of completing the destruction of the Cæsarean fleet, and leading his forces to advance boldly upon Rome, he contented himself with making desultory descents upon the coast, and marauding off the shore. His victory swelled his pride and made him ridiculous. He proclaimed himself the offspring of Neptune, arrayed himself in a sea-green mantle, and cast, so at least his foes reported, not horses only, but living men into the waves as a sacrifice to his pretended father.¹ Meanwhile the despatches received from Mæcenas assured Octavius that his unsteady colleague had promised to stand by him; and a

Sextus fails to
profit by his
victory.

¹ Dion, xlviii. 48. Such stories against an unpopular and vanquished chieftain must of course be received with suspicion. If they were generally credited at the time, we should expect to hear them mentioned by Velleius and Horace. Sextus inscribed the figure of Neptune on his coins, as præfectus classis of the commonwealth by appointment of the senate.

splendid victory gained by Agrippa over the revolted Gauls in Aquitania turned once more the tide of popular opinion in his favour. Agrippa was rewarded with the promise of the consulship for the next year, and his services were immediately employed in fitting out a new fleet, and in training the forces of Octavius for the element which was destined to bring him imperishable renown.

On the upper sea Italy possessed at least two excellent harbours, those of Ravenna and Brundisium. But the whole extent of its western coast is singularly deficient in any such natural advantages, and Agrippa discerned that to dispute the command of the sea with Sextus, his leader must possess a secure and ample station for his naval armaments opposite the coast of Sicily. He cast his eyes on the small land-locked pools, the Avernus and the Lucrinus, which lay on the Campanian coast, between Misenum and Puteoli. The former, which was the innermost of these basins, was separated from the other by a neck of land about one mile in width; while the waters of the outer lake were only sheltered from the sea by a narrow ridge or belt of sand or shingle, which, according to one of the marvellous traditions rife in this locality, had been formed by Hercules to spare himself the long circuit of the bay. But the sea sometimes made breaches in this bar, and Julius Cæsar, if we may trust to one obscure notice of antiquity, had repaired it artificially, to secure the fish preserves within it from the turbulence of the waves.¹ The work which Agrippa undertook was apparently to unite the two lakes by a canal, to face the exterior mound with masonry, and to pierce it also with a channel for the admission of vessels. To the double haven thus constructed, and defended by this massive break-water, in honour of his patron's house he gave the name of the Julian; misled by which designation later writers some-

Agrippa constructs the Julian haven.

¹ See Servius on Virgil's lines (*Georg.* ii. 161.),

"Lucrinoque addita claustra,
Julia qua ponto longe sonat unda refuso,
Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur æstus Averniæ."

times ascribed the operation to Octavius, sometimes to the dictator himself. Nor indeed was the work itself destined to endure. At a later period Octavius constructed a harbour nearer to the seat of government, at the mouth of the Tiber, and from thenceforth the Julian haven seems to have been relinquished as a naval station, its entrance rapidly filled up, and in the lapse of half a century it became practicable only for small vessels.¹

This noble construction, with many other kindred preparations, was the work of the year 717. During their progress the hopes of Octavius were reassured, and he even deemed he could dispense with the aid of Antonius, to which he would only betake himself in the last resort. But the triumvir of the East, The triumvirate renewed for a second period of five years. jealous, perhaps, of the vigour of his colleague's proceedings, proposed to fulfil his engagement. He quitted Athens, whither he had returned from the Parthian frontier, and where he had devoted the winter to careless festivities, and suddenly appeared off Brundisium with a fleet of three hundred sail. Octavius ventured to forbid his landing. Antonius, it seems, was staggered by this act of defiance and submitted to the insult, while he employed the services of his wife to mediate between them. The negotiation which ensued, resulted in an amicable arrangement, designated as the treaty of Tarentum. Antonius furnished his brother-in-law with a hundred and thirty ships for the war against Sextus, and received in return a force of twenty thousand legionaries for the Parthian expedition upon which he was about to embark. This treaty they confirmed by renewing between themselves the terms of the triumvirate, which they extended to a second period of five

¹ Frandsen in his *Life of Agrippa* (p. 140. foll.) has examined this subject carefully, and succeeded at least in showing the difficulty of explaining it. The passages relating to it are Dion, *xlvi.* 49, 50.; Suet. *Oct.* 16.; Strabo, *v.* 4.; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 15.; and Virgil, *l. c.* with the comments of Philargyrius and Servius. On the one hand the lakes are said to have been opened to the sea, on the other, to have been closed against it. The account in the text may possibly reconcile these seemingly contradictory statements. Vast changes have been made in the features of the locality by volcanic action.

years, the original compact having in fact recently expired.¹ Antonius left his wife behind him in her brother's care, as a pledge of amity; but this separation proved, as could hardly fail to be foreseen, the cause of a final and fatal dissension.

Thus seasonably reinforced in the arm in which he had felt his weakness, Octavius still continued to amass munitions

Octavius, reinforced by Antonius, attacks Sextus again. He is discomfited by a storm.

of war, and was not fully prepared to assume the offensive before the summer of the year 718.

Lepidus was once more summoned from Africa, and this time he did not venture to withhold his assistance. The general command of the whole naval force was entrusted to Agrippa, under whose direction the fleet was lustrated with religious ceremonies, and the first of the Julian month was selected as an auspicious day for putting to sea.² Octavius sailed himself from the Julian haven, Statilius Taurus from Tarentum, Lepidus from Carthage, and the three squadrons were directed to attack simultaneously the three coasts of the triangular island. But Octavius was still pursued by the evil fortune which seemed ever to attend him at sea. A violent storm dispersed his squadron and drove him on shore at Velia. Taurus, as soon as the news of this disaster reached him, returned ingloriously to Tarentum; Lepidus alone, not aware, we may suppose, of this double desertion, reached the point of his destination, besieged Lilybæum, and reduced several towns on the coast of inferior note. Octavius, fearing the clamours of the Roman populace, hastily repaired his shattered vessels, and ventured to resume operations in August. Even this short interval might have been turned to advantage by an adversary

¹ The first term expired December 31, 716. There is some discrepancy between Dion and Appian, regarding the date of this treaty, which took place either in the spring of 717 (Appian), or early in the ensuing winter (Dion). In either case some interval must have elapsed between the expiration of the first term and its renewal, either three months or twelve. The year 717 passed without active operations in any quarter. Dion, *xlvi.* 54.; Appian, *B. C.* v. 93-95. Comp. Fischer, *Röm. Zeit.* 352.; Hoeck, *Röm. Gesch.* i. 1. 262.; Drumann, i. 448.

² Appian, *B. C.* v. 96.

more active or more politic than Sextus ; but once more this unworthy son of the great Pompeius suffered the opportunity to slip, and had merely provided for the defence of some of his landing-places, when the enemy's fleet appeared again off the coast of Sicily. But the corsairs of the Mediterranean were doubtless capricious allies, and possibly he was unable to trust his own officers. Menodorus, who had deserted him at a critical moment, returned to his standard, and obtained once more the command of a small squadron. He was despatched with seven vessels to cruise against the enemy ; but he betrayed his trust a second time, and threw himself again into the arms of Octavius.

The triumvir, not discouraged by his repeated reverses at sea, had taken the command of a new armament for the invasion of Sicily, and brought it to anchor on the strand of Strongyle, one of the *Æolian islands*.

Agrippa gains a victory over a Pompeian squadron.

But when Sextus collected his numerous galleys to repel the attack, Octavius acknowledged his own genius or fortune to be unequal to the contest, and while he repaired himself to the station of Taurus at Tarentum, he summoned Agrippa to assume his place in front of the enemy. The operations of the new admiral were crowned with partial success. He defeated a division of the Pompeians off Mylæ, and captured some places on the coast, but made no effective impression on the strength of his adversary. Octavius meanwhile had transported three legions from Tarentum to Leucopetra, and thence, supposing Sextus to be fully occupied by his lieutenant, he had crossed the straits and encamped before Tauromenium. Sextus however, apprised of this movement, steered directly for the place, and ordered a body of horse to accompany his progress by land, while the bulk of his military forces was rapidly concentrated on the same spot. Thus placed between two dangers, Octavius preferred apparently to expose himself to that which at least admitted of escape in case of disaster. He transferred to Cornificius the command of the small corps he had landed on the coast, and betook himself to the fleet. The squad-

Octavius is again defeated

rons twice engaged, and the result of the obstinate combat was the utter destruction of the Cæsarean. A small number of galleys alone escaped, and once more Octavius was among the fugitives. Received on the shore of Italy by the well-appointed army which Messala there commanded for him, he speedily resumed the tone of authority. He hastened to assure Agrippa of his personal safety, and urged him to strain every nerve for the relief of Cornificius. The Roman populace, which watched every turn of the contest with anxiety for its daily sustenance, clamoured more and more loudly against the ill-success and obstinacy of its master. Mæcenâs was charged with the delicate task of calming its apprehensions and amusing it into good humour.

Cornificius, who had no means of escape but by traversing the island, and reaching Agrippa's cantonments on the north-
Gallant retreat of Cornificius. ern coast, was encumbered by the wounded and helpless fugitives who had erept from the disabled galleys. As long, however, as his precipitate march was harassed only by the light battalions which hung upon his flank and rear, he continued to make progress, though with excessive difficulty and under severe privations; but Sextus shortly closed upon him with troops better appointed, and he was only saved from destruction by the timely arrival of three legions forwarded by Agrippa to his rescue. With this succour he made good his retreat to Mylæ, which was in the hands of the Cæsareans. The spirit he had manifested, and his resolution in carrying along with him the wounded fugitives, gained him credit both with his chief and his countrymen. In the following year his services were rewarded with the consulship; and he retained through life the singular and perhaps inconvenient privilege, when he supped abroad, of riding home by torchlight on the back of an elephant.¹ Meanwhile Octavius had embarked the mass

¹ Dion, xlix. 7. Florus (ii. 2. 10.) commemorates the distinctions accorded to Duilius after his victory over the Carthaginians in the first Punic war: "Per vitam omnem ubi a cæna rediret præluce funalia, præcinere sibi tibias

of his forces in the Bruttian or Lucanian ports, and a base for his operations being secured by the possession of Mylæ and Tyndaris, and the fertile district they commanded, he assembled there an army of no less than twenty-one legions and twenty thousand cavalry. Lepidus, at the same time, was bringing up his contingent, and Taurus was menacing with his fleet the southern ports and landing-places of the island. Sextus found himself blockaded within the north-eastern peninsula of his little realm, where it was impossible long to maintain his numerous forces. The contending armies confronted each other on the coast hard by the town of Naulochus, while the fleets fought in the offing. Three hundred sail were arrayed on either side, to decide the dominion of the seas.

General engagement of the fleets off the coast of Sicily. Complete defeat of the Pompeians.

The Octavian galleys, commanded by Agrippa, were larger and stronger built than their adversaries':¹ but they owed their superiority still more to the grappling-irons with which their admiral had provided them, and which brought the contest to a speedy termination. Dismayed at the rapid capture or destruction of his vessels, Sextus gave the signal for retreat into the difficult channel of the Messanian straits; but his movement was intercepted by the skill of the enemy, and the greater part of his armament cut off, driven on shore and burnt. He reached his haven with no more than seventeen galleys. Agrippa's victory by sea was complete, and it was followed by a success no less triumphant on land; for the Pompeian legions, left in the heat and panic of the contest without orders, surrendered without a blow. Sextus threw aside his imperatorial garb, collected his treasures and costliest effects, and abandoned the island for the East, where he still hoped to secure an asylum from the favour or policy of Antonius.¹

Sextus escapes into the East.

jussit, quasi quotidie triumpharet." The honour of riding the elephant became restricted to the emperors. Juvenal (xii. 106.) calls these animals

"Cæsaris armentum nulli servire paratum
Privato."

¹ Dion, xlix. 3.; Appian, *B. C.* v. 106.

Dion, xlix. 11.; Appian, *B. C.* v. 122.

Even yet the cause of the Pompeians in Sicily was not really desperate, and an extraordinary turn of fortune seemed for a moment to restore them to the ascendant. Plennius, the officer to whom Sextus had confided the defence of Lilybæum, and whom he had recalled in haste from the western extremity of the island for the defence of Messana, entered the Pompeian stronghold after his chief had so precipitately abandoned it. He had eight legions, and with this force he undertook to defend a place well fortified and strongly situated. Agrippa and Lepidus combined their forces to reduce him; but Plennius intrigued with the triumvir, and agreed to surrender the city, on condition that the plunder should be divided between his legions and the army of Africa. Agrippa protested against this nefarious compact; nevertheless it was carried through, and the luckless Messanians were subjected to the savage excesses of the two armies throughout the night. The Pompeian soldiers saluted Lepidus as their imperator; and he, puffed up with this sudden fortune, seeing himself at the head of twenty legions, determined to claim the undivided empire. Orders were despatched to the fortresses of the island to keep their gates closed against the Cæsareans. Octavius hastened to meet the danger. He led his troops to the walls of Messana. Lepidus had already withdrawn to an entrenched camp close at hand. Another act of the long drama of the civil wars seemed on the point of commencing; but Lepidus, without a party cry of any kind to inscribe on his banners, and himself little known or respected among the soldiery, proved unable to secure the fidelity of his own legions. The sack of Messana had revolted the feelings even of the brigands to whom it had been surrendered. Remorse for their own crime easily blended with disgust at the chieftain who had debauched them. They were in the mood to accept with enthusiasm an appeal to their generosity. Octavius with ready boldness threw himself, almost unattended, into the midst of them, and besought them in their own camp to renounce the horrid design of civil war to which

Lepidus combines with the remnant of the Pompeians, and makes head against Octavius.

their leader was exciting them.¹ Lepidus called to arms. Octavius withdrew unharmed in person, though his cloak was pierced by a javelin. He seized, it is said, an eagle with his own hand, and was speedily followed by whole cohorts and legions, which deserted from his adversary. Lepidus quickly found his position no longer tenable. To descend from the vauntings of defiance to the wline of supplication was easy and natural to his paltry spirit. He doffed his purple mantle, and threw himself at his colleague's feet, hardly observed, among the crowd of courtiers, who now thronged around the victor. He suffered no other punishment but deprivation of his share in the triumvirate, and the government of the empire; nor was he grudged the empty honour of the chief priesthood, a dignity inalienable with life.² Undoubtedly Lepidus had owed his great public distinctions more to his high rank and family influence than to any abilities he had displayed, even in his earlier and more active years. Yet it would be unreasonable to judge of him entirely from the effect which ease and flattery produced upon a temper naturally indolent. Cæsar, who had placed him only one step below himself, might have respected or feared him; and it is possible that Octavius spared his life from policy rather than contempt.

He is deserted
by his soldiers,
and taken.

His life spared
in contempt.

The subsequent fortunes of the prince of the pirates have little interest or importance, and may be briefly told in this place. In his flight he landed for a moment on the coast of Bruttium, and rifled the temple of Juno on the Lacinian promontory. From thence he steered for Lesbos, the asylum where he had been placed with Cornelia during the fatal campaign of Pharsalia, and

Subsequent
career of Sex-
tus.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* v. 124, 125.; Vell. ii. 80.: "Inermis et lacernatus, præter nomen nihil trahens . . . non ab Scipionibus aliisque veteribus Rom. ducum quicquam ausum patratumque fortius."

² Appian, *B. C.* v. 131.; Liv. *Epit.* cxxix. Lepidus was confined to Circeii, according to Suetonius (*Oct.* 16.), and strictly watched. At a later period he was summoned to Rome, not out of favour, says Dion (*liv.* 5.) but to make his humiliation more conspicuous.

where his illustrious name was still held in affection.¹ Antonius was at this time engaged in his distant expedition against the Parthians, and Sextus proposed to surrender to him on his return. But in the meantime a rumour spread that the triumvir had suffered disaster, and new schemes of ambition began to ferment in the restless wanderer's head. Antonius however returned in safety to Alexandria. His power was not broken; his supremacy throughout the Roman provinces in the East was undiminished. Nevertheless Sextus would not abandon his new hopes: he began to intrigue with various parties simultaneously, with the Roman commander, with the Parthians, and with the turbulent chieftains of Pontus and Armenia. Antonius listened to his representations of the dangerous ascendancy his rival had acquired in the West; but the discovery of the suppliant's treachery convinced him that from such an ally no faithful services could be expected. Sextus meanwhile advanced into Asia, amused the triumvir's lieutenants with great dexterity, and obtained possession of some places of strength by stratagem. His followers gradually swelled to the respectable dimensions of an army of three legions. Some chiefs of the old aristocratic party still clung to him; among them were Cassius Parmensis, one of the tyrannicides, Thermus, Antistius, Fannius, and his father-in-law Libo. But when, wearied and despondent with so many years of reverses, they divined their leader's headstrong determination to defy the triumvir's power in the field, they finally abandoned his desperate cause. Sextus, now hemmed in by the lieutenants of Antonius, still refused to capitulate, and tried every device to elude his pursuers. Deserted at last by every follower, he fell into the hands of

¹ Cornelia had endeared herself to the Lesbians during her retreat among them. Lucan, viii. 155.:

“Tanto devinxit amore

Hos pudor, hos probitas, castique modestia vultus;

Quod submissa nimis, nulli gravis hospita turbæ,

Stantis adhuc fati vixit quasi conjuge victo.”

I would willingly believe that these pretty verses commemorate a genuine tradition.

an officer named Titius, who caused him in a short time to be put to death. It is uncertain whether the order for his destruction was really given by Antonius, who was capable of an act of generosity, and in whom it might have been politic to reserve so important a personage to play off against Octavius. Some attributed it to Plancus, who now commanded under Antonius in Syria, and who feared, it is said, the influence the captive might exercise in exasperating the dissensions between the triumvirs.¹ Sextus perished in his fortieth year. He was the last descendant in the male line of the great Pompeius.² His eventful story gives ample evidence of the distracted state of the doomed republic, in which so long a struggle could be maintained by a roving buccaneer against the great public interest of the Roman world.

He is taken by the Antonians and put to death.

The last of the Pompeii died unhonoured and unlamented. He had cut himself adrift from the parties of the senate and the forum, and the remnant of the father's faction disdained to flatter the memory of a degenerate son. Nevertheless the recollection of the fearful tragedy of his race, which closed with his final overthrow, made a deep impression upon his countrymen's imagination. The spirits of the dead, they believed, were re-animated to warn these heroes of the republic of the incredible reverse impending over them. A wild story is told of a certain Gabienus, an officer in the Octavian fleet, who was taken in the sea-fight off Tauromenium, and his throat cut by command of Sextus. He lay with his head almost severed from his body throughout the day. As the shades of evening fell, the dead man was heard to moan. A crowd collected around him. He spoke, and declared that he had re-

Traditions connected with the fall of the Pompeii.

¹ These last exploits of Sextus are told at length by Appian, *B. C.* v. 133-144., and conclude the existing portion of his work on the civil wars of Rome. Sextus was killed in the year 719. Comp. Dion, xlix. 18.; Liv. *Epit.* cxxxi.

² A Cnæus Pompeius, whom Caligula forbade to assume the appellation of Magnus, may have been a descendant of the triumvir through Pompeia, the daughter of Sextus. Suet. *Calig.* 35., *Claud.* 27. 29.; Dion, lx. 21. 29.

turned from the abodes of the departed to announce to the young Pompeius that his pious enterprise was there known and approved.¹ Here is the apparent foundation of the curious episode in Lucan's poem, in which Sextus is made to consult a Thessalian sorceress regarding the event of the civil wars. Erictho raises a dead man to life, who proclaims the anxiety prevailing among the ghosts of the Roman heroes at the expected issue of the contest. The traitors and conspirators, a Marius and a Catiline, had burst their chains with frantic exultation: the champions of the republic, a Camillus and a Sulla, were downcast and dismayed. Of all the pious shades, Brutus alone rejoiced, in the prospect of his offspring's exploit. Such is the extent of the dead man's revelation. *After all it is no more than a contest for a grave; one rival shall lie by the waters of the Nile, the other by those of the Tiber. Let not Sextus inquire about his own fate; his father Pompeius shall announce it to him on the Sicilian shore.* The poet is here supposed to intimate his intention of introducing at the close of his epic a vaticination on the fortunes of Rome by the mouth of her favourite hero. He had heard, we may presume, the story which has been just related, and sought to give it poetical dignity by transferring the subject from the obscure Gabienus to the great Pompeius himself. It should be remarked that the consultation with the sorceress is represented as something impious and cowardly, and there is peculiar fitness in assigning it to a personage on whom all Roman history conspired to cast a slur.²

We have seen the great Cæsarean, or if we may still so denominate it, the Marian party divided in its affections between three rival chieftains, each of whom might claim to be the true representative of the com-

Octavius at the
head of the

¹ Plin. *H. N.* vii. 53.

² Lucan, vi. 589.:

“Pompeii ignava propago.”

There is also a marked similarity between the vaticination in Lucan, vi. 785. seq., and Libo's invective against Pompeius quoted by Valerius Maximus, vi. 2. 8., pointing, I think, to a common tradition.

mon cause. If Octavius could vaunt himself as the dictator's legitimate heir, Antonius had been his friend, his minister, and had first proclaimed himself his avenger. Lepidus might assert claims of still earlier date; for it was by his father that the first abortive attempt had been made to overthrow the Sullan ascendancy. But one of the aspirants had now retired from the stage, another self-expatriated, and falling rapidly into the tastes and habits of the despised Orientals, had already forfeited to a great extent the respect of his countrymen, and whatever interest still attached to him regarded his personal fortunes rather than those of his party. The hopes of the old senatorial faction were finally extinguished; death, disappointment, and confiscation had broken up its resources; the scattered remnant made their way one by one to Rome, and there subsided almost unnoticed into the conservative element of the state, prepared to support whatever government existed. The lists of proscription were allowed to fall into oblivion, and many of those who had escaped the first inquisition re-appeared by degrees in the Forum and senate-house, and found no obstacle opposed even to their obtaining public distinctions. The Roman people seemed tacitly to acknowledge that it had now but one cause to maintain, the cause of order and law, and of this cause Octavius was universally recognized as the visible impersonation. This idea he now set himself earnestly to confirm in the public mind; to this point his mildness and his severity equally tended. He spared Lepidus, out of respect, perhaps, for the noble images which crowded his ancestral halls; he enlisted in his own legions all the citizens whom he had taken in arms against himself: on the other hand his restoring to their masters for legitimate punishment the slaves who had dared to combat side by side with free men, was an act of not less popular severity; and even his condemning to the cross the miserable wretches whose masters could not be found, was doubtless applauded as a just tribute to the spirit of law and dis-

*Cæsarean or
Marian interest.*

*Extinction of
the senatorial
faction.*

*Octavius popular both in his
clemency and
his severity.*

cipline.¹ The proud position which he thus acquired was maintained by the enormous array of forty-five legions, twenty-five thousand cavalry, and thirty-seven thousand light-armed auxiliaries. The commander of such a force had only one enemy to fear, disaffection within the camp. Though in battle Octavius had repeatedly sustained reverses, he showed himself to possess the art of managing a mutinous soldiery. The appeal which Cæsar had made with such confidence to the military spirit of his legionaries, might have failed with the horde of butchers and brigands who now marched under the Roman eagles. But Octavius subdued them by dividing their interests. Some, who claimed release from service, he disbanded with gratuities, others he contented or stimulated with promises, while he gorged with the tribute imposed upon Sicily those whose arms were the most indispensable, or appetite most insatiable. Having thus succeeded in quelling the disaffection which was rife among his motley ranks, he dismissed the vessels, as many as remained, which he had borrowed of Antonius, established his authority over the island, and committed the African provinces to Statilius Taurus. He then hastened back, with a portion of his troops, to the expectant citizens of Rome. The senate was on the alert to receive the conqueror with every honour which fear or flattery or genuine admiration could suggest. Octavius, now in his twenty-eighth year, found

Distinctions
heaped upon
him at Rome.

¹ Dion, xlix. 12. Comp. *Monum. Ancyrr.* v. 2., and Oros. vi. 18. Sextus had freely availed himself of the services of fugitive slaves. Vel. ii. 73.; Horat. *Epod.* 9. 9.:

“Servis amicus perfidis.”

Lucan, i. 43.:

“Servilia bella sub Ætna.”

The cruelty of this wholesale massacre is the more horrible from the fact of their freedom having been assured to the enlisted slaves on the first hollow reconciliation between the contending parties. For the details of the artifice by which they were seized and disarmed, see Appian, *B. C.* v. 131. It is remarkable that Octavius had enlisted in his own fleet not less than 20,000 slaves. Suet. *Oct.* 16.; Dion, xlviii. 49. But these, it seems, had been manumitted by legitimate authority.

himself regarded as the sole defender, or master, it may be, of the commonwealth. Besides an ovation for his Sicilian victory, it was decreed that the anniversaries of his successes should be solemnly observed, and that a rostral column erected in the Forum should bear on its summit his effigy in gold, and commemorate by an inscription the restoration of peace by land and sea. His approach to Rome was greeted by a festive procession of the senate and citizens to meet him. In strict observance of the law, which had seemed to be torn to atoms by repeated violations, he convened the people outside the pomœrium, and addressed them in a studied oration. He detailed the whole conduct of his triumvirate, excused the bloodshed of the proscriptions by the plea of necessity, promised peace and tranquillity for the future, and pledged himself that the civil wars had reached their final termination. The favour which this magnificent announcement challenged, was assured by a remission of public dues and taxes. On the thirteenth of November, 718, these gracious words and actions were crowned by the popular ceremony of the ovation.¹ The sea was open, and stores of grain floated securely into the granaries of the city. The gratitude of the half-famished multitude was not yet satisfied. They voted their deliverer a public residence on the Palatine hill, and would have snatched the pontificate from Lepidus, and conferred it upon him. But this harsh and illegitimate proceeding he declined to sanction, and Rome beheld with astonishment an act of moderation so much in contrast with the grasping ambition of the great dictator.

The whole course of the youthful conqueror's proceedings indicated a disposition to leave the Romans as much liberty as they could now exercise with advantage to themselves, together with the appearance

Getavius restores order in Rome, and

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 22.; Appian, *B. C.* v. 130. The *Fasti Capitolini* record this as his second ovation: "Imp. Cæsar Divi f. C. n. ii. iii. vir R. P. C. ii. ovans ex Sicilia an. dcccxviii. (718) Idibus Novemb." His former ovation had been for the victory of Philippi.

promises to
resign the tri-
umvirate.

at least of something more. A veil was thrown over the glaring irregularities in the appointment of the higher magistracies, which had gone on increasing since Cæsar's first arbitrary infringements of the established rules. It has been noticed that in the year 710 there were sixteen prætors appointed, being double the legitimate number: but in 716 not less than sixty-seven were enumerated, a great proportion of whom held the office only for a few days.¹ The recent custom of intruding several persons successively into the consulship of the same year had been retained and aggravated. The public ceased to inquire even the names of their transient rulers, and contented themselves with branding with the contemptuous title of lesser consuls all but the two from whom the Fasti of the year were designated. The motive for seeking the evanescent honour of a few days or even hours was not the emolument or perhaps the dignity of the office itself, but arose from its being a necessary step to attaining the highest employment in the provinces. On the other hand some poorer or meaner candidates, disgusted at the charges of their office, dishonourably abandoned their posts. In one instance a boy was made quæstor, and assumed the gown of manhood the day after. One man appointed to a place in the senate, desired to descend into the arena as a gladiator, a degradation which it was deemed necessary to prohibit by special enactment. But a new era of regular and legitimate succession was now announced; the reign of anarchy was to be consigned to oblivion; all the letters and documents implicating his adversaries which had come into the conqueror's hands he professed to commit to the flames, as a pledge that he would abstain from vengeance. While he still retained for the present the title of triumvir, he withdrew some restrictions which the charge imposed upon the free exercise of the higher magistracies; and he declared his intention of resigning the title itself as soon as Antonius, on his return from Parthia, should consent to join in the voluntary sur-

¹ Dion, xlviii. 3. 53. Comap. 34, 35.

render.¹ In gratitude for these concessions the people invested their champion with the inviolability which belonged to the tribunitian office, and with a seat upon the tribune's bench in the public assemblies.² Amidst these mutual forms and compliments the triumvir of the East was little heeded. If a name which had but lately exercised such powerful influence upon the Roman people was at all remembered, it was with an anxious foreboding of the disastrous effects of any fresh collision between him and his rival, which should throw the republic under the feet of an Oriental conqueror. The rumours which reached the city of his having submitted once more to the charms of the Egyptian enchantress; and the spectacle of the injured dignity of Octavia, their favourite sister, straitened the bonds of love and confidence between the people and their accepted chief. Vigorous measures were adopted to repress the brigandage which prevailed throughout Italy and Sicily. Rome itself was now patrolled for the first time by a nocturnal police, an institution which was found too salutary to be abandoned. Even the worship of the saviour of the commonwealth began to insinuate itself into many Italian or provincial towns, where he found a place among the local tutelary divinities.³

We have signalled the brilliant success of the new master of the Roman people both in war and peace. It remains to present to our eyes the portraits of the two distinguished statesmen, to whose practical ability M. Vipsanius Agrippa. his genius was mainly indebted for its triumphs both in the one and the other. The name of Agrippa has already been inscribed on these pages, and his services to his patron's cause commemorated in their proper place. He was born in the same year as Octavius, memorable for Cicero's consulship, and though of mean extraction, in so much that he seems to

¹ Appian, *B. C.* v. 132.

² Dion, xlix. 15.; Appian, *l. c.* This writer anticipates here the investment of Octavius with the *tribunitia potestas*, which we shall see belongs to a later period.

³ Appian, *l. c.*

have dropped altogether the *nomen* of the obscure Vipsanian gens, to which he belonged, and to have wished to descend to posterity as Marcus Agrippa only,¹ he was admitted in early youth to the intimacy of his more illustrious contemporary, and educated together with him, in arts and arms, at Apollonia. The fortunes of the young men, thus closely connected at the outset, were destined never to be far sundered. At the moment when the relatives of Octavius advised him to decline the perilous honours thrust upon him by Cæsar's will, it was from his friend that he received the spirited counsel to claim and hazard all. History has presented to us many examples of youthful daring, such as that of Octavius himself; few perhaps of two friends and companions of the same tender age striking together into the path of glory and danger.² The character of Agrippa was eminently bold and decided. With him, says Velleius, words and deeds were never separated. If he had less of the far and wide-seeing sagacity which distinguished the friend and patron, he had perhaps more of the practical intuition which seizes upon the right expedient at the right moment. His courage and skill in war were eminently conspicuous. It might have caused many a pang to a more generous temper than that of Octavius to contrast his friend's unvarying success and well-merited fame as a soldier, with his own singular series of mishaps, and the discredit which could not fail to attach even to his personal prowess. At Philippi, and on two occasions off the Sicilian coast, Octavius became exposed to the sneers of his detractors. *He could not face his enemies' array with a composed countenance, blurted forth Antonius; he prostrated himself on the deck, and stupidly stared on the heavens,*

¹ M. Seneca, *Controv.* ii. 12. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 3.; Vell. ii. 96. 127., and see the story told by Suetonius, *Tib.* 23. Frandsen, in his *Life of Agrippa*, decides that Vipsanius is the right orthography, though the name of such a gens does not occur elsewhere, and not Vipstanus, as some modern editors of Tacitus prefer to read it, on the authority of a variation in the MSS.

² The early career of Henry of Navarre and his future minister Sully has been noticed as a parallel instance.

*nor did he rise and show himself to his own soldiers till Marcus Agrippa had scattered his foes before him.*¹ The weakness of his health gave perhaps the first ground for such rude sarcasms; that he was awakened from a deep sleep for his great combat with Sextus is in fact an incident which has been deemed illustrious in the career of a consummate general of modern times;² nor does there seem any just reason for imputing any paltry timidity to Octavius, who at a later period could show the scars of more than one honourable wound.³ But whatever uneasiness he may have felt at Agrippa's superior renown in arms, he controlled any feeling of jealousy. He freely required, and received not less freely, his friend's services, either at his own side or at a distance. To Agrippa he entrusted the conduct of the indictment against Cassius the tyrannicide; in the first heat of the proscriptions, he pardoned Marcus in deference to his instances. He availed himself of his military skill in the siege of Perusia, and after the pacification effected at Brundisium, despatched him to govern the further province of Gaul, where he crossed the Rhine, the second of the Romans, chastised the Germans, and quelled the rising insubordination of the lately conquered provincials.⁴ The offer of a triumph he declined; nor does it appear from what motive: the suggestion is obvious, but hardly satisfactory, that he sought to avoid the risk of giving umbrage to his patron. When Octavius returned to Rome after the reduction of Sicily, Agrippa enjoyed a large share in the distinctions which awaited him. He was presented with a naval crown in honour of his great victory.⁵ This decoration was a band of gold, ornamented with spikes in the form of the rostra or beaks of the Roman galleys. Illustrious

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 16.

² "Like Condé sleeping ere his first of fields."

³ Suet. *Oct.* 20.

⁴ Dion, *xlvi.* 49.; Appian, *B. C.* v. 92. Comp. Strabo, *iv.* 3.; Tac. *Ann.* *xii.* 27.

⁵ Plin. *H. N.* *xvi.* 4.: "Rostratæ . . . in duobus maxime ad hoc ævi celebres; M. Varro e piraticis bellis dante Magno Pompeio; itemque M. Agrippa tribuente Cæsare e Siculis, quæ et ipsa piratica fuere."

as Agrippa was in peace and in war, on land and at sea, the rostral crown represented on busts and medals, and immortalized by the muse of Virgil, has rendered him most famous in history as a naval commander.

Agrippa continued to assist his patron at the council-board, and to his sagacity undoubtedly much of the spirit is to be ascribed which animated the long administration upon which

C. Cilnius
Mæcenas.

Octavius now entered. But there was yet another partner to whom the triumvir was wont to entrust a large share in the cares of government, and who has generally been considered not less the first of his ministers than Agrippa was the foremost of his officers. Caius Cilnius Mæcenas, unlike his gallant coadjutor, was sprung from ancient and illustrious parentage on either side.² The names both of Cilnius and Mæcenas appear on many Etruscan cinerary urns, but never, it is said, in connexion with each other; from which it may be inferred that the two families were not united until a late period. Of the Mæcenates indeed we have no certain trace in history;³ but the Cilnii are commemorated as the royal house of Arretium. Their pride and power were fostered by the command of the Etruscan armies, and their tyranny at last provoked their subjects to overthrow them.⁴ Whether in consequence of this civic revolution, or the more sweeping disasters of the Roman conquest, the Cilnii sank from this time into comparative insignificance.

¹ Virg. *Æn.* viii. 684.:

"Tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona."

² Horat. *Sat.* i. vi. *init.* :

"Non quia, Mæcenas, Lydorum quicquid Etruscos
Incoluit fines, nemo generosior est te;
Nec quod avus tibi materuus fuit atque paternus,
Olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarint."

These "legions" must have been foreign, *i. e.* Etruscan armies, for we hear of no Cilnius or Mæcenas among the consuls or higher magistrates of Rome.

³ Cicero (*pro Cluent.* 56.) mentions a C. Mæcenas, a knight, who with other "robora populi Romani" put down M. Drusus the tribune, A. U. 663. This may have been the grandfather of the statesman.

⁴ Liv. x. 3. 5.

Octavius selected his friend and minister from the equestrian order, nor in the height of his favour and power did the wary statesman covet any more brilliant advancement. It seems to have been fortunate for Octavius that he was compelled at the very outset of his public career to select his own advisers. No man, perhaps, so highly connected and so inexperienced, was ever thrown so entirely upon his own resources from the moment that he determined to choose the perilous path of political distinction. His own relations were vexed at his rejecting their first timid counsels: their names no longer appear among the partners of his deliberations. The origin of his connexion with Mæcenas is not known. That statesman was probably his senior, at least by some years, and it is not likely that he was associated with him, as with Agrippa, in the schools of Apollonia. Nor can it be asserted that Mæcenas actually drew the sword in his patron's cause, at Mutina, at Philippi, at Perusia, or in any of his later engagements. But the minister's advice was so essential to the warrior's exploits, the sagacious care of Mæcenas seemed so closely interwoven with the fortunes of Octavius, that his panegyrists professed themselves unable to separate the one from the other in celebrating even the military achievements of the triumvir.¹ The occasions however on which Mæcenas is first mentioned are those in which the skill of a negotiator or an able administrator were most urgently required. The treaty of Brundisium, in which the jealousies of Octavius and Antonius were to be assuaged, the division of the Roman world to be arranged, and its terms to be consolidated by the specious expedient of family intermarriages, was the work of

¹ The lines of Propertius (II. i. 27, sqq.) show this very strikingly. On reading them we could hardly persuade ourselves that Mæcenas was not personally engaged in all the great events of Octavius's military career, did we not know for certain that he was not present at the battle of Actium. It has been recently contended, however, with great appearance of probability, that the first Epode of Horace (*Ibis Liburnis*, &c.) is addressed to Mæcenas on his joining his patron's expedition to Sicily. Appian (v. 99.) speaks of the Liburnian galleys which were lost in that disastrous engagement. This epode as is well known, has been generally referred to the battle of Actium.

Mæcenas, with the assistance at least of Pollio and Cocceius. During the doubtful progress of the Sicilian war the centre of Octavius's power was repeatedly shaken by disturbances at Rome. Twice was Mæcenas deputed to appease the disaffection and to supply the pressing wants of the people. For this delicate task his temper and talents were so admirably adapted, that at a later period his master retained him permanently at the head of the civil administration of Rome and Italy, and left him, during his own frequent absences from the centre of affairs, the virtual sovereign of the empire. Mæcenas seems to have possessed a genuine taste for the polite arts, and to have enjoyed the society of men of letters, even before he could perceive how important an instrument literature might be made for reconciling the public mind to the loss of liberty. His connexion with Virgil dates from the year 714, and was prior to that with Horace, to whom indeed the elder poet is supposed to have introduced him. He was instrumental in restoring to both their forfeited estates, and recommending them to the favour of Octavius. Varius, who was senior to either of the great masters of Roman song, may have already enjoyed his intimacy at a still earlier period.

The government of the western triumvir was supported by many other personages of high character and ability; and already the ascendancy of his genius was marked by the transition to his service from that of his rival of the men of greatest political discernment. M. Valerius Messala. Messala had thrown himself, after the battle of Philippi, upon the generosity of Antonius, from whom he had experienced honourable treatment; but he foresaw that the reckless career of Cleopatra's lover must end in disaster, and when the triumvirs quarrelled he speedily transferred himself to that which he already augured would be the winning side. He was entrusted in return with a high command in the war against Sextus, and no sooner was that contest brought to a termination, than he was despatched to chastise the Salassians, a turbulent tribe which infested the passes of the Graian and

Pennine Alps. He had been proscribed by the man who now heaped these distinctions upon him, and the favour with which he was treated might re-assure less distinguished objects of the triumvir's former animosity. Pollio had also abandoned the service of Antonius, and sought permission to reside in Italy under his rival's protection. He there devoted himself to studious indolence, and showed by his example how literature might continue to flourish under monarchical patronage.

Nor, while he availed himself of the arms and counsels of the best men of the day, had the crafty aspirant neglected to strengthen his position at the most important epochs by matrimonial alliances. In his early youth Cæsar had betrothed him to the daughter of his friend Servilius; but this arrangement was broken off when, upon the dictator's death, the young heir found himself too much embarrassed and pre-occupied to decide upon so important a step. His first union was contracted, in obedience to the demands of the soldiery, with Clodia, the daughter of Fulvia by her first husband the infamous tribune. It was thus that the first treaty between Octavius and Antonius, in the year 711, seemed to be most auspiciously ratified. But the bride was still a child, and the marriage had not been consummated, when the Perusian war broke out, and the angry husband revenged himself on his mother-in-law by divorcing her daughter. Octavius was now free to further his interests by another politic engagement. He was anxious to baffle his colleague's intrigues with Sextus, and with this view he sought, as we have seen, the hand of Scribonia, the sister of Libo, whose daughter had already become the consort of the young Pompeius. This marriage took place in 714, and its fruit was one daughter, who was early betrothed to Octavia's son Marcellus, and eventually given to Agrippa. But in the very year of this infant's birth the state of affairs had changed. Octavius was now once more on good terms with Antonius, and at open variance with Sextus; and the unfortunate Scribonia, who had been already made the spouse, or rather perhaps the victim of two former husbands,

Octavius's
matrimonial
alliances.

was now sacrificed to a political pique if not to an illicit passion. For on the disruption of this fragile tie the triumvir straightway carried off Livia Drusilla from her consort Tiberius Claudius, to whom she had borne one son and was about to present another.¹ Of all his wives this is the only one whom Octavius can be supposed to have espoused from inclination. The admiration with which he regarded her, while she was yet united to another, she had the skill or the good fortune to retain to the last through nearly fifty years of an unfruitful marriage; and throughout the family history, and in much even of the public policy of the second of the Cæsars, we shall discover henceforward the arts and counsels of this consummate intriguer.

¹ Livia Drusilla was the daughter of a Claudius Puleher, who was adopted into the Livian gens, and became Livius Drusus Claudianus. He was proscribed by the triumvirs, and slew himself in his tent at Philippi. By her first husband Tiberius Claudius Nero she had two sons, Tiberius Claudius Nero (who became afterwards emperor), born A. U. 712, and Nero Claudius Drusus, born soon after her marriage with Octavius, A. U. 716.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ANTONIUS RENEWS HIS INTIMACY WITH CLEOPATRA.—HIS INFATUATED DEVOTION TO HER, AND ILL-TREATMENT OF OCTAVIA.—HE INVADES PARTHIA, IS DISCOMFITED, AND MAKES A DISASTROUS RETREAT (718).—HE ATTACKS ARMENIA, AND CELEBRATES A TRIUMPH IN ALEXANDRIA (720).—HE ENLARGES CLEOPATRA'S DOMINIONS WITH ROMAN PROVINCES.—ORGIES OF THEIR COURT.—ACCOUNT OF ALEXANDRIA.—OCTAVIUS INCREASES HIS POPULARITY IN ROME.—HIS CAMPAIGNS IN THE ALPS, IN DALMATIA, AND PANNONIA (719-721).—ÆDILESHIP AND PUBLIC WORKS OF AGRIPPA.—POPULAR INDIGNATION AGAINST ANTONIUS.—RUPTURE BETWEEN THE TRIUMVIRS.—ANTONIUS DIVORCES OCTAVIA.—THE REPUBLIC DECLARES WAR AGAINST EGYPT.—GREAT ARMAMENTS ON BOTH SIDES.—THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM, AND ROUT OF THE ANTONIANS.—FEEBLE ATTEMPT AT RESISTANCE IN EGYPT.—ANTONIUS KILLS HIMSELF.—CLEOPATRA SEEKS TO FASCINATE OCTAVIUS.—BEING RESERVED TO GRACE HIS TRIUMPH SHE ESCAPES BY SELF-DESTRUCTION.—OCTAVIUS PUTS TO DEATH CÆSARION AND OTHERS.—HENCEFORTH HE AFFECTS CLEMENCY.—APPARENT CHANGE IN HIS DISPOSITION.—CHARACTER OF ANTONIUS. (A. U. 718-724, B. C. 36-30.)

THE triumph of Ventidius, the only Roman, as Plutarch reminds us, who up to this time had gained such a distinction for a Parthian victory, might cause some jealousy in the mind of Antonius, who was less content perhaps to owe his advancement and renown to his lieutenant's successes, than his more politic colleague Octavius. Another of his officers, C. Sosius, had performed as governor of Syria some martial or predatory exploits on the frontiers of that province, and Canidius Crassus had defeated the Armenians, with their Albanian and Iberian allies, and once more planted the Roman standards at the foot of the Caucasus. The triumvir might fear lest his

Antonius
meets Cleo-
patra in Asia,
and endows her
with Roman
provinces.

own military reputation should suffer eclipse from the prowess of his lieutenants : already the saying had become popular that both Octavius and his colleague won more battles by the hands of their subordinates than in their own persons.¹ But the charms of idleness and dissipation continued, after each succeeding interval of vigour, to regain their ascendancy over him. After his return from Tarentum to his own sphere of empire, and the dismissal of Octavia, Antonius warmed again into life *that great evil which had long slept*, his passion for Cleopatra, which men had fondly hoped was extinguished by a more legitimate attraction. On his route to Syria he despatched Fonteius to invite her to leave her palace and meet him. The Egyptian queen rejoiced in this tribute to her reviving influence, and revolved in her ardent imagination new schemes of conquest and dominion. She aspired to make her dynasty independent of the galling influence of the republic, to consolidate a great Asiatic monarchy, which should rival Rome on the one side and Parthia on the other. She met Antonius in Lycaonia, and there held him fast in silken fetters, while she extorted from his complaisance presents the most glittering and the most dangerous. But even the donation of cities and territories hardly excited so much indignation among the Romans, as his public acknowledgment of the twins she had borne to him, to whom he gave the titles of the Sun and Moon, adopting without shame the inflated style of an Oriental potentate.² Antonius, however,

He makes
preparations
against the
Parthians.

even amidst the orgies of his barbarian court, was intently watching the revolutions of Parthia. The sovereign Orodes had recently resigned his throne to his son Phraates, and his successor had secured his seat by the murder of the abdicated monarch and the destruction of his numerous kinsmen, while many of the Parthian nobility had fled from the impending massacre, and taken refuge in the camps and cities of the Roman Empire.³ Among these fugitives was Monæses, a man of rank and in

¹ Plut. *Anton.* 34.

² Dion, xlix. 32. ; Plutarch, *Anton.* 36.

³ Dion, xlix. 23. ; Plutarch, *Anton.* 37.

fluence, whom Antonius received with ostentatious generosity, and gave him in fee some towns in Asia Minor, as the Persian king had once endowed the illustrious exile Themistocles. The Parthian monarch sought to withdraw his satrap from the enemy's blandishment by the offer of pardon and renewed favour; and Antonius permitted communications between them, and listened to overtures of reconciliation with the republic by which they were accompanied, in order, it is affirmed, to blind Phraates to his own preparations for war. All the Roman emperor claimed of the Parthians was the restoration of the captured standards of Crassus, and the liberation of such of the prisoners as still survived.

Both parties were intent upon deceiving each other, and neither perhaps was deceived. Antonius allowed these futile negotiations to be protracted, well pleased to pro-
long his enjoyment of Cleopatra's society, and it was not till midsummer that he roused himself

Campaign of
Antonius
against the
Parthians.

from voluptuous dalliance, and led an army of an hundred thousand men to the banks of the Euphrates. Here, as if about to plunge into the toils and perils of the Parthian deserts, he at last bade his mistress quit his side and repair to her own territories. But the attitude of defence assumed by the enemy on his own frontier was more imposing, perhaps, than he anticipated. The Roman general resolved to abandon his design of penetrating into the fastnesses of the barbarian empire, and contented himself with turning his arms against Artavasdes, king of Media Atropatene, an ally or dependant of the Parthian crown. Antonius placed himself under the guidance of the king of Armenia, who led his army through the southern districts of his country, an abundant and well-watered country, the same through which Crassus had rashly refused to direct his march. But while he sat himself down before the Median capital Praaspa, the corps which covered his rear and protected his magazines and siege batteries was attacked by the dexterous adversary and cut in pieces.¹ The

¹ Dion calls the city Praaspa, Plutarch Phraata: the locality is uncertain, and Livy (Epit. cxxx.) estimates the retreat to the frontier of Armenia at

Armenians made an excuse for deserting their patron, and the Romans, destitute of stores and equipments, were exposed to the united assault of the Medes and Parthians. Antonius made desperate efforts to obtain possession of the city, within which he might have repaired his losses, and recruited himself for another campaign. But the want of machines could not be compensated by the bare valour of the assailants, and Phraates, who had now come up, enjoyed from a distance the sight of his adversary wasting his strength, and the time which was becoming precious, in these unavailing endeavours. The Roman proposed terms of accommodation; the Parthian laughed him to scorn. Antonius broke up from his camp soon after the autumnal equinox, when the winter was about to set in throughout the cold and lofty regions which surrounded him.

His disastrous
retreat.

The only course open for his retreat lay to the north-west, into the heart of a country still rougher and more inclement than that which he was about to quit; and the Armenians, to whose hospitality he must entrust himself, had already betrayed and abandoned him. The retreat lasted seven-and-twenty days,¹ during which the sufferings of the Roman army were unparalleled in their military annals. The intense cold, the blinding snow and driving sleet, the want sometimes of provisions, sometimes of water, the use of poisonous herbs, and the harassing attacks of the enemy's cavalry and bowmen, which could only be repelled by maintaining the dense array of the phalanx or the tortoise, reduced the retreating army by one-third of its numbers. At length, at the distance of three hundred miles, it reached a river, which the historians designate as the Araxes, the boundary of Armenia, and when it had crossed to the further side, the enemy desisted from the pursuit. The brave and disciplined fugitives, however reduced in numbers and abashed in confidence, were still formidable to the people within whose frontiers they had arrived. The Armenians dared not repel

three hundred miles. Media Atropatene lay between the mount Zagrus and the Caspian, in the latitude of Osroene and the heads of the Tigris.

¹ Plutarch, *Anton.* 50. Livy says twenty-one days only.

them : but their leader was too impatient to renew his accustomed winter orgies to allow any long halt ; and the rapid marches which he required of the wearied and dispirited legions cost them eight thousand gallant soldiers before they reached their resting-places within the Roman province. In Syria Antonius was met by Cleopatra ; festivities recommenced with unabated splendour : the soldiers were gratified with presents of vestments and money, and the triumvir returned with his mistress to spend the winter in the palace of the Ptolemies.¹

Antonius, to whom warfare and dissipation furnished alternate excitement of equal potency, now planned his revenge upon the Armenians and their crafty sovereign, Artavasdes. The Median chieftain, of the same name, now invited, instead of repelling him ; for the Median and Parthian had quarrelled about the division of the spoil, and the former had been at ancient feud with his namesake on the Araxes. The Roman had failed in an attempt to seize the person of his Armenian enemy, by a treacherous summons to partake of the festivities of the Egyptian court. Artavasdes had prudently avoided the snare, and awaited the attack, which he now clearly foresaw, within his own frontiers. Antonius quitted the banks of the Nile in the spring of 719, and hoped, while pretending to lead another expedition against the Parthians, to surprise and master the crafty Armenian. Artavasdes was again saved by an accident. While Antonius was equipping himself in Syria for the campaign, his consort Octavia came from Italy to Athens. That noble matron felt the responsibility and the dignity of her position as the sister of one and wife of the other master of the Roman world. Two such rivals could hardly continue in harmony with one another ; but she felt it to be her mission to maintain peace between them, to allay their jealousies, and interpret to them their misunderstandings. The connexion between her husband and Cleopatra must be as fatal, she was assured, to his fame and fortunes as to her own domestic happiness. The Romans were

¹ Plutarch, *Anton.* 51. ; Dion, xlix. 33.

growing more and more dissatisfied with it, while Octavius watched their rising irritation, and prepared, under the specious pretence of vindicating his sister's claims, to direct it for his rival's humiliation. The anxious wife now brought with her presents for her lord, and his principal adherents, together with money and equipments for his soldiers.¹ She was attended also by a corps of two thousand men, whom she had armed with unusual splendour to serve as a body-guard to Antonius. But the heartless profligate refused to come into her presence. He coldly commanded her by a letter to remain at Athens, while he went forth on his Parthian expedition; but at the same time he did not scruple to accept the presents which her generosity had proffered. Cleopatra on her part feared to part with her admirer, while a rival she could not fail to respect still solicited an interview. She directed all the force of her charms and artifices to retain him at her side, and persuaded him to forego his threatened chastisement of the Armenian, and so postpone to another season the long impending demand for the standards of Crassus. These intrigues assured for the moment the safety of Artavasdes: but Cleopatra had nothing to fear from the proud consort of her unworthy lover; for Octavia scorned to play the rival to a foreign mistress, and returned with calm dignity to Rome, abandoning her reckless husband to the fate he merited. At home she was received with every demonstration of tenderness and respect by the citizens; the care she took of her children by Antonius, and even of those whom Fulvia had borne to him, all of whom were equally abandoned by their profligate father, moved their warmest admiration: but they reserved their pity, says Plutarch, for the wretched husband himself; especially such as had seen the woman to whose arts he had surrendered, and judged her to have no advantage over Octavia either in youth or beauty.²

In the year 720 Antonius claimed his assigned succession to the consulship, which was duly conceded to him; but he

¹ Plutarch, *Anton.* 53.

² Plutarch, *Anton.* 57.

cared not to enter upon its duties, and on the same day relinquished it to L. Sempronius Atratinus. With the spring he again quitted the Egyptian court, and repaired to his camps on the Parthian frontier. His advance was sudden, and Artavasdes was surprised by his appearance at the head of a powerful army before Nicopolis, in Lesser Armenia, from whence he despatched a peremptory summons to the barbarian chieftain to confer with him in person. The Armenian hesitated. Antonius dashed boldly into the centre of his dominions, and led his army to the walls of Artaxata on the Araxes. Artavasdes now ventured into his ally's presence. He was not allowed to recover his freedom, and with the sovereign in his power, Antonius found no resistance opposed to him by the people. The whole of Armenia fell for the moment into his hands: one or two Roman garrisons were left to demand a tribute and to hold some important positions, which sufficed to give to the occupation of the country the empty title of a conquest. The triumvir now abandoned once more his plans against the Parthians, and returned with a large booty and a train of royal and noble captives to Egypt, where he crowned the disgust of the Romans by parading the glories of a triumph, in which Artavasdes was led in chains before the admiring eyes of the Alexandrians.¹ The dazzling splendour of this military spectacle, combining the elegance of Greek and the gorgeousness of Asiatic invention, far surpassed, we may suppose, the most sumptuous pageants of Roman creation. But the pride of Oriental sovereignty was not satisfied without the personal homage of its captives, a humiliation which the good sense of the Roman conquerors had never permitted them to exact. The triumphal procession passed in slow pomp through the rows of wondering Copts and Macedonians, and reached at last the golden throne on a silver dais, upon which Cleopatra was seated. Here the Armenians were ordered to prostrate themselves before her feet; but this the sturdy mountaineers refused to do, and persisted in their refusal till

Antonius attacks Armenia (720), and celebrates a triumph in Alexandria.

¹ Dion, xlix. 39, 40.; Plutarch, *Anton.* 50.; Strabo, xi. 14.

Antonius was constrained, from mere shame, to waive the ceremony. This spectacle was succeeded after the Roman fashion by a grand entertainment given by the imperator to the Alexandrian people. Soon afterwards he convened an assembly of the citizens in the halls and gardens of the gymnasium, the chief place of public resort. They were received

He assigns
Roman prov-
inces to Cleo-
patra and her
children.

by Antonius and Cleopatra, seated side by side on thrones of equal height and splendour; on lower chairs they beheld the children of their sovereign, both Cæsarion, the reputed offspring of the great Julius, and those she had borne to her later admirer. The triumvir delivered an oration in which he declared Cleopatra queen, not of Egypt only, but of Cyprus, Lybia and Cœle-Syria, and Cæsarion the partner of her sovereignty. This acknowledgment of the legitimacy of Cæsar's child was meant to invalidate the claim of Octavius to the dictator's inheritance, and was deeply and fatally resented by the injured heir. At the same time the triumvir did not scruple to designate his own spurious brood, the children of an alien paramour, as kings, the offspring of kings.¹ To Alexander, whom he arrayed in the flowing robe and peaked tiara, the Persian badge of royalty, he assigned with a magnificent wave of his hand the barbaric realms of the Armenian, the Parthian, and the Mede. To Ptolemæus, who wore the Macedonian cloak and bonnet, bound with the simple fillet, he pretended to deliver the throne of the Seleucidæ, with the Roman provinces of Cicilia, Syria and Phœnice. His daughter, who bore the name of Cleopatra, he endowed with the sovereignty of Cyrene; and he audaciously transmitted a mandate to Rome, requiring that these titles should be acknowledged and registered there.²

¹ Plutarch, *Anton.* 54.: βασιλεῖς βασιλέων ἀναγορεύσας. See also Dion. The Greek idiom is equivocal, and Plutarch may have really meant to say, (that these personages were dignified with the pompous designation of "kings of kings" (Hoeek, *R. G.* i. 283): but medals of the time exist with the legend in Latin, "Cleopatraræ reginæ, regum filiorum regum,"—"kings the sons of kings." Vaillant, *Hist. Ptolem.* Sharpe, *Egypt under the Ptolemies*, p. 204

² Plutarch, *l. c.*; Dion, xlix. 41.

The Alexandrian court now plunged again into the most extravagant debauchery ; the queen still leading the way, and exerting her inexhaustible powers of invention in contriving new pleasures and amusements for the Roman voluptuary. She had secured, as she fondly deemed, the stability of her ancestral throne, and extended its outworks far beyond the boundaries with which her fathers had been contented. Vaster views of dominion were opening upon her ; she might look forward, as no idle dream, to behold her pavilion planted on the Tarpeian hill, and erect the throne of Alexander among the trophies of Marius.¹ When she pledged her royal word with more than usual solemnity, she swore by the decrees she would dictate from the Capitol.² Nor was she really indifferent to the person of the illustrious lover whom she held captive. Though her own security had been her first object, and her ambition perhaps the second, we can hardly doubt that she was at last enslaved herself by a licentious passion, and that the various connexions to which she had formerly submitted from interest or casual liking were now succeeded by a real and engrossing attachment. She might disdain the fear of a rival potentate, and defy the indignation of Octavius : but her anxiety about his sister was the instinct of the woman rather than of the queen. She could not forget that a wife's legitimate influence had once detained her lover from her side for more than a whole year ; she might still apprehend the awakening of his reason, and his renunciation of an alliance which, she well knew, he felt at times to be bitterly degrading.³ To retain her grasp of

Ambitious
views of Cleo-
patra.

¹ Propert. ii. 11. 45. :

“ *Fœdaque Tarpeio conopia tendere saxo ;
Jura dare et statuas inter et arma Mari.*”

² Dion, l. 5.

³ Roman history has few love romances, and I am willing to accept the view of Cleopatra's character which has been familiarised to us by so keen an interpreter of nature as Shakspeare. The ancients, it must be allowed, from the Roman point of view, saw nothing in her conduct but vanity and selfishness.

Dissipation of
the Alexan-
drian court.

her admirer, as well as her seat upon the throne of the Ptolemies, she must drown his scruples in voluptuous oblivion, and discover new charms to revive and amuse his jaded passion. Her personal talents were indeed of the most varied kind; she was an admirable singer and musician; she was skilled in many languages, and possessed intellectual accomplishments rarely found among the staidest of her sex, combined with the archness and humour of the lightest. She pampered her lover's grosser appetites by rank and furious indulgences, she stimulated his flagging zest in them by ingenious surprises; nor less did she gratify every reviving taste for nobler enjoyments with paintings and sculptures, and works of literature. She encouraged him to take his seat as gymnasiarch, or director of the public amusements, and even to vary his debauches with philosophy and criticism.¹ She amused him with sending divers to fasten salt-fish to the bait of his angling-rod;² and when she had pledged herself to consume the value of ten million sesterces at a meal, amazed him by dissolving in the humble cup of vinegar before her a pearl of inestimable price.³ Her lover attended her in the forum, at the theatre, and the tribunals; he rode with her, or followed her chariot on foot escorted by a train of eunuchs: at night he strolled with her through the city, in the garb of a slave, and encountered abuse and blows from the rabble of the streets; by day he wore the loose Persian robe, with the Median dagger at his girdle, and designated as his palace the prætorium or general's apartment. Painters and sculptors were charged to group the illustrious pair together, and the coins of the kingdom bore the heads and names of both conjointly. The Roman legionary, with the name of Cleopatra inscribed upon his shield, found himself transformed into a Macedonian body-guard. Masques were presented at the court, in which the versatile Plancus sank into the character of a stage-buffoon, and enacted the part of

¹ Dion, *l. c.*

² Plutarch, *Anton.* 29.

³ Plin. *H. N.* ix. 58.; Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 13. This sum may equal 80,000*l.*

the sea-god Glaucus in curt cerulean vestments, crowned with the feathery heads of the papyrus, and deformed with the tail of a fish.¹ But when Cleopatra arrayed herself in the garb and usurped the attributes of Isis, and invited her paramour to ape the deity Osiris, the portentous travesty assumed a deeper significance. It had been the policy of the Macedonian sovereigns to form an alliance between the popular superstitions of their Greek and Egyptian subjects. Ptolemæus Soter had prevailed on the native priesthood to sanction the consecration of a new divinity Serapis, who if not really of Grecian origin, was confidently identified by the Greeks with their own Pluto, or perhaps with Zeus. The Macedonians had admitted with little scruple their great hero's claims to be the offspring of Ammon, the king of gods, who had worshipped in the Oasis of the desert. The notion that a mere man might become exalted into union with deity, favoured by the rationalizing explanations of their popular mythology already current among the learned, had gradually settled into an indulgent admission of the royal right of apotheosis.² It has been already mentioned that Antonius assumed the character of Bacchus at Athens. In the metropolis of Grecian scepticism this could only be regarded as a drunken whim: but when he came forward in Alexandria as the Nile-God Osiris, the Bacchus or fructifying power of the Coptic mythology, he claimed as a present deity the veneration of the credulous Egyptians.³

The social circumstances of Alexandria rendered this assumption of divinity not only significant to the eastern half of the empire, but peculiarly distasteful to the Romans

¹ Vell. ii. 83. This writer exhibits peculiar bitterness against Plancus. He had said of him (c. 63.), "dubia id est sua fide." In Pliny Plancus figures as the umpire of Cleopatra's wager above mentioned. When she was about to dissolve a second pearl, the fellow of the first, he snatched it from her, and it was afterwards cut in two, and so furnished pendants for the ears of a statue of Venus at Rome.

² On some of the coins of Cleopatra is the legend *Κλεοπάτρα θεὰ νεωτέρα*. See Eckhel, iv. 23.

³ Osiris was also a legendary king of Egypt, and the assumption of the character by Antonius may have had a political object.

Alexandria and
the Alexandrians.

themselves. It was in fact to set up a rival to the Capitoline Jupiter; and to suggest to the unsteady provincials that the Nile or the Orontes had equal claims to their reverence with the Tiber. The successors of Alexander had been no common antagonists even in the age of the Scipios; and the Roman senate had more than once hesitated before committing itself to a war with the opulent and populous East. One indeed of these dynasties had given place to the proconsuls of the republic; but an able and daring sovereign occupied the throne of the Ptolemies at the head of a wide confederation, and had added to her Macedonian phalanx and her Egyptian navy the discipline and terror of the Roman legions. The Alexandrian population was one of the most fierce, inconstant, and turbulent in the world. It combined the pride of the Greeks, the stubbornness of the Jews, and the sullen and acrid passions of the Coptic race. Into the original Macedonian colony, and into a city which its founder designed for the fortress and emporium of his domains, had been poured a busy and fermenting mass of human beings from the neighbouring Delta, from the adjacent Syria, from the islands and maritime towns of Hellas, and from nearly every quarter of the globe in which crime, poverty, or political change supplied a stream of exiles and adventurers. These elements were united rather by the city walls than by the affinities of law, lineage, or creed. Yet in one respect they were nearly all agreed, in aversion to the central control of Roman arms and edicts, and in a propensity to regard the ancestral and composite religions of the East with more favour than the barren simplicity of the Etruscan cult. But the tyranny of their rulers had more than counterbalanced the advantages of their position and the liberality of their institutions. While the population of Egypt, if we may trust our authorities, had fallen off one half in the course of two centuries, the trade of Alexandria with the East was still limited and languid; she had not yet discovered the sources of her future opulence and renown.¹ Amidst this

¹ Diodorus estimates the population of Egypt under the last of the Ptole-

motley assemblage of conquerors and conquered, of natives and of strangers, one third, it is said, of the free population consisted of Jews, a people who had already begun to develop not only throughout Asia, but even in Rome, their strong national propensity of foreign sojourn and monetary dealings.¹ The Jews in Alexandria had connected themselves with the upper class rather than the lower: they had cultivated the Greek language, and imbibed perhaps some taste for Greek ideas; and when they became ashamed of retaining the oracles of their sacred books under the seal of the old Hebrew idiom, which had been long unintelligible to the vulgar even among themselves, they translated them into the Greek, as it was then spoken at Alexandria, rather than into the vernacular dialect of their compatriots in Palestine. They proved themselves diligent in traffic and docile as strangers in a foreign land, and thus obtained the reward of citizenship by a special decree. The free population of Alexandria is said to have amounted about this time to three hundred thousand souls:² the slaves have been loosely estimated at an equal number.³ But if we reflect that the Egyptians had little opportunity of making captives in war, and that the means of purchase must have been confined to a small class; when we consider also the analogy of modern oriental cities, in which the pos-

mies at 3,000,000, which, even with the addition of the Alexandrian census, is scarcely half what he declares it to have been two hundred years earlier. This in all probability is to be confined to the free population. The reading, however, according to Wesseling, is uncertain. Diodor. i. 31., xvii. 52.

¹ Philo, speaking of the Jewish denizens of Alexandria, seventy years later, says that of the five quarters of the city two were called the Jewish, from the great proportion of inhabitants of that nation, and that there were many Jews in the other quarters also (*in Placc.* 8.). This influx of Jews began with the conquest of their country by Ptolemæus Soter, and was increased when Philometor offered them an asylum from the oppression of Antiochus Epiphanes.

² Diodorus, xvii. 52.

³ Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall*, c. xii.; Mannert, *Geog. Gr. und Röm.* x. i. 629. The length of the city was three miles and a half, and the breadth about one mile. Its shape was tolerably regular, so that Pliny's estimate of fifteen miles for the circuit must be erroneous, unless it is meant to include the suburbs.

session of slaves is exceedingly limited, we shall be disposed to reduce this estimate by half or even two-thirds. It is probable that a large portion of the menial drudgery of the capital was still performed by the Coptic population; but the slave-dealers of Alexandria ministered to the demands of luxury and ostentation; and while their vessels imported the most accomplished artists that could be purchased in the harbours of Greece and Asia, caravans from the Bahr Abiad and the Niger conveyed to their markets the negroes of central Africa, and with them barbarians not less fair in complexion than the pale-faced denizens of the German forests.¹

The first months of the year 721 passed away in the capital of the East amidst licentious orgies, the rumour of which caused deep resentment at Rome, while the popularity of Octavius, not without reason, was rising daily higher. The heir of the dictator was gradually beginning to fill the space left vacant in the public eye by his uncle's death. His manners were affable, his concern for the public weal was passionate and unwearied, and even the pretence he still maintained of amity towards an unworthy colleague and an injurious relative seemed amiable and graceful. After the reduction of Sicily he had devoted some time to the establishment of a mild but firm government in Rome: in the following year, however, he had thrown himself without reserve into fatigues and dangers to maintain the honour of his country against hostile barbarians. He engaged the

Popularity of
Octavius in
Rome.

His campaigns
against the
Salassians,
Pannonians,

Salassi and Taurisci in person amidst the most difficult passes of the Alps, defeated the Liburni and Japydes in Dalmatia, and carried his arms

¹ Lucan, x. 127.:

“Tum famulæ numerus turbæ, populusque minister;
Discolor hos sanguis, alios distinxerat ætas;
Hæc Libycos, pars tam flavos gerit altera crines,
Ut nullis Cæsar Rhæni se dicat in arvis
Tam rutilas vidisse comas.”

It is possible that these fair-haired slaves may have come from the north, perhaps from the interior of Russia; but there are some tribes of extremely light complexion in Africa almost under the equator.

against the Pannonians on the waters of the Save. The first of these wars he left Messala to bring to a conclusion; in the other he was occupied in person during three successive summers, and the scale on which his operations were conducted required the joint exertions of all his best commanders. At the end of three campaigns the general rising of the Illyrian tribes was effectually quelled, and the vast region from the Save to the borders of Epirus was reduced to the form of a province.¹ Octavius obtained the distinction of a wound in actual combat, besides incurring other dangers and injuries. The senate decreed him a triumph, but the moment was not propitious to the indulgence of vanity, and he discreetly deferred its celebration to a later period.

The military reputation of Octavius was thus fully restored at the moment when the disclosure of his rival's disasters in Parthia hung like a heavy cloud over the brilliancy of his former fame. The despatches which Antonius had sent to Rome had disguised his losses and disgrace; and the senate had been induced by his specious representations, seconded by the influence of his colleague, who at that moment was still dubious of the event of the Sicilian contest, to decree sacrifices and thanksgivings in honour of his pretended victory. Even in the following year, after the defeat and death of Sextus, Octavius continued to lavish upon the absent triumvir professions of unabated good-will, and at his instance certain public honours were assigned him, his chariot was placed in front of the rostra, a statue was raised to him in the temple of Concord, and he was invited to assist with his family at the festive banquets of the goddess.² The young conqueror carried his professions so far as to address a letter of condolence to his rival, when the discomfiture of his expedition was no longer a secret. He affected to lament the envy to which his own

and Dalma-
tians,
A. v. 719, 720,
721.

Octavius
maintains ami-
cable relations
with Anto-
nius.

¹ Liv. *Epit.* cxxxi., cxxxii.; Suet. *Oct.* 20, 21.; Appian, *Illyr.* 16-28.; Dion, xlix. 33-38.; Florus, iv. 12.

² Dion, xlix. 18.

recent successes would necessarily expose him. In the mean time he congratulated himself, in the society of his intimate associates, on the increasing ability and firmness of his legions, thus constantly exercised in distant and dangerous warfare; he fed the hopes of his followers with visions of future plunder, planned new expeditions which he had no expectation of effecting, and revived the recollection of his uncle's most romantic exploit, by threatening an attack upon the Britons.¹ Antonius gave no heed to the far-resounding din of his rival's armaments, but few of his countrymen were blinded probably as to their real destination.

Agrippa continued to follow diligently the footsteps of his illustrious patron, filling up the outline of his policy, and fixing upon him the admiration of the citizens. The triumvir was anxious that the people should be amused by shows and buildings of more than usual splendour, and in the year 720 this faithful minister descended from the rank he had attained as a consular to serve the inferior office of ædile. He discharged the duties of this popular magistracy with unexampled magnificence. He renewed and beautified the most important public buildings, repaired the highways, cleansed the sewers,² restored the aqueducts, and multiplied the fountains.³ The decoration of the barrier of the circus with the figures of dolphins was attributed to his taste;⁴ nor did he omit to dispense to the people an unlimited supply of the necessary articles of oil and salt, and throughout the year he furnished the whole population with the gratuitous services of the barbers. He opened, it is said, an hundred and seventy baths for public recreation,

Agrippa decorates the city as ædile.

¹ Dion, xlix. 38.

² Agrippa caused himself to be conveyed in a boat up the Cloaca Maxima. Dion, xlix. 43.; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 24., "Urbs subter navigata."

³ Frontinus, *de Aquæduct.* c. 9.

⁴ Dion, *l. c.* The spina or barrier of the circus was the low wall which ran along the centre of the area parallel to its length. Along the top of this wall Agrippa placed figures of dolphins and egg-shaped balls: τοὺς τε δελφίνας τὰ τε ὠοειδῆ δημιουργήματα κατεστήσατο, ὅπως δι' αὐτῶν αἱ περίοδοι τῶν περιδρόμων ἀναδεδινύωνται.

and his shows lasted through fifty-nine days without intermission. The presents he made of money and precious objects were more than usually lavish and systematic. The plunder of the Illyrian campaigns, from which Pollio is supposed to have founded his noble library for the use of the citizens, furnished doubtless the resources for this profuse expenditure. If the coffers of the generous ædile were drained by it, we may surmise that the triumvir freely opened his own hoards to supply the deficiency. For, grateful as the Romans might be to the agent through whom these bounties were dispensed to them, it was to Octavius himself that they attributed the principal merit of the design; and it may be presumed, when a rough soldier like Agrippa proposed that the innumerable works of art concealed in the villas of the wealthy should be amassed in museums for the gratification of the public, that he was obeying the master impulse of another hand only slightly veiled from general observation.¹ The morals and even the tranquillity of the city were promoted by a salutary edict of Agrippa's ædileship for the banishment of astrologers and soothsayers. At this period also Octavius commenced the series of public works which became some of the most durable monuments of his fame. With the fruitful spoils of the Dalmatian war he constructed the library and portico to which he gave the name of his sister Octavia, of which some mutilated features still exist, and attract the student of antiquity to the most squalid quarter of the modern city. On the death of Bocchus king of Mauretania, the ruler of the imperial republic constituted a Roman province of his ample domains.² The god Terminus planted his foot firmly on the western slopes of the Atlas; but he disdained even to visit the vaunted conquests of Antonius, who pretended to

¹ Compare Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 9.: "M. Agrippa vir rusticitati propior quam deliciis. Exstat certe ejus oratio magnifica et maximo civum digressu de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis; quod fieri satius fuisset quam in villarum exilia pelli. Verum eadem illa torvitas tabulas duas Ajacis et Venæ mercata est a Cyzicenis."

² Dion, *l. c.*

annex Armenia and Media to the empire, while he affected with the same breath to bestow them upon his mistress or his favourites.

When Octavius felt assured that his popularity had taken root, he became less solicitous to maintain the appearance of good-will towards the object of general odium. Already at the beginning of the year 721 the rivals had entered upon a series of angry recriminations.

Rupture between the triumvirs.

Antonius objected that his colleague had expelled Sextus from the seat of his power, and deprived Lepidus of the share of the administration which had been guaranteed to him, without dividing with himself the troops and provinces wrested from them. He further complained that Octavius had assigned the lands of Italy to the Cæsarean veterans without making or leaving room for any provision for the absent Antonians. Octavius retorted by charging his rival with the murder of Sextus and the cruel captivity of the king of Armenia, a friend and ally of the republic, whose honour suffered by such harsh injustice. Nor did he fail to brand with due censure the honours which he had conferred upon the foreign queen and her upstart children, and to complain of the claim he advanced on behalf of Cæsariou. As for the insinuations against his disposal of the troops and territories he had acquired by his own prowess, he replied that Antonius had made no offer to share with a colleague his Armenian conquests, and he contrasted, with bitter irony, the petty assignments of land which he could make to his own followers in Italy with the broad domains which the self-styled conqueror of the Parthians pretended to have acquired beyond the Euphrates and the Tigris.¹ Stung by these sarcasms An-

Antonius courts the alliance of the king of Parthia.

tonius tore himself from the fascinations of the Egyptian capital, and rejoined his legions on the Syrian frontier, at the head of which he penetrated once more to the Araxes, declaring that he was about to bring the contest of Rome with Parthia to a final decision. But he already perceived that the ruler of the west was only

¹ Plutarch, *Anton.* 55, 56.; Dion, l. 1, 2.

watching the opportunity to attack him, and instead of wasting his own forces in a difficult and uncertain conflict, his real object was to negotiate with the king of Media the terms of an alliance against the powers of the western world. The barbaric sovereign obtained a share of the kingdom of Armenia, and a detachment of Roman legionaries to strengthen him against the Parthians; in return for these favours he furnished the triumvir with some squadrons of Median cavalry, and restored some standards which he had captured from his legate Statianus. At the same time he betrothed his daughter Iotape to Alexander, the infant son of Antonius and Cleopatra, and allowed her to be carried into Egypt as a hostage for his fidelity.¹

As soon as these negotiations were concluded, the triumvir turned his face once more westward. He had already appointed Cleopatra to meet him at Ephesus; thither he directed Canidius to lead sixteen legions of Roman veterans, thoroughly trained in many arduous campaigns, and devoted to the person of the emperor who had shared their direst reverses. There also he summoned his auxiliaries and allies. His officers levied fresh battalions among the subjects of the republic in Greece and Thrace, Asia Minor and Syria, the wide provinces through which his command extended, and the aid of the barbarians from the Caspian to the Syrtis was invoked to swell the multitude of all colours, arms, and languages assembled under his banners, a numerous fleet was collected from the ports and islands of the eastern Mediterranean; the most daring seamen and the most skilful navigators of the world belonged to the portion of the Roman dominions which acknowledged the authority of Antonius. The queen of Egypt exerted herself to assume such a martial attitude as should comport with her claims to universal sovereignty. Her armies were numerous and well-appointed: their native pride had never been damped by defeat: her navies were justly celebrated for the size of their galleys and the weight of their

Antonius collects his armies, and winters (722) at Samos.

¹ Dion, xlix. 44.

artillery; and she could pour into the lap of her patron and admirer treasures hoarded through centuries of commercial splendour. Yet the real object of these vast preparations was still unavowed. The triumvir might seek still to amuse the eyes which watched him, by throwing himself once more, while they were in progress, into the frivolous dissipation by which he had so repeatedly disgraced himself. He passed the winter at Samos with Cleopatra in the same sensual pleasures which had been witnessed by Athens and Alexandria. The delicious little island was crowded with musicians, dancers and stage-players; its shores resounded with the wanton strains of the flute and tabret. The resources which should have been husbanded for the approaching conflict were lavished upon a splendid Dionysiac festival, and the new Bacchus appeared again at Athens and repeated the same puerile extravagances as in former years, while every day was hurrying matters to a crisis, and provoking the long suspended signal of war. The messengers that passed between the rivals served only to enact the part of spies. Hollow explanations were mutually given of the formidable preparations making on both sides; but neither party was deceived, and the farce of dissimulation was now almost played out.¹ While their preparations were in progress the consulate for the year 722 was filled by two adherents of Antonius, Domitius and Sosius, in accordance with the previous agreement between the triumvirs which Octavius had not deemed it politic to cancel. The consuls opened their career with a vehement harangue in favour of their chief, and a severe invective against Octavius. The latter was absent at the time from the city he speedily returned, convened the senate, and pronounced a no less bitter reply. Through the first half of the year Rome still hung in awful suspense, awaiting the call to arms, and only hoping that the bolts of war might glide off from the absent triumvir and strike his Egyptian paramour, the legitimate object of national detestation. But while the summons was still withheld the citizens pressed their lips and stifled

¹ Plutarch, *Anton.* 57. foll.; Dion, l. 6. foll.

their antieipations. The prevailing sentiment of gloomy yet vague foreboding found expression in the voice of a youthful enthusiast. Cherished by Mæenas, and honoured with the smiles of Octavius himself, Virgil beheld in the sway of the chief of the Romans the fairest augury of legitimate and peaceful government. With strains of thrilling eloquence, not less musical than those with which Lucretius had soared into the airy realms of imagination, he descended to the subject of the hour and gave words to the thoughts with which every bosom was heaving. He invoked the native gods of Italy with Romulus and Vesta, guardians of Tuscan Tiber and Roman Palatine, to permit the youthful hero to save a sinking world. He reminded his countrymen of the guilt of their fathers' fathers, which had effaced the landmarks of right, and filled the world with wars and a thousand forms of crime. He mourned the decay of husbandry, the dishonour of the plough, the desolation of the fields; he sighed over the clank of the armourer's forge, and the training of the rustic conscript. It was not the border skirmishes with the Germans or the Parthians that could excite such a frenzy of alarm; it was the hate of neighbour against neighbour, the impending conflict of a world in arms. The foes of Rome were indeed raging against her, but her deadliest enemy was of her own household. Virgil pointed to the Rhine and the Euphrates, but his eye was fixed upon the Nile.¹

¹ See the concluding lines of Virgil's first Georgic:

"Hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum:

Vicinæ ruptis inter se legibus urbes

Arma ferunt; sævit toto Mars impius orbe."

The critics are divided as to the period to which they refer. In the year 717 there was actual warfare on the Rhine and the Euphrates, but at that time there was apparent harmony between the triumvirs, and the prospect at least of universal pacification. On the other hand, in the year 722 there was no apprehension of hostilities on the eastern or the northern frontier, but there was a general foreboding of civil war. Among the prodigies of the year 722 Dion mentions an eruption of Etna: compare,

"Quoties Cyclopum effervere in agros

Vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Ætnam."

While the Antonian consuls occupied the chief seats of the magistracy, it suited the policy of Octavius to pretend that they grasped the substantial power also. Accordingly, in absenting himself from the curia at the moment of their accession to office, he affected to apprehend violence beyond the means of a private citizen to resist; and when he returned to confront his enemies and repel aggression, he placed soldiers at the door, and surrounded himself with an escort of sturdy adherents, each of whom only half concealed a dagger folded in his robe. Thus doubly protected he took his accustomed place between the consuls, and from that august eminence defended himself in terms of studied modesty, while he turned against Antonius and his creatures the language of opprobrious accusation. The adherents of the absent triumvir were struck dumb; no voice was raised in his defence; and when Octavius summoned the senate to meet again on a certain day to hear a more formal disclosure of his charges against his colleague, the consuls evaded the blow which they felt to be impending by escaping secretly from the city. This precipitate retreat, under the avowed pressure of personal danger, might recall a painful reminiscence of the flight of the tribunes to Cæsar's camp at Ravenna. The consuls hastened to rejoin their patron in the East, and were attended or followed by many of the senators. Antonius rejoiced at having a public rather than a personal grievance to inscribe upon his banners; such a grievance, indeed, as had decided many generous minds at the opening of the late war. Octavius, on the other hand, sought to break the force of this specious pretence by declaring that he had allowed the fugitives to depart on their own petition, and, to confirm the truth of this assertion, he gave free leave to all who wished it to betake themselves to the camp of his enemies.¹

This act of homage to the prescriptions of law and order was attended with the happiest effects. It conciliated the

¹ Suetonius, *Octav.* 17.; Dion, 1. 2.

The consuls
abandon
Rome, and
repair to Au-
tonius.

prejudices of the citizens, vexed at the first symptom of reviving violence, and anxious for any colourable justification of the cause to which they were already devoted. It threw upon a feared and detested renegade, the tyrant of a foreign court, the slave of a foreign mistress, the odium, and, as was devoutly believed, the curse due to an invader of his country. But Antonius still enacted a Roman part. When he assumed the vindication of the injured magistrates of the city, he convened the members of the senate in his train, and gave to his hostile declarations the colour of a legitimate decree. He crowned the insults which he heaped upon Octavius with a formal missive of divorce to his injured consort; but neither his public nor his private grounds of offence sufficed to satisfy the consciences of those around him, many of whom now shrank from his side and threw themselves into the arms of his enemy. The defection of Titius, an officer in whom he had placed great confidence, but whose zeal in the execution of Sextus he strenuously disavowed, was a great blow to his fortunes. And when he was deserted by Plancus, who had abandoned every cause and patron in turn, it was apparent that the shrewdest of observers had discovered the weakness of his resources and the peril of his position. These two personages had been intimate associates with the triumvir, and had not only shared in all his political counsels, but also attested his will. This document, as was not unusual with such important instruments, had been entrusted to the custody of the Vestal virgins at Rome. The traitors could not only disclose the contents, but reveal to the government the place where the paper was deposited. The populace was more scrupulous than its rulers, and murmured at the meanness or impiety of Octavius in profiting by this treachery, and breaking the seals which divine and human laws pronounced eminently sacred. But, when the fatal contents were divulged, indignation overruled every other feeling. No terms, it was insisted, should be kept with the basest of traitors, who could own a child of Cleopatra as the

Antonius pro-
claims himself
their protector.

Plancus and
Titius divulge
the contents of
his will, which
exasperates the
people against
him.

legitimate offspring of Cæsar, confer upon a foreign potentate and her bastard brood the treasures and territories of the republic, and direct his own body to be entombed with hers in a foreign sepulchre. When these amazing facts were known, the citizens were prepared to believe implicitly any story or surmise that could be bruited against the culprit. Who could doubt that Antonius had pledged Cleopatra in his cups to sacrifice the West to her ambition, and remove to Alexandria the government of the world; to spurn the Gods of the Forum and the Capitol, and prostrate Mars and Quirinus before the monsters of the Nile? The torrent of popular indignation swept the waverers and the neutral along with it. No one ventured to doubt, to hesitate, or to palliate; Octavius cast his eyes on the ground, and listened with suppressed exultation to the wild acclaim which greeted him as the champion of the nation, the assertor of its principles, and the defender of its faith. But he could still calculate calmly the chances of success, and abstain from wanton affronts. To declare Antonius a public enemy, which the people loudly demanded, would have been to pronounce sentence against every Roman who had arrayed himself on his side. To these, his misguided adherents, he would still leave open the door to repentance, and he contented himself, and persuaded the citizens to be content, with proclaiming war against Egypt.

Octavius declares war against the queen of Egypt.

This ceremony he performed in person, in the garb of a Fetial herald, according to the solemn rites of antiquity, at the portals of the Temple of Bellona, the citizens thronging densely around him arrayed in their soldiers' cloaks.¹ He thus threw upon his rival the odium of the blackest treason, in drawing his sword on behalf of a foreign enemy against his own country and kindred.

It was from Athens that Antonius issued his declaration of war and his bill of divorce. This last act was the crown-

Antonius replies by divorcing Octavia.

ing effect of Cleopatra's influence, and the consummation of her triumph. She had evinced the utmost jealousy of every attempt of her victim

¹ Dion, l. 4.

to renounce her fascinations, and retrieve his good name in fields of honourable warfare ; and when he at last roused himself to action for the defence of his political ascendancy, and advanced towards the West to measure himself with his imperious rival, she clung more closely than ever to his side in spite of the earnest entreaties of Domitius and others, that he should drive from his presence the bird of evil omen, as unfit even from her sex to undergo the toils or share in the direction of the war. They would have sacrificed the two hundred ships and twenty thousand talents which she contributed to the cause, rather than retain the disadvantage of her disgraceful alliance. The resolution of Antonius was for a moment shaken, but the sorceress speedily resumed her sway. He replied, and probably she dictated the answer, that in none of his allies did he discover a superior in understanding to her, who, while she ably governed her own kingdom, partook with himself the arduous cares of his eastern administration. This avowal was sealed by the divorce of Octavia. Her base and profligate husband sent persons to Rome to conduct her repudiation with all the harshness of the law. They ejected Octavia from the house which was no longer hers, and drove her to take refuge with her brother, carrying with her all the children Antonius had left in Italy, among whom were not only her own, but those of Fulvia also. The Romans greeted her with admiration and pity ; but her sorrows were not for herself but for the passions of which she was the victim, and for the rupture of which she might deem herself the unoffending cause. The simplicity of her demeanour had won her popularity wherever she had sojourned, and the dignified reserve with which she veiled a certain coldness of temperament, common to her perhaps with the astute Octavius, commanded the veneration of the most dissolute communities. At Athens she had not only been hailed with honours when present, but the remembrance of her virtues continued to be cherished after her departure. Cleopatra was jealous even of her rival's shadow, and could not bear to be haunted by it in the dwelling she had quitted. She strove to outshine in

liberality the name which she could not imitate in virtue, and the fickle Athenians were induced to compliment her in a public harangue.¹

The military preparations which Antonius had made, although they did not take his adversary by surprise, caused him deep anxiety from their promptness as well as their magnitude. In the midst of much real and some affected dissipation, the eastern triumvir had displayed his great abilities in the collection and disposition of his vast forces. Nor was he satisfied with this naval and military superiority, but exerted himself to undermine his enemy's power with gold, which he lavished among the Cæsareans in Italy. Conscious of the intrigues at work against him, Octavius dared not quit the centre of affairs; and the report of prodigies, as well as the disturbances caused by the contributions he was forced to levy, demanded his constant presence in the city. After all it was only by an accident that he escaped being attacked in the peninsula; for Antonius had advanced as far as Coreyra, and his troops were gradually concentrating on the points from which they could most readily be transported across the Ionian gulf, when a premature announcement that Octavius had himself crossed over from Italy and was lying with his whole fleet off the Cerauman headland, persuaded the assailant that his attack was anticipated, and induced him to await the encounter on his own shores. Owing to this misapprehension the rest of the year 722 passed away without a blow being struck: Octavius employed himself vigorously in pushing forward his preparations and counterworking his rival's emissaries; and when on the first of January 723 he assumed the consulship with his friend Messala, to the rejection of Antonius, to whom it had been previously guaranteed, he was hailed as the legitimate defender of the state and leader of its armies. The term assigned to his triumvirate had now elapsed: he increased his popularity by declining to renew it. At the same time he addressed a letter to Antonius, in which

Preparations
on both sides.

Octavius re-
signs the tri-
umvirate.

¹ Plutarch, *Anton.* 57.

he demanded that he should withdraw all his forces to a certain distance inland, in order that they might confer together securely at some point on the eastern coast of the Ionian sea, or meet on similar conditions in Italy. This last feint was intended to inspire his soldiers with confidence, but Antonius, as he expected, put it aside, remarking scornfully, *Who then shall stand umpire between us if either infringes the covenant?*¹ There was now no third power, like that of Lepidus, to pretend to hold the scale between them.

Every moment of delay increased the difficulties of a leader who lavished his resources with frivolous prodigality. Antonius had adopted Patræ for his winter quarters, but for the better support of his vast armies he had dispersed them in small divisions along the coast of the Ionian, though a large portion of their subsistence was supplied by sea from Egypt at the charge of Cleopatra. If the whole of these battalions could have been assembled together, they would have presented a magnificent force of an hundred thousand legionaries and twelve thousand horse, besides the countless squadrons of Oriental auxiliaries, led for the most part in person by their native chieftains. These formidable armaments were placed under the command of Canidius Crassus. Antonius had determined, at Cleopatra's instigation, to decide the war at sea, on which element she knew that her own subjects were strongest; and accordingly he chose his own post at the head of his numerous war-vessels. The galleys which he had collected in the gulf of Ambracia, near the promontory of Actium, amounted, it is said, to five hundred in number, many of them rising to ten banks of oars, and labouring through the sea with unwieldy bulk and proportions. But these magnificent machines were for the most part ill-manned and inexpertly handled; their captains had been obliged to press landsmen for the service, and travellers, muleteers, and field labourers had been seized and hurried on board to learn the duties of war and navigation together, almost in the face of the enemy. For the coast

Comparison of
the respective
armaments by
sea and land.

¹ Dion, i. 9.

of Calabria from Tarentum to Brundisium was bristling meanwhile with the masts of the Cæsarean flotilla; hardly reaching indeed in number to one half of the Antonian, and not less inferior perhaps in the size of its vessels. But the Liburnian galleys were fully equipped, skilfully manœuvred, and adapted for light and rapid movements, which in ancient warfare was generally of the first importance. It might be remembered however that this class of vessels had been sorely worsted by the mariners of Sextus, and that the great victory of Agrippa off Naulochus had been decided by the superior weight of his armament; and doubtless Octavius relied upon the genius of his admiral more than on his ships, his seamen, or his fortune. His army consisted of eighty thousand Roman legionaries, well trained and appointed, with cavalry not inferior in number to his antagonist's. He was much less encumbered with subsidiary forces; yet he might despair of transporting so vast a multitude across the sea in the face of the Antonian cruisers; and he must have rejoiced to find that the enemy, whom he could hardly have reached to strike on land, was prepared to meet him at sea.

Throughout the winter both parties watched each other, and engaged only in petty skirmishes. Agrippa assumed the offensive, while Antonius rather avoided than parried his attacks. The Cæsarean commander cruised over the whole of the Ionian sea, cut off numerous transport and merchant vessels of the enemy, and established himself securely at Methone in the Peloponnesus, from whence he annoyed him by repeatedly attacking his stations on the coast.¹ Meanwhile the Antonian navy suffered in various ways, partly from the want of exercise for the men, partly from sickness, partly also from desertion. Shut up in their ports, the motley crowds which imperfectly manned it gained little in experience, while they dwindled away in numbers.² The straits were left unguarded, the sea was aban-

Octavius
crosses the
Ionian gulf.

¹ Dion, l. 11.; Oros. vi. 19.

² Orosius says that one third of their number perished from hunger, and pretends to quote a saying of Antonius on the occasion, that while the oars

done. Octavius seized the opportunity, assembled his troops with admirable precision, and transported them across the Ionian gulf to Toryne on the coast of Epirus. He summoned the principal citizens from Rome to attend upon the progress of his arms :¹ on the one hand they were pledges of the good will of the state towards him, on the other they were hostages for its good faith. Encircled by this brilliant retinue he steered for Coreyra, which was abandoned to him without a blow ; he gained the continent at a spot called Glykys Limen, the fresh-water harbour, where the river Acheron discharges itself into the sea ; and from thence he boldly directed his course towards the gulf of Ambracia, at the mouth of which the vast armaments of Antonius were arrayed line within line. He was aware of the hardships under which the Antonians were suffering, and of the discontent which the presence and haughty bearing of Cleopatra excited amongst their officers. The information he had received led him to anticipate an important defection from their ranks as soon as he should appear in force before them. In this however he was for the time deceived, and when the enemy promptly assumed an attitude of defence he retired from the position he had assumed at the entrance of the gulf, and brought his galleys to anchor in port Comarus.

The army which had disembarked at the foot of the Acrocerania directed its march southward along the coast till it reached its commander at the spot where the fleet had come to land. The camp was formed on a slight eminence in the neighbourhood, the site upon which Octavius afterwards founded his City of Victory, Nicopolis. From this elevation, as he fronted the position of the enemy, he might behold on his right the expanse of the Ionian sea, on his left the deep bay of Ambracia, which penetrates thirty miles into the mainland, and has a mean breadth of not less than ten. This sheet of

He encamps at the entrance of the Ambracian gulf, within which the Antonian fleet is stationed.

remained sound, there would be no want of oarsmen, as long as there was a population in Greece. Oros. *l. c.*

¹ Dion, *l.* 11.

water is bordered by a wide alluvial plain, and surrounded by an amphitheatre of hills, crowned in the extreme distance by the snowy ridge which divides Epirus from Thessaly and Ætolia. Before him, the ground sloped gently to the narrow inlet of the gulf, and faced a tongue of low land, projecting from the shores of Acarnania on the south, and bending the channel of the straits like the limbs of a siphon. At the tip,

The Actium.

or *acte*, of this peninsula stood a temple sacred to Apollo, denominated the Actium, or chapel of the Point; and here the neighbouring tribes had been wont to celebrate an annual festival in honour of their tutelary deity. At this period the whole of this strip of land was covered with the armaments of Antonius; his camp lay on the sea coast, in a low marshy spot, where the health of the troops had suffered extremely from damp in the winter, and the heats scarcely yet passed of the summer. On either side of the strait he had erected redoubts, and the vast multitude of his vessels effectually barred the inlet, which was scarcely half a mile in width.

Octavius might despair of making any impression upon so strong a position except through the treachery of the defenders. Having fortified his camp he connected it

Antonius prepares to engage.

by a line of entrenchment with the station of his fleet at Comarus, and according to an uncertain tradition, made an abortive attempt to transport his vessels on greased skins across the peninsula which he occupied, and so turn the flank of his adversary's fleet. The attempt, if it was really made, and there certainly seems no sufficient motive for making it, was not persisted in. The invader sate himself quietly down, and bided the errors or misfortunes of his adversary. Antonius himself was at Patræ, when he heard of the enemy's arrival on the coast. He proceeded with his usual gallantry to confront the danger, in the face of which his martial spirit seemed always to revive. From his camp at Actium he crossed the straits, and entrenched himself with the main body of his infantry in front of the Cæsarean lines, sending at the same time his cavalry round

the head of the gulf, to attack the enemy in flank and rear. But he had left Agrippa behind him. No sooner had he quitted Patræ than the pursuer occupied it, and hastening in his track, reached the island of Leucas, near the entrance of the gulf, and cut off a naval squadron of the Antonians under the command of Nasidicus. At the same time Statilius Taurus and the traitor Titius, who did not scruple to join in the enterprise against the patron he had deserted, though Pollio had been excused from arming on the ground of his private friendship with Antonius,¹ gained a victory over the cavalry, which was making the circuit of the gulf, and carried off Philadelphus king of Paphlagonia, as the first fruits of the extensive defection which was about to take place. The example of the barbarian potentate was immediately followed by Domitius, the son, as we have seen, of Defection among his officers and allies. the most inveterate of Cæsar's enemies. Nothing was simpler than to plead disgust at the influence of the Egyptian harlot; and this was the pretext offered by the renegade and accepted with suppressed scorn by Octavius. Antonius was alarmed and distressed at this instance of perfidy; but he magnanimously sent the traitor's slaves and baggage after him, resisting Cleopatra's more vindictive counsels. Domitius was suffering at the time from fever, and his death, which took place only a few days afterwards, was regarded by many as a sign of tardy remorse. But the example was fatal. Amyntas, who had received Pisidia from the triumvir, and Deiotarus king of Galatia, went over without delay, and in the midst of the discouragement and distraction which these losses occasioned, the party most hostile to Cleopatra exerted themselves to urge more vehemently than ever her immediate dismissal. Canidius advised his leader to quit the fleet, in which arm he deemed success most uncertain, and break away with the land forces into Thrace or Macedonia, and there await on chosen ground the attack of an inferior enemy.

The defection of individuals was followed by the defeat of detachments. Sosius made an unsuccessful attack upon

¹ Vell. ii. 88.

His forces are
defeated in
partial engage-
ments.

Agrippa's galleys,¹ and Antonius himself was worsted in a skirmish with the outposts of the land forces. These repeated checks reduced him to the necessity of abandoning his plan of combining a front and flank movement on the enemy's main body, and when his troops and officers were once more collected in the camp at Actium, he had already renounced the idea of encountering the enemy either by land or sea. It was the advice of the dastard Cleopatra, such at least was the rumour, for the Romans could not bear to brand even the renegade Antonius as a coward, to abandon the defence of Greece to a few garrisons, and withdraw the main body of sea and land forces to Egypt. But in order to maintain the appearance of a hostile attitude and encourage the allies, it was determined that the fleet should put to sea in battle array, and give to its projected retreat the appearance of a challenge. The fleet of Antonius had never been fully manned; its complements were now still more reduced by sickness and desertion, and it became necessary to destroy a large number of the vessels. The best and largest were retained, laden with treasure, and filled with twenty thousand chosen legionaries and two thousand bowmen. The soldiers were dismayed at the preparations for flight which could not be concealed from them. One of the centurions, who had fought through several campaigns for the leader who was about to desert him, and was covered with scars, wept as Antonius passed along the ranks. *Imperator*, he exclaimed, *why do you distrust these wounds, or this sword, and rest your hopes on miserable logs of wood? Let Egyptians and Phoenicians fight on sea, but give us land, on which we are wont to conquer or die.* The emperor had no words to reply with; but merely waved his hand in cold encouragement, and passed quickly on. Another of his officers, Q. Dellius, had just gone over to the enemy. He was now suspicious of everybody and had lost all confidence in himself. He aban-

¹ Dion has made a slip of the pen in stating that Sosius was killed in this skirmish. He mentions him again several times.

doned himself to the guidance of Cleopatra, whom he feared perhaps and distrusted hardly less than the rest. It is said that at this time he insisted upon her tasting all the viands which were offered to him. Cleopatra derided the futility of such a precaution. She placed a chaplet on his head, and in the course of the banquet invited him to cast the flowers into his goblet, and quaff them in the wine. When he was about to pledge her, she abruptly stopped him, and commanded a condemned criminal to swallow the draught. The wretch fell instantly dead at her feet. The flowers had been steeped in poison.¹ Every preparation was now made for the speediest flight, and when Antonius pretended that the sails he ordered to be put on board were provided for the pursuit of the vanquished enemy, the boast of his lips was belied by his downcast eye and distracted countenance. Indeed the victory of the Cæsareans, as was generally remarked, was already assured before the conflict commenced. So great was the moral advantage they derived from the constant defections from the enemy, from the confidence which generally accompanies offensive operations, and from the various successes they had already gained, which they showed an eager disposition to push to the utmost. Nevertheless the material resources of Antonius were exceedingly formidable. When the mighty masses of his bargelike vessels thronged in dense array the mouth of the inlet, they seemed capable of crushing with overwhelming weight the light galleys which presumed to oppose them. The gales which blew four days in succession prevented the fleets meeting, but on the fifth a calm ensued. At noon a light breeze arose from the sea, and the Cæsareans advanced gallantly in two squadrons, led respectively by Agrippa and Octavius himself.² When they found that the enemy would not come forward to meet them, they spread their wings as if to envelope them on either side. Then at last Antonius gave

¹ Plin. *H. N.* xxi. 9.

² Plut. (*Anton.* 65.), confirmed apparently by Virgil. Velleius, whose sketch is rapid and inaccurate, gives a different arrangement

The fleets encounter before the mouth of the bay.

Battle of Actium.

the signal to join combat. The water along the coast near the outlet of the gulf appears, at least at the present day, too shallow for the movements of the large vessels which were now engaged, and it is probable that Antonius stood out into the open sea to give himself more room for manœuvring, and, if necessary, for escape. But his huge bulks were ill adapted for advance or retreat. They were protected, and at the same time encumbered, by bulky frames of timber attached to their sides, and the fragile triremes dared not impinge against them either in front or flank. They carried arsenals in their holds and citadels on their decks. They hurled massive stones from wooden towers, and thrust forth ponderous irons to grapple the unwary assailant. But the Cæsarean galleys came to the attack with agile and dexterous manœuvres. Their well-trained rowers bore up and backed alternately, or swept away the banks of the enemy's oars under cover of a shower of arrows. They scudded round and round the unwieldy masses in parties of three or four to each, distracting the attention of the defenders, and protecting each other in turn from grappling and boarding. The combat was animated but indecisive; the Liburnians, the light cavalry of the seas, crippled but could not destroy the steadfast phalanxes of Antonius. But while his unmanageable barges rolled lazily on the water, incapable of attacking, and scarcely repelling the desultory attacks of their pigmy assailants, suddenly the wind shifted. The breeze was fa-

Cleopatra flies, and is followed by Antonius.

vourable for flight. Cleopatra, whose galley was anchored in the rear, hoisted the purple sails on her gilded deck,¹ and threaded rapidly the maze of combatants, followed by the Egyptian squadron of sixty barks. This movement, unexpected to the last by either party, was ascribed to a woman's cowardice; but from what had already passed in the council, there can be no doubt that it was previously concerted. When Antonius himself, observing the appointed signal, leaped into a five-oared galley, and followed swiftly in her wake, the rage and shame of his

¹ Flor. iv. 11.

adherents filled them with desperation. Many tore down the turrets from their decks and threw them into the sea, to lighten their vessels for flight. Others only nerved themselves for a more furious struggle; while the Cæsareans exulting in the prospect of a speedy triumph, rashly attempted to board and met many severe repulses. The struggle was still arduous, and victory not yet assured. Shattered and disabled as these floating masses were, it was impossible to sink or disarm them, until fire was resorted to. Octavius sent to his camp for the requisite materials; torches and burning javelins were hurled into them from a distance, piles of combustibles were drifted against them: one by one they took fire, and from the want of implements at hand it was impossible to extinguish the rising conflagration. One by one they burnt down to the water's edge and sank slowly into the abyss; the Cæsareans attempted in vain to save them, not so much from humanity, as for the hope of booty; but men and treasures went together to the bottom, and all the fleets of Asia were buried in the wilderness of waters.¹

*Destruction of
the Antonian
fleet.*

As a spectacle, a sea-fight in modern times is said to be obscure and uninteresting. The manœuvres it admits of are few and simple, and the skill and courage of the combatants could hardly be appreciated at a distance, even if the thick pall of smoke which envelops them with little intermission did not conceal them from the spectator and from each other. But a naval battle of antiquity must have presented a far more exciting spectacle. The field of view was not too extensive, the atmosphere was unclouded by smoke, and the movements

*The Augustan
poets describe
the battle in
sympathy with
the national
sentiment.*

¹ For the events of the campaign and battle of Actium see Plut. *Anton.* 58-66.; Dion, l. 3-35.; Flor. iv. 11.; Oros. *l. c.* From Dion's account of the battle it would seem that far the greater part of the Antonian ships perished. Plutarch, on the other hand, says loosely that three hundred were captured. After the number which Antonius himself destroyed, and the desertion of the Egyptians, which this writer mentions, hardly so many as three hundred could have been engaged. The slain were estimated by Plutarch at five thousand, by Orosius at twelve thousand.

of attack and defence, at so many different points, were even more diversified than the charge and recoil of battalions on land. The contrast between the size and tactics of the vessels engaged at Actium must have added variety and interest to the scene, as beheld from either shore of the Ambracian gulf; and it was beheld by two armies comprising perhaps twice an hundred thousand spectators, whose emotions of hope and fear, of delight and consternation, were expressed in many a roar of exultation, or long-drawn murmur of anxiety. But the moral setting of the picture endues it with a still higher charm. The masters of Roman song have vied with one another in adorning with the hues of the imagination the decision of the *world's debate*. Horace brands the inebriate frenzy of the Egyptian, who had dared to threaten with ruin the Capitol and the empire. Propertius ascribes the triumph to Apollo, who cast aside his lyre and grasped his bow, and exhausted his quiver in defence of Rome. Virgil assumes all his strength and majesty to delineate the crowning victory of his imperial hero. The East and West have met in decisive conflict, and the rout of Actium has prostrated the world before the fathers, the people, and the gods of his country.¹ The issue of the long struggle of the nations against the all-conquering republic is indeed a momentous event in human annals. The laws and language, the manners and institutions of Europe still bear witness to the catastrophe of Actium. The results it produced can never recur to our minds without impelling us to reflect upon the results we may suppose it to have averted. It would be monstrous indeed to admit that the triumph of Antonius could have permanently subjected Rome to Egypt, the West to the East. The vitality of European intellect would have thrown off the yoke of an inorganic and alien despotism; the spirit which defended Hellas from the Persian, and Christendom from the Moor, would have avenged Rome upon the Copt and the Arabian. But the genius of an Octavius could hardly have been replaced; none but himself among his own

¹ Hor. *Od.* i. 37.; Propert. iv. 6. 55.; Virg. *Æn.* viii. 679.

generation could have founded a dynasty on the ruins of the republic, and in the next generation the opportunity would have passed away. The empire of Antonius would have been dismembered like that of Alexander, and in the first century, instead of the fifth, the western world would have been split into petty and degenerate principalities. The Goths, let loose prematurely upon their victims, would have exterminated ideas which neither awed nor attracted them. The arts and manners of Rome would have left no deeper traces in the mind of Europe, than Hellas has impressed upon western Asia. The language of her Curia and her Forum would have been forgotten, and the writings of Cicero would have crumbled in her dust. We might guess her grandeur from her imperishable Cloaca, and measure her power by the foundations of her walls; but her roads and camps would be a marvel and a mystery, and Cæsar a name like Ninus or Sesostris.

Antonius urging to the utmost the speed of his light bark, gained rapidly upon Cleopatra's flying squadron. When the queen of Egypt recognised her pursuer, she raised a signal to encourage him to come alongside of her vessel, and caused him to be lifted upon deck.

Antonius and
Cleopatra fly
together to Al-
exandria.

But whatever the motives of his flight, the imperator felt his dishonour and was overwhelmed with shame. He could not endure even to come into her presence, but sate apart at the prow of the ship, and buried his face in his hands. The swift Liburnian galleys followed in pursuit, and were not repulsed till two of the vessels which accompanied his flight were taken. When this danger was past, in which the wretched fugitive had roused himself for a moment and displayed his usual promptitude and courage, he relapsed once more into gloomy silence, and for three days repelled every attention. At last Cleopatra's women persuaded him to speak with their mistress, and her caresses regained their power. She assured herself that with so renowned a captain for her forces she could still maintain the sovereignty of her kingdom, and that she was not yet reduced to make terms with the ruler of Rome. The fugitives put to shore at Tænarus, and from

thence the emperor despatched orders to Canidius to lead his land forces through Macedonia into Asia. It was an empty command; Antonius himself must have felt that he was already a general without an army; for he began to prepare for the worst, dividing among his attendants such valuables as he had with him, and exhorting them to quit his own precarious service, and capitulate with the conqueror. He then set sail with Cleopatra for Alexandria.

The battle, according to some accounts, ended at four o'clock. It seems more probable however that it continued late into the evening. In the afternoon the wind veered to the west, as usually occurs there at that period of the day, and the freshening breeze fanned the fury of the flames. As the shades of evening began to close, the Antonian soldiers, who had watched with bitter anxiety the distress and peril of their leader's fleet, now read in the wide-spread conflagration the utter destruction of his hopes. But they had failed to notice his shameful desertion, and to the last they expected to see him land and throw himself into their ranks, which they bitterly lamented that he should ever have quitted. The men loved and venerated their emperor, and the contempt they had been taught to entertain for Octavius gave them the fullest assurance of victory on land. For seven days they continued to cherish this delusive expectation. Canidius at last marshalled the retreat, and led them forth on the road to Macedonia. But the troops of Octavius were already in motion to arrest their progress. Canidius himself was faithless or desponding. He eluded the vigilance of his own centurions, and escaped secretly to the conqueror. When this last defection became known the Antonians indignantly threw down their arms, or consented to employ them in the service of Octavius. The whole military force of the republic, which counted from thirty to forty legions, was thus combined under the auspices of a single emperor.¹

Canidius deserts to Octavius, and his troops surrender.

The great battle of Actium was fought on the second of

¹ Plut. *Anton.* 67. foll.; Dion, li. 5.

September A. U. 723; and this date has been formally recorded by historians as signalizing the termination of the republic and the commencement of the Roman monarchy.¹ Octavius himself regarded it as the inauguration of a new era. As a perpetual memorial of this complete and final triumph, he founded a city upon the site of his camp, and gave to it the name of Nicopolis, the City of Victory. The spot on which his own tent had been pitched he caused to be paved with masonry as holy ground, and suspended around it the beaks of the captured vessels. Here he erected a shrine to his patron Apollo, and commemorated with punctilious superstition the fancied omens of his success.² The remains of a long and lofty wall, of a spacious theatre and stadium, of a broken aqueduct, and of many irregular groups of houses, baths and sepulchres, attest the magnificence of the scale on which Nicopolis was planned. The mass of ruins is mostly of Roman brickwork, and betrays by its material and construction that it was planted on Grecian soil by the hands of foreigners and masters. The mountaineers of the neighbourhood were compelled to migrate from their wild fastnesses, and families of husbandmen or brigands were converted by the caprice of the founder into burghers of a maritime city. They were placed under the iron formulas of Roman civilization, and learned the rudiments of municipal science under the tuition of Roman veterans.³ The site of the new city lay at some distance from both the sea and the gulf, and a separate haven was constructed on the shores of the inland basin, for the supply of its wants and exchange of its commodities. The little chapel of the point was replaced by a more splendid structure in honour of the god who had given victory to the

Date of the
battle of Ac-
tium, Sept. 2.

Octavius
founds Nicopo-
lis in commem-
oration of his
victory.

Treatment of
the vanquish-
ed.

¹ Dion, li. 1.

² In this shrine Octavius placed two brazen statues representing the peasant Eutychus, or Good-luck, and his ass Nicon, the Victorious. He had met them the day before the battle, and derived encouragement from their names, which he had carefully inquired.

³ Strabo, vii. 7. Comp. Wordsworth's *Greece*, p. 232.

Romans. Octavius instituted a gymnastic and musical festival, with the designation of the Actian games, to recur at this spot every fifth year, and this solemnity continued to be respectfully observed for many generations.¹

These peaceful monuments of victory were reserved however for the work of a period of greater leisure. The first business which occupied the conqueror was to decide the fate of the vanquished. From his treatment of the captives of Actium the panegyrists of the future emperor might take occasion to celebrate his clemency, his detractors to stigmatise his rigour.² Some of the most illustrious of his opponents he put to death with circumstances of great cruelty, and among them was a son of the tribune Curio, whose devotion to Cæsar and services in his cause should have secured a milder fate for his offspring. On the other hand a Scaurus was pardoned for the sake of his mother Mucia, though a half-brother of Sextus Pompeius, and the life of Sosius, an inveterate foe, was granted to the entreaties of a common friend. Meanwhile the army exulting in their success; from which they hoped for the realization of all their golden dreams, proclaimed their leader for the sixth time emperor. They were doomed, however, to disappointment. The treasures of Egypt had been carried off in the barks of Cleopatra; the spoils of war had perished in the conflagration of the enemy's fleet; the Antonian army had capitulated on honourable terms: there was no camp filled with plate, jewels, and splendid accoutrements, to be devoted to plunder, and the great victory of Actium proved rich in laurels but barren in spoil. The soldiers showed a disposition to resent this disappointment; but Octavius, who had faced and quelled

¹ Dion, li. I.

² Ovid. *Trist.* ii. 44.:

“ Tu veniam parti superatæ sæpe dedisti,
Non concessurus quam tibi victor erat.
Divitiis etiam multos et honoribus auctos
Vidi, qui tulerant in caput arma tuum.”

On the other hand may be cited the story in Dion, li. 2., compared with Suetonius, *Oct.* 13.

their mutinous cries before, broke their rebellious spirit by dispersing them in various quarters and dividing their interests. He selected certain legions for his immediate service in carrying the war into Egypt; and these he satisfied with the prospect of a more fruitful victory. The veterans whom he had enticed from their lands in Italy he dismissed to the enjoyment of their estates, while the fresh recruits whom he had enlisted in the provinces were constrained to return to their homes unrewarded. But he justly feared the consequence of this general discharge of his turbulent and discontented legionaries. Mæcenas, who had been left at the head of affairs at Rome, was of inferior rank and a civilian by profession; but Agrippa commanded the fear no less than the love of the citizens, and when he was entrusted with full powers for the administration of the government during the absence of his chief, the tranquillity of the republic and the authority of its ruler were amply secured. Octavius now directed his course through Greece and along the coast of Asia Minor. He exacted contributions from disaffected cities, deprived free populations of their privileges, displaced dependent chieftains, and established new dynasties on their thrones.¹ At the close of the year he crossed the sea once more, and met at Brundisium a large multitude of citizens of all ranks, who came thither to pay him honour as consul for the fourth time. He now seized for distribution among his soldiers the lands of some Italian cities which had favoured his rival, assigning to them in exchange the confiscated territories of Greek and Asiatic communities. He divided also among the most pressing claimants the treasures he had amassed in his progress during the autumn, and even proposed to offer for sale his own private estates and those of his most devoted adherents. When it was found that no one ventured to compete for them in the market, his creditors could not refuse to wait a little longer for the satisfaction of their claims.²

Meanwhile the fugitives from the blood-stained waves of

¹ Dion, li. 2.

² Dion, li. 4.

Actium had reached Alexandria in safety. At the first sight of the Egyptian fleet returning the idle and turbulent populace had flocked to the beach and the quays, and, as it approached, welcomed with exultation the prows crowned with laurel, the streamers flaunting in the breeze, and the chaunt of victory wafted from the decks. The queen had taken measures to anticipate the effect which the announcement of her disaster might produce. She summoned the chief people of the city into her presence, and caused the arrest and immediate execution of those whose disaffection she feared. She caused Artavasdes the Armenian to be put to death, and sent his head to the king of Media, as a pledge of amity and an incentive to further exertions in her favour. The populace, moody and discontented when the ill news spread, remained quiescent for want of leaders, and the rifled coffers of the murdered nobles furnished treasures to secure the fidelity of the soldiers. Antonius had stopped at Parætonium, where some Roman troops were stationed under Pinarius for the defence of Egypt, intending to bring them with him to Alexandria. But when that officer shut the gates against him and killed the bearers of his missive, the desperate state of his affairs flashed fully upon him, and he was with difficulty prevented from laying violent hands on himself. His attendants dragged him to Alexandria, where he found the queen, whose courage and energy rose with her danger, preparing with a mighty effort to abandon the kingdom which she knew it was impossible to defend. She had undertaken to transport her ships across the desert to the head of the Arabian gulf, to load them with the choicest troops and treasures she yet retained, and to sail far away to some secure regions beyond the reach of the conqueror whose pursuit she dreaded.¹ It seems un-

¹ Plutarch (*Anton.* 69.) asserts that Cleopatra proposed to convey her ships across the isthmus "which separates the Red Sea from the sea of Egypt," which he estimates at less than half its real width. It is more probable that she contemplated opening the canal of the Ptolemies from the Nile to the Red Sea, which, if it ever was completed, on which Pliny (*H. N.* vi. 35.) throws some doubt, may have been abandoned and partially closed at an early period.

Cleopatra reaches Alexandria, and prepares to escape by the Red Sea.

certain whether she had intended to invite her infatuated lover to accompany her flight. The first detachment of ships which reached the shores of the Red Sea was burnt by the Arabs of Petra, and Antonius, who had now rejoined her, believing that the legions under Canidius were still his own, persuaded her to abandon the design. Some trifling measures were now taken for guarding the approaches of Egypt, until the army should arrive, and the respite afforded by the pursuer's unavoidable delay might have been turned to account for putting the kingdom in a state of defence. But Antonius had lost all energy. He built himself a solitary retreat in the sea, which he connected with the island of Pharos by a mole; and there he withdrew himself from all society, and brooded gloomily over the wreck of his fortunes.

Her plan is disconcerted.

Cleopatra was not daunted even by this desertion. She had abandoned at her lover's instance her scheme of flight and dream of Arabian sovereignty. She now urged on her preparations for defence with prudence as well as vigour. In order to conciliate the favour of her subjects she invested her youthful sons with the garb of manhood, and presented them to the people as their leaders, that they might feel themselves governed by men and not by a woman. At the same time she sought to treat with Octavius in her own name and that of Antonius, but to these solicitations he persisted in returning no answer. Abandoned by the cowardice of her ally, she now sought her own safety by betraying him. The conqueror, she augured, might be bribed to save her by the splendid ransom she could pay for her kingdom. She sought and obtained, it was said, secret assurances of his favour, accompanied with a promise that her sovereignty should be respected, on condition of her putting Antonius to death. But Egypt was a prize which the ruler of the Roman world was not likely to forego, and no such terms, he might be convinced, were necessary to effect the destruction of his enemy. There was no hope of foreign succour

Cleopatra now adopts measures of defence,

and at the same time negotiates with Octavius.

The chieftains to whom Cleopatra had applied for aid were easily induced by his agents to refuse it ; and finally, a band of gladiators who had striven bravely to force their way from Cyzicus, where they were kept in training to celebrate the anticipated victory over Octavius, were compelled to surrender to his lieutenant Didius.¹

And now the wretched pair became more and more urgent in their solicitations to the ruler of their destinies. Antonius abased himself so low as to remind his ancient colleague of the mutual regard which, he averred, they had entertained for each other in their earlier years ; but Octavius, so far from yielding to these claims, put one of his envoys to death, and dismissed another, the triumvir's son Antyllus, without deigning to accord him an answer. The chief of the Romans felt neither delicacy nor compunction in dealing with his outlawed adversary. He retained the money which had been sent to bribe him, at the same time that he refused even to listen to the messengers who brought it. His only fear was lest the suppliants with whom he thus cruelly sported should be driven to desperation, and destroy, as they threatened, the treasures they had amassed in their capital. In order to avert such a catastrophe he charged his freedman Thyrsus to amuse Cleopatra with a hint that he was enamoured of her ; hoping to decide her resolution by an appeal to her vanity, and induce her to sacrifice Antonius to a new conquest, if not to her personal security. Antonius, on his part, was not unaware, perhaps, of these intrigues, nor confident of the queen's good faith. He quitted his retreat, and sought her society again in the palace ; there he kept watch over her movements, while each perhaps attempted to deceive the other, and stifle the conscious-

¹ Dion Cassius wonders, not without reason, at the devotion displayed by these hired swordsmen. They were at last only induced to surrender upon a promise that they should be dismissed from their employment as gladiators, and allowed to take up their abode at Daphne near Antioch. Messala broke the pledge which Didius had given them, dispersed them in small parties as if for enlistment in various legions, and caused them to be slain in detail Dion, li. 7.

Despair of Antonius and Cleopatra.

ness of despair by plunging into revelry and excess. Strange stories were told of the way in which they amused themselves. They formed, it was said, with their boon companions a society to which they gave the name of the Inimitable Livers, the members of which were pledged to discover the means of enjoyment for every hour of the day. But a change had come over the character of their orgies: they no longer roamed abroad disguised and inebriated, and filled the streets with nocturnal tumult and reckless gaiety: they bound one another mutually to die together, and Cleopatra made experiment of various poisons, trying their effect on slaves or criminals, to ascertain if there be any mode of death which is a pleasure and not a pain. The means which were speediest in their operation proved at the same time the most excruciating. The true euthanasia she discovered, it is said, in the bite of the asp, which suffused the brain with languor and forgetfulness, and extinguished the faculties gradually without any sense of suffering.

Just at this period, while the arrival of the conqueror off the coast of Egypt was daily expected, Antonius obtained information that Cornelius Gallus, one whom, though an officer in his rival's armies, he esteemed a personal friend, had reached Parætonium and received from Pinarius the troops which, as before mentioned, had rejected his own solicitations. He hoped, through his interest with their new commander, to be more successful in a second appeal, and repaired with confidence to the spot. But Gallus, exulting in the trust reposed in him by Octavius, from whose favour he might hope for the highest promotion, disregarded every solicitation: he ordered his trumpeters to drown with the clang of their instruments the address which his suitor advanced to deliver under the walls, and succeeded by a feint in enticing his vessels into the harbour, and there capturing or destroying them. While Antonius was thus fruitlessly engaged his adver-
Octavius lands in Egypt.
sary had reached Pelusium, which Cleopatra had charged the garrison to surrender after a slight show of resistance. The representations artfully made to her by Thyrsus

Cleopatra
hopes to make
an impression
on his heart.

had worked upon her imagination, and while she was fully sensible that the invader's arms were irresistible, she still, in her thirty-ninth year, flattered herself that her own charms would prove not less omnipotent. Visions of a Roman throne still flitted before her: her hopes had twice been frustrated, but she still relied on the arts which had so well served her; she played boldly with the loaded dice, and threw her last east with a hand that had never faltered.

Antoni^{us} recovered some portion of his energy as the danger became more pressing. Perhaps the assurance of

Antoni^{us} is
successful in a
skirmish, and
challenges Oc-
tavi^{us} to single
combat, which
is refused.

Cleopatra's treachery, the fear and suspicion of which had long unmanned him, restored him to his former spirit. Rushing back from Parætonium he encountered the invader's cavalry before the walls of Alexandria, and routed it in a brilliant skirmish. Thereupon he ordered javelins to be cast into his antagonist's camp, with billets attached to them, in which he promised six thousand sesterces to every soldier who should desert to him. But Octavius quietly picked up these missives, and himself recited their contents to his soldiers: so great was his influence, that he could engage them to resent with indignation the attempt upon their fidelity. A second affair resulted in the defeat of Antonius. In this extremity it was reported that he sent his conquering foe a challenge to single combat, which was of course contemptuously refused. He now made ready to take to sea, and was preparing, it was said, either to attack the enemy or to steer for the coast of Spain, when the machinations of the faithless queen prevailed on the sailors to desert. Antonius

He is deserted
by his fleet and
army.

was himself still on land when he beheld his vessels salute those of his adversary, and join their ranks. At the same moment the last battalion of his soldiers abandoned him. Cleopatra, who was herself taken by surprise at the suddenness of this defection, found herself for an instant in the power of her outraged and indignant associate. Fearing the fury of his despair, she inclosed

herself with a few female attendants in a splendid mausoleum she had caused to be constructed for her own sepulchre, and spread the report that she had put herself to death. Antonius was satisfied. His wrongs were avenged, and his indignation was appeased. He had no further hope of life, and nothing more to live for. At the last moment he could indulge the soothing persuasion that the traitress had repented of her treason, and had died for the lover she had betrayed.

In this sweet dream, not less delusive than all the hollow enjoyments of his career of dissipation, Antonius determined to die. With the aid of an attendant he inflicted upon himself a mortal

On the rumour of Cleopatra's death Antonius gives himself a mortal wound.

wound, and fainted with loss of blood, though he did not immediately expire. Cleopatra was apprised of the fatal deed, and shuddered with a pang of remorse.

The lovers' last interview

As soon as the wounded man came to himself a messenger was introduced to him from her, with the assurance that she yet survived. This last avowal of tenderness roused the dying embers of his passion. He entreated his attendants to convey him to her place of refuge; and from a window above the queen and her women let down a rope, to which he caused his litter to be attached, and lifted into the upper chamber. His strength just sufficed for this last interview, and he expired in a few moments in the arms of the mistress for whom he had sacrificed his fame, his fortunes, and his life.

A slave had brought the fatal dagger to Octavius, and exhibited the blood of his enemy still reeking upon it. The conqueror affected to weep for a man so closely allied to him, and one who had held so eminent a place in the commonwealth. He pretended to

Octavius attempts to get possession of Cleopatra.

be anxious to justify himself to those about him, and showed them the letters which had passed between them, in which his own moderation and the arrogance of his rival were conspicuously displayed. In the meantime he sent a trusty officer, Proculeius, to the place whither Antonius had been carried in the agonies of death. The wounded man had already breathed his last; the doors of the massive sepulchre were

closed, and the women refused to admit their strange visitor. A threat of violence might drive the imprisoned queen to destroy herself, and the messenger was strictly charged to preserve her alive, partly for the sake of the hidden treasures which she alone, it was supposed, could reveal, and partly that she might form the most attractive spectacle in the destined triumph of Octavius. Proculeius contrived to detain her in conversation with a confederate at the door, while with one or two soldiers he climbed by a ladder to the upper story. As he entered, Cleopatra wildly grasped the dagger she wore at her girdle; but he arrested the movement, and forcibly restrained her arm, while he exhorted her to recover her self-possession, and put entire confidence in his kind and honourable master.

All attempt at defence had been already abandoned, and on the first day of the month Sextilis, at the moment perhaps when these events were happening, the emporium of the three continents opened its haven to the Roman galleys. The palace of the Ptolemies was vacant, and the city of Alexander knelt in supplication.¹ From the auspicious advent of the conqueror who was about to incorporate them amongst the subjects of his empire, the Egyptians dated a new era in their chronology. He neither returned nor heeded the compliments they lavished upon him. He entered the city leaning upon the arm of the philosopher Areius, and when he took his seat in the gymnasium, and summoned the citizens into his presence, he declared that their resistance was pardoned, first, out of respect for their illustrious founder; secondly, for the beauty of their streets and edifices; and thirdly, for the merits of his friend, their fellow-townsmen. Many of his officers asked permission to give decent interment to the corpse of Antonius, but he allowed Cleopatra to dispose of it after her own fashion; and he was well pleased perhaps to 'earn that the body of one whose arrogant

He enters Alexandria,

¹ Hor. *O-l.* iv. 14:

“Portus Alexandria duplex
Et vacuum patefecit aulam.”

and alien manners had caused such disgust to his fellow-citizens, was embalmed and robed, and buried with royal obsequies among the remains of kings.

When these ceremonies were finished Cleopatra allowed herself to be led to the palace of her ancestors. Exhausted with fever by the vehemence of her passionate mourning, she refused the care of her physician, ^{and seeks an interview with Cleopatra.} and declared that she would perish by hunger.

Octavius was alarmed at the avowal of this desperate resolution. He could only prevail upon her to protract her existence by the barbarous threat of murdering her children. He held out also the hope of a personal interview, and again her vanity whispered to her not yet to despair. The artless charms of youth, which, as she at least deemed, had enchained the great Julius at a single interview, had long since faded away; the more mature attractions which experience had taught her to cultivate for the conquest of her second lover, might fail under the disastrous ravages of so many years of indulgence and dissipation: but time had not blighted her genius; her distresses claimed compassion; and from pity, she well knew, there is but one step to love. In the retirement of the women's apartments she decked her chamber with sumptuous magnificence, and threw herself on a silken couch in the negligent attire of sickness and woe. She elaped to her bosom the letters of her earliest admirer, and surrounded herself with his busts and portraits, to make an impression on the filial piety of one who claimed to inherit his conquests and sympathize with his dearest interests. When the expected visitor entered she sprang passionately to meet him and threw herself at his feet; her eyes were red with weeping, her whole countenance was disordered, her bosom heaved, and her voice trembled with emotion. The marks of blows inflicted on her breast were visible in the disorder of her clothing. She addressed him as her lord, and sighed as she transferred to a stranger the sovereign title she had so long borne herself, and which she had first received from her conqueror's father. The young Roman acknowledged the

She attempts
to fascinate
him without
success.

charms of female beauty, and had often surrendered to them : but he knew also his own power of resisting them, which he had already sternly practised, and he now guarded himself against her seductions by fixing his eyes obdurately on the ground.¹ He coldly demanded the justification of her political conduct ; upbraided her for making war upon the republic ; refused to admit the plea that she was constrained by her associate, and drove her from point to point with ruthless pertinacity. Despairing of conquest she threw herself upon his mercy, handed to him the list of her treasures, and pleaded piteously for bare life. A slave, interrogated and threatened perhaps with torture, declaring that some of her effects were still withheld, she flew at him, and tore his face with her nails, exclaiming that she had indeed reserved a few trifles, not for her own use or ornament, but as presents to gain the favour of Livia and Octavia. Her visitor checked her with a smile ; he was satisfied with the conviction that she was anxious still to live, and he now sought to encourage her with the assurance that he would treat her better than she expected. He went away, says Plutarch, thinking that he had deceived her, but he was more deceived himself.

Cleopatra had tasked her powers of fascination to the utmost, and she knew that they had failed. She penetrated the design of carrying her to Rome through the cold though courteous demeanour by which it was veiled, and she sternly resolved to frustrate it. From a son of Dolabella, who had conceived a romantic passion for her, she heard without surprise that even within three days she was to be conveyed away with her children, to adorn the conqueror's triumph. She formed her plan with secrecy and decision. She directed her attendants to make ready for the voyage, while she only desired permission to pour libations on the tomb of Antonius. Octavius, now secure of his victim, readily consented. The queen repaired

Cleopatra is reserved for the conqueror's triumph.

¹ For the continence of Octavius see Nicolaus of Damascus, *Vit. Aug.* 5 15.

with her female companions to the mausoleum. She gave orders for a banquet to be served, and ^{She commits suicide.} in the meanwhile embraced the dead man's bier, and mingled her tears with the wine she poured upon it. She addressed her lord in terms of unabated affection, appealed to his conviction of her faith and love, and besought him, as one having power with the gods of his country, for her own gods, she said, had deserted her, not to suffer himself to be triumphed over in the person of a wife devoted to him, but to let her die upon his coffin and find her sepulchre in his tomb. Sentinels meanwhile kept guard outside ; a man in peasant's clothes approached with a basket on his arm, which when they uncovered and found in it figs of unusual beauty, he pressed them to partake of them, and they allowed him to carry them in. Soon after the queen commanded all her attendants to leave her, except her two favourite women, Iras and Charmion, and at the same time she sent a sealed packet to be delivered to Octavius. It contained only a brief and passionate request to be buried with her lover. His first impulse was to rush to the spot and prevent the catastrophe it portended : but in the next moment the suspicion of a trick to excite his sensibility flashed across him, and he contented himself with sending persons to inquire. The messengers made all haste ; but they arrived too late ; the tragedy had been acted out, and the curtain was falling. Bursting into the tomb they beheld Cleopatra lying dead on a golden couch in royal attire. Of her two women, Iras was dying at her feet, and Charmion with failing strength was replacing the diadem on her mistress's brow. *Is this well, Charmion ?* exclaimed abruptly one of the intruders. *It is well,* she replied, *and worthy of the daughter of kings.* And with these words she too fell on her face and died.

The manner of Cleopatra's death was never certainly known. It seems that there were no marks of violence on her person, nor did any spots break out upon it, such as usually betray the action of poison. But the experiments she was reported to have made on the bite of venomous reptiles

were remembered: these were coupled with the story of the basket of figs, in which such means of destruction might easily be concealed. It was rumoured that Octavius employed the services of the Psylli, the poison-suckers of the desert, to restore his victim to life; and at last it came to be positively affirmed that her arms were found slightly punctured, as with the fangs of an asp. This at least was the account of the affair which Octavius himself allowed to be circulated. When the figure of Cleopatra was afterwards carried in his triumph, she was represented reclining on a couch with the asp clinging to either arm, and mortal sleep stealing slowly through every limb.¹

The last sovereign of the line of the Ptolemies died on the thirtieth of August, 724, in the fortieth year of her age, and the twenty-second of her eventful reign.

Octavius causes
Cæsarion to be
put to death.

Her last wish was not denied her. She was buried as a queen by the side of her favourite; and when his statues were overthrown by the order of the ruthless conqueror, the effigies of the most renowned beauty of antiquity were redeemed from destruction, by no respect, it

¹ Propert. iii. 11. 53.:

“Brachia spectavi sacris admorsa colubris,
Et trahere oecultum membra soporis iter.”

The actual mode of Cleopatra's death was a mystery to the ancients themselves. Undoubtedly Octavius was anxious to preserve her life, and she must have fallen by her own act. The test of discoloration is very uncertain, and it is not improbable that among her experiments she had ascertained a method of destroying life by poison without disfigurement. The notion that the asp was the instrument of death may be derived from the mysterious agency attributed by the Orientals to the serpent tribe. The Roman poet himself uses the phrase *sacri colubri*; but I would not be supposed to adopt the lively rhapsody in which M. Michelet indulges on this subject (*Hist. de la Rep. Rom.*, at the end): “Le mythe Oriental du serpent que nous trouvons déjà dans les plus vieilles traditions de l'Asie, réparait ainsi à son dernier âge, et la veille du jour où elle va se transformer par le Christianisme. . . . L'aspic qui tue et délivre Cléopâtre ferme la longue domination du vieux dragon Oriental. . . . C'était une belle et mystérieuse figure que l'imperceptible serpent de Cléopâtre, suivant le triomphe d'Octave, le triomphe de l'Occident sur l'Orient.”

For the account of the last days of Antonius and Cleopatra, see Plutarch, *Anton.* 69. to the end; Dion, li. 6-15.; Vell. ii. 87.

is said, for her charms, her genius, or her rank, but by a bribe of a thousand talents adroitly administered by one of her servants. Still less could the claims of admiration or pity prevail to save the wretched child, whose origin she had proudly ascribed to the great dictator. He had been publicly proclaimed the lineal descendant of Julius Cæsar, the direct heir of the imperial patrimony, to which Octavius could advance only the claim of adoption. While the struggle for supreme power was still pending, Oppius had been employed to write in disproof of these arrogant and hateful pretensions. What his arguments were we have no means of knowing; certain it is that Octavius felt it necessary to reinforce them by the sword. Antyllus, the son of Antonius by Fulvia, had been betrayed by his attendant Theodorus, and put to death.¹ The triumvir's children by Cleopatra were still suffered to live, though deprived of course of their pretended sovereignties; this show of clemency may have been held out as a lure to Cæsarion, whom his mother had removed from the scene of danger and sent privily into Ethiopia. In an evil hour the poor youth was induced to return on a hint conveyed to him that he was to be placed on the throne of Egypt. Still, it is said, Octavius hesitated how to dispose of him, when Areius determined him to command his execution, by an adroit adaptation of the Homeric adage, *'Tis no good thing a multitude of Cæsars.*² The conqueror proceeded to vindicate his filial piety by avenging the blood of the dictator on Cassius Parmensis, the last survivor of his murderers. He caused a certain Ovinius to be put to death, because he had degraded the dignity of a Roman senator in becoming the superintendent

¹ The triumvir had two sons by Fulvia; the eldest, M. Antonius, was known perhaps at Alexandria by the Greek form of the name, Antyllus, by which the Greek writers always designate him; the second, Julius Antonius, had been kept at Rome and educated by Octavia, who obtained his life from her brother, and afterwards his marriage with her daughter by her first husband, Marcella. He became prætor A. U. 741, and was eventually put to death, or induced to kill himself, in consequence of an intrigue with the daughter of Octavius. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 44.; Dion, *lv.* 10.

² Plut. *Anton.* 81.: οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκαισαρίη, for πολυκοιρανίη.

of the queen's tapestries.¹ It is said that he now also commanded the execution of Canidius; and from the statement of Velleius, that the sufferer met the blow with less fortitude than might have been expected from his professions, it may be conjectured that he had given personal offence to Octavius by a tone of arrogant defiance.²

Triumphant in victory and secure in power Octavius now wiped his bloodstained sword, and thrust it into the scabbard.

The dominion of the world demanded no other victims. Far wider was the vengeance which might have been apprehended from a partner in the proscriptions, who had displayed as yet no sense of the policy of mercy. But the conqueror suddenly refrained his hand, and filled the world with wonder at a moderation which it could not comprehend. The official seal which he used bore the impress of the sphinx, and such an emblem the Romans might deem appropriate to a man whose character they regarded as one of the greatest enigmas of history. Four hundred years later, indeed, an imperial satirist ventured to compare the founder of the empire to theameleon, which perplexes the spectator by the ever-shifting variety of its hues.³ The simîle has been much admired, and does perhaps truly represent the notion of Octavius current among his countrymen; but in fact it would be difficult perhaps to find one less appropriate. In the conspicuous clemency of Cæsar the Romans had seen only the natural kindness of his disposition; and so in the cruelty of the young Octa-

From this time Octavius becomes remarkable for his clemency.

¹ Orosius, vi. 19.: "Quod obsecrissimè lanificio textrinoque reginæ senator pop. Rom. præesse non erubuerat."

² Oros. *l. c.*; Vell. ii. 87.: "Timidius decessit quàm professioni quâ semper usus erat congruebat." This last writer declares that Octavius put none of his adversaries to death, and boasts that Decimus, Sextus, Brutus, and Cassius were slain either by his rival or by their own hands. He seems to insinuate that this was the case with Canidius also and Cassius Parmensis.

³ Julian. Imp. *Cæsares*: 'Ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν Καيسάρων συνεκροτεῖτο συμπόσιον. . . . 'Οκταβιανὸς ἐπισέρχεται, πολλὰ ἀμείβων ὥσπερ οἱ χαμαιλέοντες χρώματα, καὶ νῦν μὲν ὠχρίων, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐρυθρὸς γενόμενος, εἴτα μέλας καὶ ζοφῶδης καὶ συννεφής, ἀνέτο δὲ αἴθρις εἰς Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Χαρίτας.

vius they read nothing but an inherent ferocity of temper. They could not understand the austere and passionless ambition of one who could be cruel for the preservation of his life and advancement of his fortunes, and no less merciful for the maintenance of his fame. But neither in his temper nor his acts did Octavius shift capriciously to and fro: during the early part of his career his sternness never relaxed into pity, nor, during the long period which followed, did he swerve, except once or twice in a moment of passion, from the systematic mildness he prescribed to his policy. Rome, indeed, would have been content to purchase the long peace which was now promised her at a greater expenditure of life. She was deeply impressed with a sense of the danger she had escaped. The crafty policy which had painted the war of Actium as an attack on her national existence had been completely successful. The tone of the public manifestos was eagerly adopted by the citizens of every class. The literature of the day reflected in all its branches the general sentiment of horror at the peril which threatened for a moment their laws and their religion. Cleopatra it denounced as a lascivious queen, an insolent woman, a vile foreigner: she was the favourite of the demons of the Nile, of the bull Apis, and the hound Anubis.¹ Shame and disgust filled every breast, and the Romans could represent their fear of national humiliation as a pious concern for the dignity of Mars and Quirinus. Nevertheless, so ably was the current of popular indignation directed, that a peculiar delicacy was still observed in branding the treachery of the renegade Antonius. The influence of Octavia, who loved his child Julius, and destined him in marriage for her own daughter, may have coloured the policy of the government and through it the sentiments of

The popular sentiment directed against Cleopatra, spares the character of Antonius.

¹ Compare Virgil: "Nefas Ægyptia conjux;" Horace: "Fatale monstrum;" Propertius: "Det femina pœnas; Quantus mulier foret una triumphus; Ausa Jovi nostro latrantem opponere Anubim," &c.; Lucan: "An mundum ne nostra quidem matrona teneret; Dedecus Ægypti, Latio feralis Erinys, Romano non casta malo."

the people. It was decreed, indeed, that in another generation the blood of the Antonian house should mingle with the Julian, and the claims of the rivals of the civil wars be united in the person of an imperial scion. But this dispensation was still in the womb of time; Virgil, Horace and Propertius could neither have foreseen nor guessed it; and the decent respect they and other writers of the day maintain for the character of Antonius seems to indicate the desire of Octavius himself, who did not choose that his own glory should be diminished by any disparagement of the fame of his worsted adversary. Such a sacrifice may seem obvious and easy; but few conquerors have had the magnanimity to make it.

The character of Antonius himself is one of the most mixed in history. While a Pompeius and a Cæsar have been made the subjects of eulogy and of disparagement equally indiscriminate, according to the political or personal leanings of their critics, the discrepancy in the judgments passed upon Antonius is chiefly due to the capriciousness which marked his conduct, and the opposite virtues and vices which were blended together in one of the least artificial characters of antiquity. Antonius despised hypocritical pretences. With many generous and lofty qualities, he had been brought up in a school of more than military frankness, among the free-thinkers of Cæsar's court and camp, the men who with the same absence of principle as their master, wanted that natural justness and harmony of character which in him could educe dignity and consistency out of the chaos of passion. While the rival who dogged his career and at last supplanted him was darkly feeling his way among the mazes of intrigue and dissimulation, Antonius displayed himself openly to the world: he trusted in his acknowledged merits, his services to his patron, his military renown, his numerous personal friendships;¹ and he disdained to sacrifice to fame or safety the enjoyments, coarse and self-

Antonius eminently a mixed character.

¹ Drumann has given a list of the associates whose intimacy with Antonius is recorded in the Philippics of Cicero: the number of the group seems to vouch at least for the personal popularity of the central figure.

ish as they were, which fortune and his own genius had placed within his reach. He had little of the literary polish so widely diffused among his equals in station, having been summoned to active life at an early age, and never released from its absorbing interests till the blandishments of pleasure had established their empire over him. His taste for gaudy show and personal ostentation was that of a rude soldier, rather than the chief of a highly civilized community. The vices with which he has been charged, and for which his name has become a byword, are the most susceptible of dark and extravagant colouring, and at the same time most patent to common observation. It was his misfortune to have for his bitterest enemy one whose estimate of men was most superficial, and the licence of whose tongue was most unscrupulous. Cicero exerted all the force of his genius to make Antonius despicable; but the glaring colours with which he charged his Philippics are more startling to the eye of a remote posterity than they were to the clearer vision of his own contemporaries. The lightnings of Cicero's rhetoric glanced harmless from the laurels on the brow of Antonius, which were nipped by the chilling depreciation of the more astute Octavius.

The loves of *Antony and Cleopatra* form a familiar page in the romance of history. But a sober analysis of such famous romances has generally revealed a dark shade of unruly passion on one side, and of vanity and self-interest on the other. Antonius was the dupe of his own wanton will. The object of his devotion was incapable of exciting any genuine sentiment of tenderness: she was the public slave of any man's passion whose political interest she required.¹ If ever her lover flattered himself that he had found the way to her heart, he knew that her heart was not worth the possession. But the man who could so far corrupt his own inclinations as to turn from the embraces of an Octavia, beautiful, virtuous, and his own, to dally with the false enticements of a bloodstained adulteress,

The loves of
"Antony and
Cleopatra."

¹ Lucan, x. 359.: "Interque maritos Discurrens, Ægypton habet Romamque meretur."

could have no just appreciation of the woman's charms which Cleopatra had renounced for ever. The queen of Egypt had indeed a hard game to play; it was a game for a man, and not for a woman. We may forgive her the loss of her innocence, but we cannot disregard the surrender of all sentiment and delicacy; and if she claims the indulgence extended sometimes to licentiousness in the other sex, she must forfeit at least the privilege of her own, and her interest in our sympathies as men. As a woman she deserves neither love nor admiration; but as a queen her ambition was bold and her bearing magnanimous: she contended gallantly for the throne of her ancestors with the weapons which nature had given her. Her noblest epitaph is written, not in the language of amatory rhapsodies or sickly compassion, but in the ferocious sarcasms of her exulting conquerors.¹

¹ Comp. Horace, *Od.* i. 7. on her overthrow:

“Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
Pulsanda tellus,” &c.

But the same writer who sneers at the effeminacy of her habits and the frivolousness of her vanity, does justice to her manly courage, her philosophic fortitude, and her kingly pride.

CHAPTER XXIX.

OCTAVIUS REDUCES EGYPT TO THE FORM OF A PROVINCE.—HE CONFIRMS HEROD IN THE SOVEREIGNTY OF JUDEA.—DISPERSION OF THE JEWS IN EUROPE, ASIA, AND AFRICA.—CAUSES OF THIS DISPERSION, THE NARROWNESS OF THEIR TERRITORY, AND ITS IMPOVERISHMENT BY SUCCESSIVE CONQUERORS.—ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES ATTEMPTS TO HELLENIZE THE JEWS.—PROGRESS OF GREEK IDEAS AND LANGUAGE IN PALESTINE.—JEALOUSY OF THE NATIVES.—THE PHARISEES AND SADDUCEES REPRESENT THE NATIONAL AND FOREIGN PARTIES RESPECTIVELY.—THE ASMONEAN PRINCES SIDE WITH THE LATTER.—INTERFERENCE OF ROME WITH JEWISH AFFAIRS.—ANTIPATER THE IDUMEAN AND HIS SONS GOVERN THE COUNTRY.—ANTONIUS GRANTS THE KINGDOM TO HEROD.—HE OBTAINS THE FAVOUR OF OCTAVIUS.—HIS PERSECUTION OF THE ASMONEAN PRINCES.—DEATH OF MARIAMNE.—HEROD'S DEVOTION TO ROME.

THE policy of Rome in the East had followed hitherto the lines marked out for it by Cnæus Pompeius. The conqueror of Mithridates had abstained from incorporating with the empire the vast and diversified territories reduced to submission by his sword. He had been content with breaking them up into petty dependencies, assigning to them rulers of his own choice, schooled in obedience to his will; and by transferring them from one to another, he had inured both kings and people to look to the Roman people as the king of kings. Cilicia indeed and Syria were reduced to the form of provinces; but even within their nominal frontiers several petty sovereignties were allowed to exist, and the laws and institutions of Rome were only partially applied to her Oriental acquisitions. The forms of society in the East were for the most part so complete and mature, and differed so entirely

Policy of the republic in allowing the existence of petty sovereignties in the heart of her Eastern dominions.

from the Roman, that to supersede them violently would have been a hazardous experiment. The Orientals were moreover peculiarly tenacious of their own habits, and showed no inclination, like the half-civilized tribes of western Europe, to exchange them for those of their conquerors. Nor did the existing state of society in the East cherish the sentiments of freedom of which the Roman oppressor was so jealous in Gaul or Spain: the courts of the Herods and the Ptolemies were schools for the practice of obedience, and for imbibing lessons of self-abasement. Nor again on the Nile or the Euphrates was there any Roman element in the population through which the tone of Roman sentiment and opinion might gradually be insinuated. Perhaps also the treasures and resources of the nations of Asia might be deemed too attractive to be placed within reach of grasping officials; the republic shrank from the danger of leaving such rich harvests to be gathered year by year by commanders too daring to overawe and too distant to control. The wealth of the East was allowed to accumulate in the coffers of dependent princes, till the moment came when Rome should summon them to disgorge it.

Such were the principles upon which the republic had long acted in regard to the feeble dynasty which she allowed to retain its seat on the throne of the Ptolemies. Pompeius, Gabinius, and Cæsar had successively given kings to Egypt, when either of them might have incorporated it with the domain of the Roman people. But the statesmen of the Macedonian court had long anticipated the day when even the shadow of independence would be denied them. Many and desperate had been the efforts they had made to frustrate the policy which was slowly and secretly weaving its meshes to entangle them. This conviction that Rome was only seeking an excuse for closer interference with their affairs had urged them to advise the destruction of Pompeius, in whose landing on their shores after Pharsalia they beheld a clear omen of their approaching fate. We have seen that the bloody precaution was vain. The dis-

The Ptolemies
permitted to
reign in Egypt.

sensions of the royal house offered an occasion for interference, and the conqueror, pressed by the clamours of a needy soldiery, plunged into a career of violence and spoliation, which bred a fruitless resistance on the part of the Egyptians, and would have ended in their immediate subjugation, but for the peculiar influence which Cleopatra acquired over him. The queen was aware how precarious was the power which she owed to the sword of a foreign intruder. Her treasures, her armies, and her person were devoted to the task of fortifying her position. Her genius and charms conspired to bind to her service the Roman potentate who seemed most capable of protecting her; and intoxicated with the unexpected fortune she had attained, she allowed herself to indulge in a dream of aggression and vengeance against the power which had so long overshadowed her dominions. But the dove or the hare, the helpless quarry of the falcon or the hunter, were fit emblems of a queen of Egypt relentlessly pursued by the Roman emperors.¹ When he set his foot on the shore of Africa, Octavius had resolved to extinguish the dynasty of the Ptolemies. But he had no intention of giving to the senate the rich domain which he tore from its native rulers. He would not sow in a foreign soil the seeds of independence, which he was intent upon crushing nearer home. Egypt, with the sea in its front, and a desert on either hand, was difficult of access to the Roman armies; its overflowing stores of grain might give it the command of the Italian markets, and its accumulated treasures might buy the swords of mercenary legions. Octavius made it his own. He appointed a favourite officer, Cornelius Gallus, whose humble rank as a knight, as well as his tried services, seemed to insure his fidelity, to govern it. In due time he persuaded the senate and people to establish it as a principle, that Egypt should never be placed under the administration of any man

Octavius reduces it to the form of a province under his own direct control.

¹ Horacc, *Od.* i. 37.:

“Accipiter velut
Molles columbas aut leporem citus
Venator,” &c.

of superior rank to the equestrian, and that no senator should be allowed even to visit it, without express permission from the supreme authority. For the defence of this cherished province Octavius allotted three legions, besides some squadrons of cavalry, and a body of nine cohorts of pure Roman extraction. One legion was quartered in Alexandria, the inhabitants of which, though turbulent, were incapable of steady resistance; a division of three cohorts garrisoned Syene on the Nubian frontier, and others were stationed in various localities. Under the military commander was a revenue officer, whose accounts were delivered to Octavius himself, by whom he was directly appointed. Auletes, the father of Cleopatra, had received a revenue of twelve thousand five hundred talents;¹ but his government was ill administered, he was cheated and plundered by his own servants; a more vigilant and careful system discovered resources hitherto unexplored, and the returns of the Roman officials rose steadily with the growth of commerce, which increased equally perhaps with both the East and the West. This development of the resources of Egypt was favoured by the peculiar good fortune it enjoyed, in being jealously guarded from the extortions of a staff of Roman officials. The administration of law, police, and other internal affairs was confided to the natives themselves, and their old habits and prejudices were studiously consulted in maintaining the details of the system which existed under the Macedonian kings. At the same time the Alexandrians were denied the universal privilege of the provincial cities, that of having a senate of their own, nor for two centuries was any Egyptian admitted into the senatorial order at Rome.²

The new ruler did not refrain however from expressing his contempt for the character of his predecessors. He visited the tomb of Alexander with the interest which a man equally great, and revolving schemes of empire not less magnificent, could not fail to entertain:³ but when he was invited

Strabo, xvii. 1.

² Dion, li. 17.

³ A saying attributed by Plutarch to Octavius (*Reg. et Imp. Apophth.*) indicates that the Romans had already instituted this comparison: Ἀκούσας

to inspect the remains of the Ptolemies, he replied disdainfully, *I came to see a king, not dead men.*¹ Before leaving Egypt he laid the foundations of a city on the spot where he had worsted his enemy's forces, He settles the affairs of Parthia and Judea. on the sea-coast, about three miles from the eastern gate of Alexandria. The Egyptian Nicopolis became a useful port, and place of embarkation from the capital. From thence he proceeded before the close of the year to make a triumphal progress through Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor. He passed rapidly in review the states and provinces which lay in the line of his route. He listened with proud reserve to the solicitations of the rival claimants for the Parthian throne. The victors of Carrhæ were induced to seek the settlement of their intestine feuds at the hands of the Roman emperor. A chieftain of the royal race named Tiridates had availed himself of the hatred in which Phraates was held by his subjects to overthrow his power; but he had been himself overthrown in turn, and now sought the support of the national foe. Phraates strove to supplant him in the favour of Octavius, and the Roman, after gravely weighing the representations of both parties, declined to interfere, contenting himself with granting to the fugitive an asylum in the territories of the republic, and carrying to Rome his rival's son as an hostage.² Among the potentates who were most anxious to win the conqueror's regards during this rapid journey was the chief whom Antonius had established on the throne of Judea. The national historian of the Jews does not scruple to affirm that, after the battle of Actium, their sovereign, the great Herodes, the friend and ally of the beaten triumvir, inspired the victor with more apprehension than his flying rival him-

δὲ ὅτε Ἀλέξανδρος δύο καὶ τριάκοντα γεγονῶς ἔτη κατεστραμμένος τὰ πλεῖστα διηπόρει, τί ποιήσει τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, ἐθαύμαζεν εἰ μὴ μείζον Ἀλέξανδρος ἔργον ἡγεῖτο τοῦ κτήσασθαι μεγάλην ἡγεμονίαν τὸ διατάξει τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν.

¹ Dion, li. 16. The historian adds that the conqueror refused to visit the bull Apis, saying, θεοὺς ἀλλ' οὐχὶ βοῦς προσκυνεῖν εἰθίσθαι.

² Dion, li. 18. Justin, xlii. 5. says that the youth was restored; he is speaking perhaps of a later transaction between Augustus and the Parthian monarch. Comp. Dion, liii. 33.

self.¹ But Herod the Idumean, who owed his sudden elevation to the throne of the Asmonean princes to the favour of the Roman government, was well aware that a breath from the same mighty power would suffice to overthrow him. He justly feared the consequences of his intimate connexion with the defeated party: but he was attached to Antonius by no other ties than those of interest, and at the first news of his disaster in the Ionian gulf, hastened to abandon his cause, while it might yet be counted meritorious to do so, and ventured to throw himself without reserve on the clemency of the victor, whom he sought at Rhodes on his way to Egypt. He recommended himself to Octavius by the zeal of his recent devotion to Antonius, while he pledged himself to prove not less faithful to the new patron to whom he offered to transfer his services. The conqueror was satisfied with these professions. He knew the abilities of the king of Judea, and he was assured that he could depend upon him as long at least as his fortunes were in the ascendant. He confirmed him in the possession of the territories guaranteed him by his rival; and he marked his regard, upon the occasion of his journey through Palestine, by adding to them Gadara and Samaria on the north and the districts of Gaza and Joppa on the sea-coast.² But the relations of Judea towards the all-conquering republic require to be more fully explained. In Judea arose that extraordinary development of political enthusiasm which at a later period shook the empire to its centre at the moment of its greatest magnificence and power: and in the streets of Jerusalem and among the villages of Galilee were sowed the seeds of a moral revolution, which undermined in their appointed time the foundations of ancient society, and established Christianity upon the ruins of the common heathenism. Rome threw off the assailant from without, with a violent effort the most signal in her military annals, since she

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* i. 20.: Παρεῖχε μὲν τοι δέους πλέον ἢ ἔπασχεν. οὕτω γὰρ ἐαλωκέναι Καῖσαρ Ἀντώνιον ἔκρινεν, Ἡρώδου συμμέμοντος.

² Joseph. *l. c.*: Οὐδὲν δὲ οὕτως ἐνήγγεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς δωρεάς ὥς τὸ μεγάλῳ φρον τοῦ λαμβάνοντος.

first struggled for existence against the Gauls and Carthaginians: but the enemy within, the religious principle which invaded her laws, institutions and ideas, she could neither overcome, nor foil, nor fly from, and three centuries of feverish resistance terminated in the dissolution of her own moral being.

Where the Roman conquers there he inhabits, was the proud boast of the people whose mission it was to reduce the world to political unity. Where the Greek inhabits there he civilizes, might be said of the great masters of human intelligence, whose commerce penetrated every sea, and whose colonists carried to the East and the West the standards of poetry, philosophy, and science. But the Jew, with a spirit no less restless, with propensities no less migratory, neither conquered, nor colonized, nor civilized. He intruded himself silently and pertinaciously into every known corner of the globe; and no one could say wherefore he came, or what was the object of his sojourn. His presence in foreign lands was marked by no peculiar aim or mission. He cultivated neither literature, nor art, nor even commerce on a great scale, or as a national pursuit. He subsisted for the most part by the exercise of active industry in petty dealings, evaded as much as he could the public burdens of the natives among whom he dwelt, while their privileges he neither sought nor coveted, and distinguished himself alike in every quarter, under every form of government, and in the midst of every social system, by rigid adherence to the forms of an obscure and exclusive creed.

The Jews had entered the great city of the West along with the Phrygians, Syrians and Egyptians, and other wanderers from the opposite hemisphere; but they were hardly observed perhaps, or recognised as a distinct people by the multitude, until their chiefs, Aristobulus II. and his children, were dragged among a troop of their captive subjects in the third triumph of Pompeius. The vanity of the great conqueror, who affected to tread in the steps of the Macedonian Alexander, had led him to violate the ancient policy of the republic, which had stu-

Character of
the Jewish
residents in
foreign lands.

Dispersion of
the Jews.
Their settle-
ment in Rome

diously cultivated the alliance of the Jewish commonwealth as a counterpoise to the power of the Seleucids and Ptolemies. When the throne of the Syrian was stricken to the ground, and that of the Egyptian only sustained by the hand of a Roman imperator, the maxims of the state might be allowed to yield to personal ambition, and Pompeius trampled with lofty contempt on the dearest prejudices of his countrymen's allies. Cæsar undertook to soothe the wounded pride of a sensitive people. He had himself received important succour from them at the crisis of his fortunes in Alexandria. Gratitude and policy combined to make him their friend. He requited their services with ample assurances of his favour; and on his return to Rome he allowed their compatriots to celebrate their national rites in a synagogue of their own, on the banks of the Tiber.¹ We have seen that the little society which this people formed at Rome combined to make a public manifestation of regard for their benefactor on the occasion of his funeral. In the capital of the republic we may imagine that their numbers were at this time insignificant. But as they cast their eyes eastward the Roman statesmen might behold with curiosity and interest the increasing throng of strangers of this same nation, who maintained their own peculiar usages and worship and moral physiognomy through

out the continent and islands of Greece. As they
 In Greece. extended their view beyond the boundaries of

Europe, this infusion of the Jewish element among the native populations became still more strongly marked. Lydia and Phrygia had received a draft of two thousand families, transplanted thither from Judea by Antiochus the Great. The Jews spread in successive migrations over all the countries of Lesser

Asia, and Ephesus, Pergamns, Tralles and Sardis
 In Asia Minor. became celebrated for the resort of wanderers from Palestine. Before the date of Cicero's consulship their numbers had become so great in the Roman province of Asia, that it was esteemed a good service to the state on the part

¹ Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 3. 5.; Philo, *Legat. ad Cai.* ii. 568. ed. Mangey.

² Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 10.

of the prætor Flaccus, when he forbade them to drain the country of gold by sending their annual contribution, amounting only to a double drachma each, to the temple at Jerusalem.¹ At the same time we hear of a multitude of Jews being settled in the eastern islands of the Mediterranean, and their well-known industry was employed at a later period by Octavius, in working the mines of copper in Cyprus. They soon formed an important part of the population of its chief city Salamis, and still later we shall find them take possession of the whole island, and convert it into a magazine and armoury for the organization of a great national revolt. Great multitudes of Jews were settled in Syria and Phœnicia by Seleucus Nicator, and Antioch became famous for their resort.² To the east of Syria and Palestine the dispersion of the Jews was still greater than to the west. The ten tribes which had been transported beyond the Euphrates had never returned to the abodes of their ancestors. The permission which Cyrus gave to the remnant of the Babylonish captivity to repair to Judea and restore their national polity was accepted by only a small proportion of the whole people. The city of their conquerors had become endeared to them by the recollections of two generations; and, after the

In Babylonia
and farther
east.

fall of Babylon, and the dissolution of the fleeting population which the Assyrian kings had collected within its walls, the Jews, if we may believe their own writers, took the place of the native races throughout the surrounding districts.³ As we proceed further the records of the Jewish dispersion become doubtless less distinct; but the ceaseless pulse of emigration beat, we are assured, more and more faintly, through Adiabene and Armenia, to the Caucasus and the Caspian shore, and was not yet exhausted even on the borders of China. The Jews, we have already seen, were reputed to

¹ Cic. *pro Flacco*, 28.

² Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 5. 1., *Bell. Jud.* vii. 3. 3.

³ Philo (*de Legat. ad Caium*, ii. 587. ed. Mangey) specifies the vast extent of the Jewish colonies throughout the three continents. Comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 13. 1.

In Egypt,
Cyrene, and
Ethiopia.

form a third part of the population of Alexandria, and this proportion they maintained throughout the whole of Egypt. Their first settlement in this region had followed upon their revolt against the Chaldean domination, and the murder of their governor Gedaliah.¹ The number of the fugitives of that epoch was increased by a second plantation under Artaxerxes Ochus; and Alexander, on founding his new city, invited to its walls a race which was esteemed generally peaceable as well as industrious. The Thebaid was enriched with a colony of eight thousand Samaritans after the destruction of Tyre. The conquest of Palestine by the kings of Syria and Egypt renewed periodically these importations of Jewish blood.² The immigrants gradually spread themselves to the westward, to Cyrene and the Pentapolis, as well as southward into Ethiopia.³

They make
proselytes
among various
nations.

The knowledge of the name and usages of the Jews was still further extended by religious proselytism. We have little means indeed of tracing the progress which they made in this way among the Roman and Greek populations; though it seems probable that the mystery which surrounded their august ceremonial excited curiosity, ripening into interest, and resulting at least in a partial reception of their usages and creed in many societies in the West. But in Damascus we are assured, as regarded at least a later period, that the religion of Moses made a vast number of proselytes, and that almost all the women attached themselves to it.⁴ Meanwhile on the petty tribes on their own borders the Jews imposed the yoke of their ceremonial law by force. Hyrcanus subdued the Idumeans, and gave them the choice of exile or circumcision. The same alternative was offered to the Itureans, and perhaps to the Moabites also. In each case the love of country prevailed. The Himmerite Arabians were subjected to the rule of a Jewish sove

¹ 2 Kings, xxv. 23.

² Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 1.

³ *Act. Apost.* ii. 10., viii. 26.

⁴ Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 20. 2. *Comp. Acts*, xiii. 50.

reign, who compelled his people to accept the faith and usages of his own nation.

We have thus glanced at the ramifications of this populous nation through a large portion of the three continents of the ancient world. The Jews made themselves homes in every country from the Tiber to the Euphrates, from the pines of the Caucasus to the spice-groves of Happy Arabia, and the political confederacy by which they continued to be closely linked together supported the throne of Parthia on the one hand, and of Egypt on the other. Whatever motive had induced each successive swarm to abandon the parent hive, whether it had been impelled by a spirit of enterprise, or by the pressure of want, whether it had been sold in captivity, or transplanted at the caprice of a conqueror, it still clung pertinaciously to the outward symbols of its nationality. The annual tribute to the temple at Jerusalem was a faint expression of this characteristic feeling. The exclusive claims the Jews advanced to the possession of divine truth, and the strictness of their terms of communion, had already become the object of wondering remark. Yet at the period we are now reviewing they had drawn upon themselves far less dislike and suspicion, on account of the morose reserve of their character, than after they had been exasperated by political persecutions, and inflamed by religious fanaticism. They solicited the attention of the foreigners among whom they dwelt to the literature enshrined in their sacred books, nor did they disdain to admit a tincture of exotic cultivation, and allowed in many quarters even their own language to fall into disuse among them. While they attracted to their own mysterious rites the votaries of every heathen superstition, they imbibed perhaps themselves some of the same spirit of eclecticism in religion, to which they had invited the worshippers of Belus, Isis, and Jupiter.

Among the manifold causes which contributed to stimulate foreign emigration among the Jewish people, there was none so potent perhaps, as there was none so uniform, as the

They form a national confederacy throughout the three continents.

The narrowness of their limits the main cause of their dispersion.

Parallel between Greek and Jewish emigration.

narrowness of their proper limits, and the natural sterility of a large portion of their soil. The dispersion of the Greeks presents on the whole the most striking parallel to that of the Jews; and upon the former people also, whatever allowance be made for their ambition, their love of adventure and their natural propensity to commerce, this motive operated with constant pressure during the ages which succeeded the loss of their political independence. Greece in the most flourishing period of her freedom had expanded the wings of her commerce on every side, and the wealth which she attracted to her shores raised lofty cities and maintained populous communities, in spots which nature had abandoned to the mountain or the swamp. But with the fall of her independence her spirit of enterprise had been exhausted; commerce decayed, the arts languished, the means of subsistence ceased to flow in from abroad: her monuments, indeed, and her fame, still attracted strangers to her shores, and the liberal expenditure of foreigners became perhaps the principal support of the crumbling populations of Athens and Corinth. The surplus of her offspring, beyond what her own narrow plains and valleys could nourish, was driven by stern necessity abroad. For a time the pressure was disguised under the appearance of a voluntary emigration to reap the fruits of Macedonian conquest: but the truth became at last apparent, that Greece, except under some extraordinary stimulus, is capable of subsisting only a very limited number of inhabitants, and the excess must emigrate or starve.

There is sufficient evidence to the fact that Palestine also, country abounding in mountains and barren plains, was enabled in a remote age, under a wise and prosperous administration, to crown its rocks with mould, and cover its sands with verdure, till every corner of the narrow land was devoted to the raising of food for man, and a wide-spread commerce on either sea supplied the requirements of an immense population. She

Impoverishment of Palestine by its successive conquerors.

had been reduced from this palmy state by intestine divisions and domestic oppression. She next became the prey of foreign conquerors, and her children, already impoverished and diminished in number, were carried off into distant captivity. Their ultimate restoration to their own country had not sufficed to repair the decay of this state of transient fertility. Successive attacks from Syria and Egypt kept Palestine in a constant state of weakness and poverty; the population outgrew the scanty means of subsistence offered by an ungrateful soil, and the resource of emigration was accepted by one perhaps from choice but by ten times that number from necessity.

But though Palestine had long ceased to derive any great political importance from the numbers, the enterprise, or the military spirit of its actual inhabitants, it continued to demand attention from the statesman, partly as the national centre of a population so widely spread, and not less from the peculiar position which it occupied geographically. Palestine appears on the map of Asia as a prolongation of the region designated as Syria and Phœnicia. The whole of this long but narrow slip of territory skirts the waves of the Mediterranean on the one side, and the ocean-like expanse of the Arabian desert on the other. It extends four hundred miles in length, while its breadth, which is nearly uniform, is hardly more than sixty. This narrow tract of land, between seas and sands, is the isthmus which connects Egypt and Arabia on the south with the Lesser Asia, Armenia and Parthia on the north. It has formed in all ages the great line of communication, whether for purposes of commerce or of conquest, between the two continents of Asia and Africa. By this road Alexander descended from the fields of his Oriental victories to found the noblest monument of his triumphs at the mouth of the Nile; and Palestine was the lock on the gate of Egypt which Pompeius opened to the Romans with his sword. Important as this region is from its position, it so happens that its configuration renders it peculiarly accessible to military enterprise.

Peculiarity of
its geographical
position.

Accessible to
invaders from

its configura-
tion. Easy
lines of com-
munication
through its
whole length.

Narrow as it is, a system of valleys, through which are poured the waters of the Orontes, the Leontes, and the Jordan, divides it in the middle with a straight line through its whole length.

The high road which traversed this easy and fertile level conducted from Antioch to Heliopolis, Cæsarea Philippi, Tiberias, and Jericho: from this point it struck more to the west, to avoid the wilderness of Judah and the arid shores of the Dead Sea, and crossed the plateau of Jerusalem and Hebron, till it reached Gaza on the coast of the Mediterranean, or turned again more eastward and passed through Idumea into Arabia. Another parallel line of communication skirted the sea-coast and met with no local obstruction, at least from the promontory of Carmel to Mount Casius on the frontier of Egypt. Between these two lines the country rises to a considerable elevation, on the western side in three or four level terraces, abounding in the productions of as many different climates; on the eastern more abruptly and irregularly, and with a large proportion of barren rock and sand. Thus critically situated

Antiochus
Epiphanes at-
tempts to Hel-
lenize the
Jews.

between the frontiers of the great competitors for Oriental dominion, the Jews had been exposed from the earliest times to the hardships of foreign invasion. The Assyrians, the Egyptians and the Greeks had successively attacked them. They had followed the fate of Syria in the partition of Alexander's empire, and had become reconciled to their subjection to the sceptre of the Seleneidæ, till the fourth Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, made a violent attempt to impose upon them the religion of Greece. Inspired with fierce enthusiasm at the blow which struck down the impious Heliodorus in his attempt to rifle their temple, they flew to arms to repel the aggression upon their faith.¹ The king of Syria had plunged into a desperate struggle with Rome, and he sought to strengthen himself by animating with a religious principle the coalition of the Asiatic Greeks over which he presided. He aimed at making himself the centre of this fanatical resist-

¹ 2 Maccab. iii. 7. foll.

ance, and while Le impressed on one side of his coins the figure of the Olympian Jupiter, he appended to his own name the stamp of divinity on the other. The Greeks, whose religious faith was utterly worn out, were little offended perhaps at this daring assumption, with which some previous examples had rendered them familiar; they were contented at least with levelling a languid sneer against it, and converted the surname of Epiphanes, the illustrious, into Epimanes, the infatuated. But the tyrant miscalculated the extent to which the influence of Greece had as yet infected the Jewish mind. Even in Jerusalem there existed indeed a Hellenizing party among the Jews, which aimed at throwing down the wall of partition between Jew and Gentile. The Grecian government had favoured this party, and promoted its adherents. Jesus, the brother of the high priest Onias, was the leader of the *wicked men*, as the national chronicle designated them, *who persuaded many, saying, Let us go and make a covenant with the heathen that are round about us.*¹ He assumed the Greek name Jason, which corresponded nearly, both in sound and signification, with his Hebrew appellation, while Onias affected the designation of Menelaus. They erected in the capital of Judea a gymnasium, for the propagation of Hellenistic taste, while the Samaritans even offered, it is said, to convert their temple on Mount Gerizim to the service of the Grecian Jupiter.² Encouraged by the favour with which these innovations appeared to be received, Antiochus gave orders that the statue of Zeus Olympius should be erected in the temple of Jerusalem. He appointed that monthly festivals should be celebrated in honour of Bacchus, at which all the families of Judea were commanded to present themselves crowned with ivy. The national rites and ceremonies were abruptly suppressed, sacrifices were demanded to the pagan demons whose altars were planted at the corners of the streets, and the people were required to eat the meats forbidden by Moses. To this it must be added that the persecutor rifled the treasures of the temple; and as these treasures compre

¹ 1 Maccab. i. 11.² Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 5

bended not only the offerings of the devout, but the hoarded savings of the industrious, he concentrated against himself the two ruling passions which have ever held divided empire in the breast of the Jew. Stung to frenzy by these tyrannical measures and the barbarity with which they were enforced, the mass of the nation flew to arms. Under a family of heroes, the Maccabees, or Asmonean princes, they defied the oppressor and recovered their independence. Both Greeks and Jews combined in declaring that his miserable death was a signal manifestation of divine retribution. The success of the

The Jews
make a treaty
with Rome,
circa
A. U. 684.
B. C. 170.

national party among the Jews was assured by the treaty of alliance they now made with Rome; a treaty which they regarded as the safeguard of their independence, and preserved on tablets of brass in the temple of Jerusalem.¹

The defenders of Jewish nationality had been driven during their long struggle from the frontiers and sea-coast into the mountainous districts in the centre of the country, while the Syrian invaders girdled their territory with a line of cities, which they garrisoned with Greek colonists. Some of these hostile fastnesses were destroyed by the Jews on the recovery of their independence; but they more generally permitted them to exist, while they constrained their inhabitants to adopt the religion and usages of the natives.² From this original stock the blood, the language, and the customs of Hellas were gradually transfused into the population of Palestine, which had vainly prided itself on the purity of its race, the reserve of its manners, and the exclusiveness of its creed. It will be well to pause for a moment to trace the silent progress of this phenomenon, which in fact may serve to illustrate, from a single point, the process which had been going on throughout Western Asia from the date of the Macedonian conquest, and which is important from the insight it gives us into the march of Hellenic ideas over extensive regions which were soon to become a part of the Roman empire.

Progress of the
Hellenic element
among
the population
of Palestine.

¹ 1 Macc. viii.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 10. 6.

² Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 4.

While the Roman almost universally adopted the walls and dwellings of the vanquished enemy, and expelled the natives to make room for settlers of his own race, the Greek mode of colonization demanded generally the erection of new cities for Hellenic occupation in the conquered territory. In this the immigrants from eastern Europe followed the policy or habits of Oriental conquerors, though their mode of building must have been much more substantial than that which contents a Tartar or Hindoo potentate, when he raises his capital of mud or wood to receive the transplanted population of the surrounding plains. Appian may furnish us with an idea of the scale on which this Hellenic system of colonization was adopted. He tells us that the founder of the dynasty of the Seleucidæ in Syria built a vast number of cities throughout his dominions :¹ of these he named sixteen Antiochia after his father, six Laodicea from his mother, nine from his own name Seleucia, four from those of his wives Apamea or Stratonicea. Besides these the historian gives a list of twenty-three other cities founded by the same hand, bearing the names of Greek or Macedonian towns, or referring to the exploits of the founder, or, lastly, commemorating his great master Alexander. When we consider how small was the handful of Macedonian soldiers by which Persia was conquered, it is evident that it was not for the settlement of these veterans only that so many cities were founded, but to supply the demands of a mighty immigration. The opening of the Eastern world to European enterprise attracted vast numbers of Greeks from their native country, and though these cities were perhaps partially filled from the surrounding regions, we may conclude that the original nucleus of the population throughout them was Greek. It was during the first two centuries from the conquest that the principal influx of Greeks into Asia must have taken place. Syria we may suppose was saturated with the Hellenic infusion by the time when the Jews rejected its yoke. Greece itself ceased to throw off its swarms when its own population

Extent of Hellenic colonization in Palestine.

¹ Appian, *Syriac*, c. 57.

had dwindled to the numbers adapted to its natural resources. Accordingly, at the time of which we are now speaking, the proportion of the native and the intruding races throughout the region of Syria was definitively fixed. The influence exercised by the Greeks, as an element in the population, was already at its height: if the notices we can collect regarding it belong strictly to a later period, we shall not err much in assuming them to illustrate the circumstances of the earlier epoch.

The influence of the Greek language seems to have far outstripped the encroachment of the Greek population in these regions. It almost superseded the native dialects even in cities which were not originally founded for Hellenic colonists. Thus we find that at Tyre, at Sidon, and at Ascalon, the Romans published their decrees in the Latin and the Greek idioms; in the Latin, in token of their own supremacy; in the Greek, as the language most generally understood by the conquered people.¹ Ascalon became famous for its Greek writers in philosophy, history, and grammar.² Gadara, a city of Greek foundation, is celebrated by Strabo for its contributions to Hellenic science.³ A large proportion of the inscriptions discovered at Palmyra are said to be Greek, though the orthography of some is Syrian or Phœnician.⁴ But the prevalence of the Greek language even at Jerusalem itself is marked by an interesting circumstance recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. On the occasion of a riot which was excited in that city through the jealousy which existed between the Oriental and the Greek Jews, St. Paul addressed the multitude; *when they heard that he spake in the Hebrew tongue they the more kept silence*: from which it appears that they would have listened to him and understood him even if he had spoken

¹ Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 12. 5., xiv. 10. 2.: βούλομαι δὲ καὶ Ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ Ῥωμαϊστὶ ἐν δελτῷ χαλκῇ τοῦτο ἀνατεθῆναι . . . ὅπως ὑπὸ πάντων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι δυνήσεται.

² Stephanus, *de Urbibus*, v. Ἀσκάλων.

³ Strabo, xvi. 2.

⁴ Compare Hug, *Introd. to the N. Test.* ii. 36. Engl. Transl.

in Greek.¹ After this instance, we shall not be surprised to learn that even the religious authorities of Palestine offered no resistance to the diffusion of the Greek language, and that some of their books and legal documents were written indifferently in the Greek or the vernacular idiom.² It is probable that the fusion of the two races had proceeded to a considerable extent even while they affected to draw the strongest lines of demarkation between one another. The Greeks and Jews enjoyed an equality of civic privileges throughout most of the cities of Palestine. Disputes regarding the extent of these rights frequently arose between them, and appeals were made to the decision of the emperor at Rome. The judgment, founded on antiquity and original colonization, was sometimes given in favour of the foreigners. Emboldened by such awards, the Greek colonists in some localities ventured to affirm that they were the first inhabitants of the country. Scythopolis ascribed its foundation to Bacchus himself,³ and Joppa commemorated as a local tradition the adventure of Perseus and Andromeda.⁴

The progress of a foreign language and its corresponding ideas among a people so jealous and retentive of their own usages as the Jews, could not fail to excite alarm and indignation. It was associated in their minds with the remembrance of the Syrian oppressor who had imposed upon them the abominations of pagan idolatry. But among the educated classes, in the higher ranks of the aristocracy and in the court of their rulers themselves, the fascinations of Greek civilization exerted extensive influence. The revolution by which John Hyrcanus changed the popular championship of his family into a royal domination brought out in strong relief the colours of their social divisions. On the one hand the Pharisees, the separatists or the exclusives, as their name may import, clung with sullen tenacity to the ancient prescriptions of the national polity. Bred in a devout belief in the theocracy or

Influence of
Greek civiliza-
tion upon Jew-
ish ideas.

Antagonism of
the Pharisees
and the Saddu-
cees.

¹ Acts, xxii. 2.

² Hug, ii. 46., with reference to the Mishna.

³ Plin. *H. N.* v. 16.

⁴ Strabo, xvi. 2.

divine government of their country, they beheld with affright the contrast between the corruptions and perils of society around them and the ideal of purity and security which existed in their own heated imaginations. They saw that the faith of the higher classes was crumbling away, sapped by the perpetual assaults of heathen superstition, damped by discouragement from an apostate government, sickening with the long delayed hope of a triumphant fulfilment. Without logical or moral convictions of their own, they determined in the strength of an indomitable will to maintain the creed of their ancestors, and sought only to entrench it behind a complicated system of forms and ceremonial observances, to which they vainly looked as so many bulwarks to break the force of the assailant's attack. They encumbered the simplicity of the Mosaic law with a mass of sophistical interpretations, derived in fact from sources not less alien and corrupt than the Greek theosophies which they combated. But thus equipped, they could await in proud defiance the time when the development of a new knowledge or a higher philosophy should vindicate, as they loudly proclaimed, the divine principle of revelation enshrined in the casket of human traditions. These are tactics which constantly reappear in the history of religious antagonisms. The peculiar secret, however, of the strength and popularity of the Pharisees lay probably in the boldness with which they affirmed the doctrine of a future life. They taught indeed the transmigration of souls through successive bodies; a crude and ready way of evading the difficulties which beset the more scientific attempts to form a theory of future retribution: but their views of futurity, such as they were, embraced every class alike, and they appealed to the fears and hopes of mankind in general, and repudiated the aristocracy of souls which satisfied the Greek philosophers. On the other hand, the reaction which resulted from this system gave rise to the sect of the Sadducees. These religionists asserted that the pure spirit of their national creed required no such shadowy defence as their opponents had raised around it. They appealed to the five Books of Moses as the pure

fountain of their ancient faith. We need not conclude from this that they rejected the inspiration of other books of the Hebrew canon. The Pentateuch was the volume of the law; and the Sadducees upheld the text of the law as distinguished not from the historical and prophetical books which followed it, but from the traditionary glosses of the Pharisees and the foreign ideas they considered them to have naturalised.¹ But they explained away everything in the received Scriptures which might appear to modify in any degree the doctrines of Moses; they repudiated the notion of a future state, because they could not read it from Genesis to Deuteronomy; and they resolved the theory of angelic existences into peculiar manifestations of the Divine Being himself. It has been asserted by their apologists that their rejection of supersensuous theories went only to the denial of a resurrection of the body, such as was undoubtedly the belief of the Pharisee: but all existing testimony affirms that they rejected also the immortality of spirit.² In other points also their creed touched upon the system of the Epicureans. They asserted the absolute freedom of the human will, derided the notion of fate, and regarded the Deity as standing apart from the concerns of the world in a state of selfish indifference. The Sadducees, like the Epicureans of the Hellenic world, belonged principally to the higher classes. They occupied important posts in the religious no less than in the social institutions of their country. But, notwithstanding the profession they made of a pure Jewish belief, a creed so negative on the most vital points could not fail to render them practically indifferent to the great religious questions of their day. The Pharisees,

¹ The common opinion, that the Sadducees rejected the prophetical books of the Old Testament, is founded upon the assertion of Tertullian, *de Præscr. Hæret.* 45., and St. Jerome, *ad Matth.* 22., but it seems to me to have been sufficiently refuted. See Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, art. *Saddukæer*.

² Salvador, *Domination Romaine en Judée*, i. 95. Compare Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 4., *Σαδδουκαίοις τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ λόγος συναφανίζει τοῖς σώμασι*; and *B. Jud.* ii. 8. 14. The other passages from Josephus are *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 9., xiii. 10. 6. It is unnecessary to refer to the well-known passages in the New Testament.

The Pharisees constitute the popular party in Palestine.

John Hyrcanus connects himself with the Sadducees, or the anti-national party.

or, as we may call them, the national party, who preponderated in the great council of the Sanhedrim, and relied upon the support of the bulk of the people, denounced the sacrilegious attempt of John Hyrcanus to unite the sacerdotal with the regal office.¹ The crown of the priesthood they declared was the right of the sons of Aaron, the crown of royalty appertained to David and his successors, but the crown of the law, the supreme authority of the state, belonged to the whole people of Israel, represented in the national assembly of the Sanhedrim.² This bold interpretation of the ancient constitution of the Jews could find no favour with the Sadducees; and when the baffled usurper threw himself upon their support, he was received by them with open arms. The decision in his favour of this powerful section of the nation determined the result of the contest. The Asmonean princes mounted the throne of Israel, disgraced the chiefs of the Pharisees, abolished their religious ordinances and proscribed their teaching, while they sought to secure themselves against the popular indignation thus excited, by surrounding their palace with foreign mercenaries.³ The party triumph of the Sadducees bound them in political servitude. They became the avowed supporters of the government: they undertook the defence of an anti-national, an Hellenistic, an idolatrous policy; while their opponents, released from the trammels of power, prided themselves on the sacrifice they had made to principle, clung yet more closely to their peculiar views, and engaged the admiration of the multitude by the austerity of their religious professions.

But an enemy more fatal than the Greek or the Syrian was at hand. The rivalries which sprang up within the family of the Asmonean princes led to an invitation to the

¹ The constitutional limits of the championship assigned to the Asmonean dynasty (1 Maccab. xiv. 47.) included a certain precedence or leadership in civil affairs combined with the high priesthood.

² Salvador (i. 91.) quotes from the Mishna, *de Synedriis*, i. 5.

³ Aristobulus I., eldest son of John Hyrcanus, was the first to assume the title of king. Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 11. 1., *B. J.* i. 3. 1.

Romans to take part in the national divisions. We have seen how Pompeius decided between the claims of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. In contempt of the wishes and prejudices of the people, he took the side of the former, by whose personal feebleness of character he could most readily profit; and while he assigned to him the nominal sovereignty together with the high priesthood, placed over him as minister the Idumean Antipater, an active and intriguing partisan of the Roman interests. Pompeius carried away Aristobulus and his sons, Alexander and Antigonus, to Rome, as hostages for the fidelity of this new government, which continued to be jealously watched by the proconsuls of Syria, and encouraged to crush the national spirit of its subjects and familiarize them gradually with the idea of complete subjugation. The Jews indeed bore the yoke of dependence with increasing impatience. Pompeius had outraged their religious prejudices by the desecration of their Temple; he had exasperated them by a series of sanguinary executions, and humiliated them by the demolition of the walls of Jerusalem. One after another, Aristobulus and his sons made their escape from detention. We may be tempted to suspect connivance on the part of the Roman government, which could afford to buy an excuse for armed interference at the price of a revolt in Palestine. The intruders however were hardly prepared for the desperate resistance now organized against them by the exiled princes, who unfurled once more on their native soil the glorious banner of the Maccabees. Antipater armed himself to defend the throne of Hyrcanus and the influence he wielded in his name. He appealed to the proconsuls of Syria to support the interests of the republic in Palestine, while the insurgents addressed themselves to the ambition or jealousy of the Parthians, and strove, with the aid of their brethren dispersed throughout the East, to consolidate a vast Oriental confederacy against the European power which had already advanced its stand-

First interference of the Romans in Jewish affairs.

Pompeius decides between the claims of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus.

Resistance of the Jews to the Romans, and commencement of the long struggle between them.

ards to the banks of the Euphrates. The struggle which now commenced was destined to continue with little intermission for nearly two hundred years. So long did it take to subdue Judea. The contest was animated, on the part of the Jews, by a deep religious spirit, and maintained with an unity of purpose and combined action unexampled in the history of foreign resistance to the all-conquering policy of Rome. It was nourished by feelings of the deadliest animosity on both sides : it was signalized by the most frightful examples of barbarity, in which each of the contending parties strove to outdo the other ; but it was directed by a controlling Providence to a beneficial consummation, in the destruction of the Jewish nationality, and the dispersion throughout the world of the Christian communities.

The first period of this eventful struggle extended over twenty-nine years, during which Aristobulus and his sons con-
Scaurus, Gabinius, Crassus, and Cæsar, in Palestine. tended gallantly for their rights against the intruders. Antipater was supported in his vicarious sovereignty by Scaurus, the lieutenant whom Pompeius had left behind him in Judea, and afterwards by M. Philippus and Lentulus Marcellinus, who succeeded one another in the government of Syria. The menacing attitude assumed by the Parthians on the frontier demanded the concentration of larger forces under a leader of the highest consideration. Gabinius was entrusted with the command of the armies of the republic in the East. He engaged the services of M. Antonius, whose military talents he was the first to unfold, and owed his most brilliant victories to the skill and conduct of the future triumvir. Crassus, who succeeded Gabinius, while meditating a career of unexampled conquest beyond the Euphrates, was tempted, as we have seen, to reach forth his hand and rifle the treasures of the Temple : such was the price at which the usurping government of Judea was constrained to buy the support of a Roman proconsul. The disaster of Carrhæ shook the throne of Hyrcanus ; but the Parthians acted with indecision, Cassius was prompt and vigorous, and averted or repelled their invasions : Antipater

was still enabled to uphold his ascendancy through many vicissitudes of victory and defeat. He sent a detachment of Ituræan bowmen to the camp of his patron Pompeius, who in return commanded the execution of Alexander; while Aristobulus himself was poisoned shortly afterwards, according to the report, by the partisans of the senatorial faction. But after Pharsalia Antipater speedily changed his side, and the zeal he displayed in sending aid to Cæsar in Egypt, backed by the good offices of Antonius, secured him the favour and support of the new ruler of the republic. In vain did Antigonus, the surviving son of Aristobulus, implore the conqueror of Pompeius to reverse his rival's policy in Judea. Cæsar confirmed Hyrcanus in his high priesthood and titular sovereignty; but he placed the real power more firmly than ever in the hands of the Idumean, and honoured him with the distinction of Roman citizenship.

The ascendancy of the Idumean's family was henceforth fully assured. Antipater now acted with hardly a pretence of regard towards his nominal sovereign. He divided the territories subjected to his sway between his four sons, of whom the second, named Herodes, was destined to reunite the whole of Palestine under his sceptre at no distant period. The district which was assigned to him on this occasion was Galilee, and at the time of his investment with the government he was about twenty-five years of age. The historian of the Jews forgets his own chronology when he affirms that the age of Herod at this time was only fifteen, and admires the vigour with which he acted in such tender years in chastising the brigands on his borders. It is probable indeed that the persons whom he branded with this title were insurgent patriots rather than roving marauders. The wives and families of the victims boldly complained to Hyrcanus of the slaughter of their relatives; and while the exploit recommended the young chieftain to the Roman commander, Sextus Cæsar, it was execrated by the national party at Jerusalem, as an act of subservient tyranny. The advisers who now swayed the

Ascendancy of
the Herods, the
family of An-
tipater, the
Idumean.

counsels of the feeble Hyrcanus urged him to make a desperate effort to shake off the yoke of the Idumean cabal, degrading alike to himself and to his people. Herod was summoned by his titular sovereign to appear at Jerusalem, and explain before the Sanhedrim the circumstances of his recent act of violence. But he declined to place himself in so perilous a position until he had sought and obtained the safeguard of Roman protection, and when he presented himself before the council he held in his hand the proconsul's command that he should be acquitted. The passions, however,

The national spirit is roused against them.

of the Jewish notables were worked up to defy this insolent dictation. Sameas or Shammai, *a just man*, in Jewish phraseology, that is, a strict observer of the law and upholder of its religious and political traditions, whose devotion to the cause of his country and his God placed him beyond the reach of Roman intimidation,¹ addressed them with the indignant eloquence so often directed by the national orators and never without effect, against foreign aggression. *All the criminals*, he said, *who have hitherto been brought before us, have come clothed in mourning, in the attitude of supplication, in the guise of humility; but this man alone dares to stand in our presence arrayed in purple, his hair gallantly trimmed, and surrounded by armed soldiers, as though prepared to massacre us if we dare pronounce sentence against him.* And he ended with a solemn prediction that the culprit, if he now escaped condemnation, would live to shed the blood of all his judges and of Hyrcanus himself. All which, says the historian, took place as was predicted, Sameas himself alone escaping the vengeance which successively overtook them. The council would have acted resolutely on the orator's advice, but the timid monarch secretly warned the criminal of his danger. Herod burst away from the toils in which he was entangled, and threw himself at the feet of the Roman commander. He was favourably received by Sextus Cæsar, and soon enabled to make a military demonstration against the seat of government. His father and family, fear-

¹ Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 9. 4., δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ δεδιέναι κρείττω

ful of the consequences of his meditated violence, with difficulty restrained him from an attack which would have raised the whole Jewish people in arms, and shaken to pieces the edifice of craft and sophistry in which their power resided.

The disturbances which ensued in Syria, and shortly afterwards throughout the Roman dominion in the East, allowed the Sanhedrim a short respite to congratulate themselves upon their successful patriotism, and to foster their means of future resistance. The

Cassius and
Antonius in
Syria.

Cæsareans and Pompeians once more drew their swords against each other within sight of the Parthian squadrons. Sextus Cæsar was murdered; Cæcilius Bassus commanded in the name of the senate, and held out with foreign assistance against the dictator's lieutenants. The dictator was assassinated: Cassius repaired to the province in which his military talents were most known and respected. Herod yielded complacently to this revolution in the government of Syria. When the new proconsul imposed a heavy tribute upon the Jews in common with the other nations under his rule, for the support of the vast armies which were to defend the cause of the republic, he exerted himself zealously to obtain its payment. Accordingly he was confirmed in the government of Cœle-Syria, which Sextus Cæsar had already assigned to him; and Cassius promised him the kingdom of Judea as soon as the arms of the republic should be crowned with victory. Soon after this Antipater perished by poison, and new intrigues were employed by the national party for expelling his family from Jerusalem. Antigonus ventured to invade the country, and advanced with an armed force his claims to the throne of his ancestors. The battle of Philippi threw Syria once more into the power of the Cæsareans. Antonius entered Antioch, and took up the tangled and broken thread of his predecessor's policy. Herod hastened to make his submission, and soon entered into relations of personal intimacy with the frank and

Herod pays
court to Anto-
nius.

¹ Joseph. *Ant.* xiv 12. 2.

pictures and its proverbs, has represented the tyrant Herod as the impersonation of mingled craft and violence, an aged debauchee, hideous in feature and loathsome in his passions. But monstrous as were his crimes and odious as were his vices, in which Asiatic selfishness was rendered more repulsive by the varnish of European cultivation, we must not forget that he is described to us, at least in early life, as a man of gallant bearing, handsome mien, and affable manners, gifted with talents to found a throne, and with graces not unworthy of the fairest princess of his times, the Asmonean Mariamne. This ill-fated woman united, as the grand-daughter of Aristobulus on the one side and Hyrcanus on the other, the claims of the rival branches of the Maccabean house. By obtaining her hand the son of the Idumean might hope to conciliate the obedience of the people, who still clung with unabated devotion to the scions of that glorious race. He might trust to the chances of an age of revolutions and his own unscrupulous address, to remove from his path the princes who still stood between his consort and the crown of her fathers. Through his influence with Hyrcanus the betrothal was effected while the intended bride was yet a child. But before the time arrived for the completion of the promised contract Antigonus with the aid of the Parthians had made himself master of Jerusalem, and overthrown the power of the Idumean princes. Antonius however had assured Herod of his favour, and the baffled intriguer now repaired to Rome, to represent the impolicy of leaving Judea in the hands of its most formidable rival, while he solicited for himself with lavish bribes the crown which he should be encouraged to tear from the nominee of the Parthians. The tide of fortune in the East was now turned by the great victory of Ventidius. Antonius was preparing to repeat the blow. The squadrons of Pacorus had disappeared from the western banks of the Euphrates, when Sosius appeared before the gates of Jerusalem leading Herod by the hand, and demanded the surrender of the city and the descent of Antigonus from his throne. The Jews defended

His marriage
with the
Asmonean
princess Mari-
amne.

their prince and their independence with all the constancy of their race. The Romans might now learn for the first time how desperate an enemy they had to deal with on the furthest frontier of their empire. Vast numbers were slain on both sides; but the Romans at last entered the city carrying sword and fire into its streets, and the throne of Herod was erected in a deep slough of blood and ashes, while he received his crown from the hands of the victorious imperator.¹

Herod the Great receives the kingdom of Judea from Antonius.

The brave Antigonus, fallen from his brief dream of power, was conveyed to Antioch to await the pleasure of Antonius himself. Whatever were the sentiments with which the triumvir might be disposed to regard his captive, the instances of his favourite, who was clamorous for his death, prevailed upon him to sanction this cruel injustice. His execution was accompanied with circumstances of unusual atrocity, for which history has failed to supply us with the motive. Antonius was the first of the Romans who consented to smite a king with the axe.² Perhaps this ignominious punishment was intended to brand the sufferer as a rebel and an usurper. Perhaps it was adopted in ostentatious disregard of the prescriptions of Roman policy, in token that the triumvir claimed to rule in Asia as an Oriental despot rather than the agent of an European republic. The wretched victim had been previously subjected to the cruel chastisement of the licitor's rods. The adherents of the vanquished Asmonean were visited with no more merciful fate at the hands of Herod himself. The Idumean had learnt in the school of the Roman proscriptions the two concurrent objects for which the tyrant selects his victims, the satisfaction of his vengeance and the replenishment of his coffers. The requisitions of Antonius pressed hard upon the creature of his favour, and the debt could only be discharged by a system of rapine and confiscation. The Jews, crushed to the ground under this reign of terror, gave vent to their indigna-

Herod cuts off the princes of the Asmonean family.

¹ Joseph, *Antiq.* xiv. 16.

² Dion, xlix. 22.; Joseph, *Ant.* xv. 1.

tion by the acclamations they unguardedly lavished upon the young Aristobulus, the brother of their queen Mariamne. The jealousy of Herod, already watching its moment to strike, was inflamed to a sudden resolution, and the youth was drowned, as was believed, in bathing by the ministers of the royal policy. Neither his sister nor the people were deceived by the vain pretence of sorrow, and the magnificence of the funeral which his murderer exhibited in public. But Herod was conscious that in clearing away the rival claims from the foundation of his throne, he was forfeiting irretrievably the popular regard, which the brilliancy of his court, the munificence of his public works, his bravery and his good fortune might gradually have conciliated. He became daily more and more dependent upon the protection of his Roman patron, to whose profuse expenditure he was compelled to minister by fresh exactions upon his indignant subjects. He was tortured also with apprehension from the unbounded influence of Cleopatra. The sovereigns of Judea and Egypt were rivals for the favour of the disposer of Oriental crowns, and their attention was divided between paying court to the triumvir and outwitting one another. On the one hand, the mistress was daily receiving new tokens of her lover's devotion; crowns and sceptres were showered in her lap, and the throne of Judea itself might be bartered to her in a moment of passionate fondness. On the other, the friend and ally of the triumvir held a position of real political importance on the frontier of Parthia and Arabia, while years, already arrived at their meridian, must strip his rival of her charms, or satiety pall upon them. The queen of Egypt accompanied the Roman emperor to the banks of the Euphrates, and received from him, at parting on the eve of his perilous enterprise, certain territories bordering upon the kingdom of Judea. On her return homewards she directed her route through Herod's dominions, and contrived to make a sojourn of some duration in his capital. Her pretext was the arrangement of the terms on which she should surrender to him the financial adminis-

Cleopatra
makes ad-
vances to
Herod, which
he rejects.

tration of these new acquisitions ; but she took advantage, it is said, of the opportunity to make advances to him of a different kind, hoping, in case of the defeat of her Roman lover, to secure a devoted friend in another powerful potentate.¹ Herod however was too astute a politician to fall into the snare. He knew how readily she would sacrifice him if Antonius should return victorious to her arms. At the same time he was not without apprehension of the consequence of rejecting her favours : and if we may believe the historians, he allowed it to be solemnly debated among his counsellors whether she should not be detained and put to death. This suggestion was overruled, and Cleopatra reached Alexandria in safety, soon to be rejoined by her Roman protector. Herod undertook at her desire to farm the revenues of her new possessions, an engagement which he diligently discharged.

During the years of feverish intoxication which followed, Cleopatra found no means of maturing the ambitious projects she had doubtless conceived with regard to her neighbour's dominions. The rival potentates watched and fenced with one another, uncertain whether to blend in alliance or to challenge to the combat, when the battle of Actium rudely snapped the threads of their intrigues, and reduced both to the attitude of suppliants for existence. We have seen with what different success the rulers of Egypt and Judea humbled themselves before Octavius. Herod was replaced with pomp and ceremony on the throne from which he had hastily descended to throw himself at the feet of the universal ruler. But he returned to a divided family, an estranged wife, and an indignant people. So apprehensive had he been of the consequences of his deserved unpopularity that he had not dared to quit Judea till he had secured himself by the murder of Hyrcanus against the pretensions of the Asmonean family. History hardly presents a more tragic situation than that of the devoted Mariamne, the miserable object of a furious attachment on the part of the monster who had slain before her eyes her uncle, her brother

Herod is confirmed in his sovereignty by Octavius.

¹ Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 5. 2.

and her grandfather. Herod doted upon her beauty, in which she bore away the palm from every princess of her time; the blood which flowed in her veins secured to him the throne which he had raised upon the ruins of her father's house; but her personal and political claims upon the royal regard made her doubly obnoxious to the sister of the usurper, who felt alike humiliated by either. Mariamne was imperious in temper; she despised the meaner parentage both of Herod and Salome, and was disgusted with the endearments of her husband, stained with the blood of her murdered kinsmen. She rebuked him impetuously for his barbarities, repelled his caresses and denied him his rights over her person, while she maintained inviolate against all others the dignity of her conjugal virtue.¹ Herod was apprehensive of her influence with the people, to the detriment of his own upstart family, and her resentment was inflamed by discovering that he had given orders on leaving Judea that she should be put to death in the event of his being sacrificed by Octavius. There was little need of artifice to effect the destruction of one who laid herself open so fearlessly to the wrath of a tyrant, however he might be besotted by his love. The foes of Mariamne pretended that she had plotted to poison her husband. She was seized, examined, and sentence of death formally passed upon her.

Herod's love
and jealousy of
Mariamne.

He causes her
to be put to
death.

The sentence may have been intended only to intimidate her; but its execution was urged by the jealous passions of Salome, and Herod's fears were worked upon till he consented to let the blow fall. Her misery was crowned by the craven reproaches of her mother Alexandra, who sought to escape partaking in her fate by basely cringing to the murderer. But she, the last daughter of a noble race, endured with constancy to the end, and the favour of her admiring countrymen has not failed to accord to her a distinguished place in the long line of Jewish heroines. They recorded with grim delight the tyrant's unavailing remorse, his fruitless yearnings for the victim he had sacri-

His remorse.

¹ Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 7. 4.

ficed, the plaintive exclamations he made to echo through his palace, and the passionate upbraidings with which he assailed her judges. He strove, it was said, by magical incantations to recal her spirit from the shades, and as if to drive from his mind the intolerable recollection of her loss commanded his attendants always to speak of her as one alive.¹ Whether or not the pestilence which ensued might justly be regarded as a divine judgment, the sharp disease and deep-settled melancholy which afflicted the murderer formed a signal and merited retribution for his crime.

From the time that Octavius replaced the diadem on Herod's brow, and assured him of his protection, the Idumean sought to deserve his favour by solicitous and abject compliances. We shall have occasion to revert hereafter to the affairs of Judea during the long period through which he continued to administer them. At present, in closing this chapter, it will be sufficient to say that Herod became from henceforward the foremost vassal of the Roman state, his forces the most numerous, his court the most brilliant, his obedience the most exemplary. The tribute he paid to Rome was an annual acknowledgment of the tenure by which he held his power; but it was neither meant to impoverish his own treasury nor to enrich that of his sovereigns. He continued to fill Judea with edifices in the Greek taste; he adorned Jerusalem with a spacious amphitheatre, instituted games and spectacles after the European fashion, and at a later period stood foremost in proclaiming the divinity of his great patron, and cherishing the rites of the Cæsarean cult. But at the same time he soothed the injured feelings of the native population by the magnificence with which he rebuilt their temple; though he continued to pursue his political ends with the same sanguinary barbarity as ever, he was not regardless of the general well-being of the people; and notwithstanding the manifold expenditure in which he indulged, he graciously remitted to his subjects one-third of their contributions.²

His obsequiousness to the ruler of Rome, and able government in Judea.

¹ Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 7. 7., *Bell. Jud.* i. 22. 5.

² Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 10., *Bell. Jud.* i. 21.

CHAPTER XXX.

OCTAVIUS RETURNS TO ROME, A. U. 725, B. C. 29, AND TRIUMPHS.—FESTIVALS AND REJOICINGS.—DIVINE HONOURS ARE PAID TO HIM.—PEACE RESTORED THROUGHOUT THE EMPIRE, AND THE TEMPLE OF JANUS CLOSED.—OCTAVIUS REFLECTS ON HIS POSITION: PRETENDED DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF RESIGNING POWER.—HE RECEIVES, 1. THE PREFIX OF IMPERATOR: 2. THE POTESTAS CENSORIA, BY WHICH HE RE-FORMS THE SENATE, AND TAKES THE CENSUS: 3. THE PRINCIPATE. HE OFFERS TO RESIGN THE IMPERIUM, BUT ACCEPTS IT AGAIN FOR FOUR YEARS: WITH, 4. THE PROCONSULAR POWER IN THE PROVINCES: 5. THE TITLE OF AUGUSTUS: 6. EXEMPTION FROM CERTAIN LAWS.—HIS SICKNESS.—QUESTION OF THE SUCCESSION. HE GIVES HIS RING TO AGRIPPA; BUT RECOVERS.—HE ACCEPTS, 7. THE POTESTAS TRIBUNITIA.—COMMENCEMENT OF THE MONARCHY.

WITH the slaughter of Brutus and Cassius, says the gravest of Roman historians, in commencing his review of the imperial polity, all public grounds of civil contention ceased; with the overthrow of Sextus the Pompeian faction was extinguished; and finally, on the deprivation of Lepidus and the death of Antonius, even the victorious party acknowledged no divided interests, and Octavius maintained his place without a rival at its head. The survivor of so many revolutions, the last heir of so many political testaments, dropped the irregular and odious title of triumvir. He vaunted himself consul of the republic, and pretended to wield the powers of the tribunate only to protect the commons against a revival of aristocratic ascendancy. Thenceforth he proceeded to attach to his own person the soldiers by largesses, the people by cheapness of provisions, and the nation generally by the charms of public

Tacitus's review of the position of Octavius.

tranquillity : step by step he developed his ambitious views, he drew into his own hands the functions of the senate, the magistrates, and the laws : nor did he meet with any opposition in this career, for the most independent of the nobles had perished in the wars, and the rest, advanced in wealth and honours according to the promptness of their submission, learned to prefer the security of the new regime to the dangers of a counter-revolution. Nor was the change resented by the provinces ; for to them the old rule of the senate and people had become odious from the contests of the nobles and the cupidity of their governors, against which the laws afforded them no protection, controlled as they were by force, by favour, and by corruption.¹

Such is the simple statement which I have now to illustrate and confirm. The chapters of this work next ensuing will be devoted to the task : 1. of tracing the steps by which the conqueror gathered into his hands the various offices and functions of the state : 2. of defining the nature and limits of the powers, from the combination of which resulted the imperial despotism of the Cæsars : 3. of describing the administrative system imposed upon Rome, Italy, and the provinces.

During the absence from Rome of the victor of Actium, which extended over almost two complete years from the date of that battle, the government of Italy and the city remained in the hands of the faithful and politic Mæcenas. State of Rome. We have seen that the authority of the civilian was strengthened by the presence of Agrippa, whose name was equally popular with both the army and the people ; but it was from the former probably that the acts of the administration emanated, and according to the testimony of history the labouring vessel of the state was guided into port by his policy. After the first subsidence of the storm of civil warfare Italy was still agitated by the ground-swell of popular dissatisfaction. The soldiers still murmured at the disappointment of their demands, the citizens groaned under the

¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 2.

pressure of the unexampled exactions to which they had been subjected, the ordinary course of monetary transactions had been thrown into confusion by the rapid vicissitudes of victory and defeat, and the value of all commodities unsettled by pouring into the market the hoarded treasures of a hundred temples. *Peace* was the magic word which alone the minister could employ to soothe the waves of popular discontent; no political measures would avail to retrieve at once the manifold disasters of so many years of civil contention; but in the prospect of future tranquillity balm might yet be found for the sorrows of the past and the anxieties of the present; and the policy of the statesman was directed to establishing the foundations of a permanent peace on the fears, the hopes, and all the dearest interests of society. If the state of the public mind was rife with elements of disorder for the use of the adventurer and the demagogue, not less did it supply the conservative statesman with the strongest weapons of defence.

Abortive insurrection of the younger Lepidus.

A son of the dispossessed triumvir Lepidus was tempted to conspire against the government of Octavius. His attempt was not more prosperous than that of his grandfather, who aspired to overthrow the constitution of Sulla, while it was yet warm from the anvil of the dictator's forge. Mæcenas, whose silent and unobtrusive vigilance none of the intrigues around him could escape, detected the plot and watched it unobserved, till the moment arrived for extinguishing it at a single blow. The hapless conspirator was seized and sent in chains to Octavius in the East, before it could be known what watchword he was about to inscribe upon his banner. The flatterers of the rising dynasty prognosticated an awful conflagration from the civil conflict upon which he was about to rush, and congratulated the commonwealth on its being so maturely subdued.¹ But at that moment there did not exist resources for a serious rebellion against Octavius. The master of the legions and the treasury could still allow the father to retain his life and official dignity, while he inflicted condign punishment upon the son.

¹ Vell. ii. 88.; Dion, liv. 15.; Liv. *Epit.* cxxxiii.

Octavius passed the second winter after the battle of Actium in Asia Minor, and it was there that he entered upon his fifth consulship at the opening of the year 725, in which he associated with himself a noble of no other historical distinction named Appuleius.¹ He continued to linger on the further side of the Ægean through the first half of the year, in order perhaps that the honours which the senate was disposed to lavish upon him might seem to fall spontaneously from its hands, while he was absent from the city for the defence or advancement of its highest interests. He received courier after courier bearing the successive decrees passed with acclamation in his honour. The senate graciously permitted the conqueror to wear on all public occasions the triumphal insignia, namely, a scarlet mantle and a laurel crown. A quinquennial festival was instituted in his name;² his birthday was commemorated with religious rites, and the day on which the news of his victory reached the city was marked as an auspicious epoch in the calendar. The Vestals, the senate and the people of Rome were enjoined to go forth in solemn procession to conduct him into the city when he should arrive before its gates. The priests were ordered to add the name of Octavius to the sacred formula, in their prayers for the safety of the senate and people. A decree, it is said, of much more substantial importance was proposed, by which Octavius should be invested for life with the *potestas tribunitia*, the functions and privileges of the tribunate, with some additional and extraordinary powers: but this he seems at this time to have refused; not being yet prepared to take so bold a step towards supreme dominion.

Octavius absent
from Rome,
A. U. 724.
B. C. 30.
Honours
showered upon
him.

It was resolved to raise the youthful hero at once to a level with the great warriors Pompeius and Cæsar, by assign-

¹ Dion, li. 18. Correct Suet. *Oct.* 26., "quintam in insula Samo:" he should have said "quartam."

² Dion, li. 19.; Suet. *Oct.* 59. These festivals were celebrated in the provinces, as well as in the city. Herod instituted them at Jerusalem and Cæsarea. Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 8., xvi. 5.

His triple triumph. ing him the honours of a triple triumph.¹ The successes which he had obtained over the Dalmatians, in person or by his lieutenants, furnished the subject of the first; the second was accorded to the great battle of Actium, which had broken the strength of the Egyptian aggressor, while the last commemorated the final extinction of the rivalry of the East and West before the walls of Alexandria. The name of Antonius was not associated with these discomfitures; the trophies exhibited were carefully confined to the spoils of the foreigner. Octavius triumphed on the seventh and following days of the month Sextilis, in the year 725. The spectacle of the last day was the richest and most attractive. The procession was headed by the captive children of the queen and her Roman lover; and the figure of Cleopatra herself was introduced reclining lifeless upon a couch; but the magistrates who were wont to precede or accompany the triumphal car were on this occasion directed to follow it, and mingled ignominiously with the officers of the victorious army; an innovation which might be remarked as significant of the impending predominance of military power in the state.

As soon as the emperor had sacrificed to Jupiter in the Capitol, he proceeded to dedicate a temple to Minerva, and to inaugurate in the name of the great Julius the basilica recently completed, which his uncle had commenced in the forum. In this building, which became the usual place of meeting for the senate, he placed a statue of the goddess Victory, which is mentioned as still

Dedication of
temples, games
and spectacles.

¹ The emperor triumphed for his personal successes over the Dalmatians, Pannonians, and Iapydæ; but he claimed also to share the merit of the victories of his legate C. Carrinas over the Suevi and Morini. Virgil in his picturesque allusion to these triumphs associates with these northern tribes "the indomitable Dahæ and Araxes that spurns a bridge." It was only by a poetical licence that the compliments of the rude chieftains of the Caspian or the Caucasus could be interpreted into tokens of submission. Carrinas was associated in this triumph with his emperor. It was remarked that his father had been slain by Sulla, and his family proscribed and disqualified from public service. Dion, li. 21.

standing there two centuries later, and was in all probability the same which was finally removed from those august precincts by the Christian emperor Gratianus, amidst the indignant murmurs of the pagans of Rome.¹ Octavius now dedicated also the shrine of the hero Julius, which had been erected on the spot of his cremation.² This and other temples he decorated with the spoils of Egypt. He entered from this period on the restoration of the decayed or ruined fanes of the national divinities in the city; he encouraged his courtiers to imitate his example in the same politic course;³ and it was only a few years later that the favourite poet of the court could speak of three hundred shrines consecrated by his

¹ This famous statue had been brought at an earlier period from Tarentum to Rome. (Dion, li. 22.) On the death of Octavius it was removed from its pedestal and carried before his funeral bier. (Suet. *Oct.* 101.) The altar which stood in front of it is mentioned by Herodian, writing of the reign of the emperor Gordianus, Herodian, vii. 28. The struggle of the pagans to preserve it, as the palladium of their ancient faith, is illustrated in the address of Symmachus to the emperor A. D. 384, and the replies of the bishop Ambrosius and the poet Prudentius.

² Cæsar's body was consumed in front of the pontifical mansion, that is, at the south-eastern extremity of the Roman forum, where it begins to descend from the Velia and the arch of Titus. The temple faced the Capitoline, and its position must be nearly that of the existing church of S. Francesco Romana, which is said to occupy the site of an older edifice dedicated to S. Maria. Both these later structures may possibly have risen on the foundation of the temple of Julius. For the position of this temple compare Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 841. :—

“Ut semper Capitolia nostra forumque
Divus ab excelsa prospectet Julius æde.”

And again, *Ex Pont.* ii. 2. 85.,

“Fratribus assimilis quos proxima templa tenentes
Divus ab excelsa Julius æde videt.”

The “loftiness” of this temple refers both to its commanding position, and also to the substruction (*κρηπίς*, Dion, li. 19.) on which the columns were raised.

³ Suet. *Oct.* 29. : “Sed et cæteros principes viros sæpe hortatus est, ut pro facultate quisque monumentis vel novis vel relictis et exculitis urbem adornaret; multaque a multis exstructa sunt.” He continues, “A. M. Agrippa vero complura et egregia.” Comp. Vell. ii. 89.; Senec. *de Benef.* iii. 32.

patron to the gods of Italy.¹ A succession of splendid spectacles followed. A troop of patrician children rehearsed the Game of Troy, an equestrian exercise remembered in the eighth century of the city by antiquarians only. A senator named Vintelius fought publicly as a gladiator. The rhinoceros and hippopotamus, then first seen at Rome, were slaughtered in the amphitheatre. Bands of Dacians and Sueves, captured on the Gaulish or Thracian frontier, the former at least a name yet hardly known to the conquerors of the civilized world, were compelled to combat and destroy each other in the arena. On one day in the course of these festivities, the senators, it is recorded, supped each apart in the vestibule of his own mansion; but the motive of this stately observance was forgotten in the time of Dion.

Octavius now addressed to his soldiers an harangue, in which he lavished encomiums on his most illustrious officers, and proceeded to gratify them with suitable rewards. Upon Agrippa, whom he justly distinguished above all his comrades, he conferred the decoration of a cerulean banner, in token of his naval victory. One thousand sesterces were assigned to each of the veterans of his numerous legions;² four hundred were allotted to every private citizen, and in this general largess children were for the first time included. Profuse in his liberality to his dependants, he was moderate in his demands upon his subjects. He declined the coronary gold proffered to him by the Italian states, and while he scrupulously discharged the debts and pledges he had incurred, he refrained from demanding the dues to which he was himself entitled. The conqueror of Egypt could afford to be generous. The lavish expenditure of Cleopatra had not sufficed to exhaust the hoarded treasures of her ancestors: but the masses of

Effect of the
plunder of tem-
ples in the
civil wars upon
the circulation
of money.

¹ Virgil, *Æn.* viii. in fin., "Dîs Italis." Octavius himself records the building or restoration of ninety-five temples in all (*Mon. Ancyr.* iv.; Comp Dion, liii. 2.); but the three hundred shrines referred to are probably the *ædiculæ*, or chapels, of the Lares in each vicus.

² They amounted to 120,000. Vide *Monum. Ancyr.* iii. 17.

gold and silver bullion which the victor had torn from the palaces and temples of Alexandria must have far exceeded the coined money in value. When he poured into the Roman market this uncounted wealth, estates and commodities were doubled in nominal value, and the interest of money at the same time sank two thirds.¹ A similar disturbance in the money market had been observed during the dictatorship of Julius Cæsar. The Roman economists, led away by the splendour of the great captain's military successes, had attributed this effect to the treasure which he was supposed to have introduced into the city from Gaul. There is no reason, however, to suppose that the wealth of the barbarians had sufficed for much more than paying the expenses of their conqueror's campaigns. He enriched his followers with the spoils of war, but he did not return himself full-handed to Italy. As soon as he became master of Rome he found himself compelled to rifle the treasury of the temple of Saturn to obtain the necessary resources for maintaining his legions. We are informed, incredible as it may appear, that at the commencement of the Social wars the public treasury contained hoards to the amount of seventy millions of our money,² and if we could suppose that the masses of the precious metals which Metellus, Lucullus, and Pompeius paraded in their triumphs were faithfully deposited and as faithfully preserved there, we might presume that this sum had been more than doubled when Cæsar laid his impious hands upon it.³ There is no collateral evidence, however, that the con-

¹ Suet. *Octav.* 41.: "Invecta urbi regia gaza tantam rei nummarie copiam fecit ut fenore deminuto plurimum agrorum pretiis accesserit." Dion, li. 21.: ὥστε τὰ μὲν κτήματα ἐπιτιμηθῆναι, τὰ δὲ δανείσματα, ἀγαπήτως ἐπὶ δραχμῇ πρότερον ὄντα, τότε ἐπὶ τῷ τριτημορίῳ αὐτῆς γενέσθαι. Oros. vi. 19.: "Roma in tantum opibus aucta est, ut propter abundantiam pecuniarum, duplicia quam usque ad id fuerant possessionum aliarumque rerum venalium pretia statuerentur."

² Pliny, *H. N.* xxxiii. 17. He mentions the gold only, which amounted to 1,620,829 lbs. The Roman pound of gold = 40 aurei, or about 42 of our sovereigns.

³ Lucean, iii. 155. Orosius (vi. 15.) states the amount of gold seized by

queror of Rome became thus suddenly possessed of enormous wealth. The armies which he maintained were comparatively small in number; the cost of his public works had already been for the most part defrayed: nor, on the other hand, is it probable that the government he overthrew had abstained from dipping into the public coffers, to defray the vast civil and military expenses which it had incurred since the time of Sulla. In fact, the temple of Saturn was only one of many sacred treasuries which were plundered in the campaigns of the period. Crassus and Pompeius had rifled the hoards of Jerusalem, Cæsar himself had plundered Gades, Scipio had lived for two years at free quarters in Asia Minor. After the death of the dictator, Brutus and Cassius had spoiled all the Eastern provinces in succession; Octavius, and more particularly Antonius, had gleaned the remains of this harvest, which had fed the twenty legions of their rivals. The plunder of Alexandria was only the crowning spoliation of a series of robberies extending through many years, and perpetrated in turn by the hands of every Roman emperor. The temples of the ancient world were the banks in which private possessors deposited their most precious effects. Vast quantities of plate and jewellery were probably amassed in them; and the necessities of war must frequently have required these to be melted down and coined into money according to their intrinsic value for the daily pay of clamorous legionaries. It was not the spoils of Gaul then, nor the plunder of the national treasury, that enhanced so enormously the circulation of gold and silver at this period, but the systematic distribution of the hoarded wealth of the East and West. The effect thus produced upon prices, we may easily conceive, fell short in no degree of that which is recorded of it. It would doubt-

Cæsar at 4,135,000 lbs. = about 170,000,000*l*. Pliny gives the amount in ingots: "C. Cæsar primo introitu urbis in civili bello suo ex ærario protulit laterum aureorum xxv. m. argenteorum xxxv., et in numerato quadringenties centena millia sestertium. Nec fuit aliis temporibus respublica locupletior." (Plin. *l. c.*) I have intimated however in the text that I do not believe anything like this amount of treasure was found in the temple of Saturn. Comp. Dureau de la Malle, *Econ. Polit. des Romains*, i. 91.

less have been much greater, but for the practice, which in such disturbed times must have been extremely common, of concealing money and valuables. The existence of such a practice undoubtedly requires no proof, but it is illustrated by an interesting discovery of buried coins near Fiesole, the Roman *Fæsulæ*, the dates of which extend to the consulship of Cicero, and no later. At the close of that year, it will be remembered, Catilina was scouring the hills of Etruria, and many a Roman colonist or Etruscan freebooter may have thrust his pot of money underground, there to await the event of the impending revolution.

During the emperor's fourth consulate, in the year preceding his return from the East, Statilius Taurus had erected, after the example of Pompeius, a theatre of stone in the Field of Mars. The people of Rome might now deem their amusements a part of the permanent charge of the government. They expressed their gratitude by allowing their benefactor to nominate one of the prætors annually, a privilege, indeed, which it was no longer theirs to confer, nor his to exercise. But the Roman citizens observed without alarm the shadows of tyranny beginning to close around them. The enhancement of prices, which they might have felt more sensibly, hardly touched a populace whose subsistence and diversions were provided by the state. A vast proportion of the higher classes had been enlisted in the legions, and these were for the most part seduced into acquiescence by the wages of their military service. Those who remained to suffer by the economical results of the revolution, became the more dependent upon the favour of their ruler, and scrambled the more eagerly for the emoluments of civil employment, which he distributed with politic liberality. All eyes were turned in admiring expectation upon the fountain from whence these golden rivers flowed. Octavius became the idol of the glowing imaginations which anticipated a reign of universal riches attendant upon universal peace. The Romans heard without dismay that their patron and preserver had permitted the

Divine honours
paid to Octa-
vius.

people of Ephesus and Nicæa to erect temples in honour of the associated deities of Rome and Julius, and even that he had enjoined Roman citizens abroad to pay them divine honours.¹ They noticed with complacency that he had restricted the worship of himself alone to Greeks and Asiatics: but the extravagance of flattery soon subdued all remaining scruples. Philosophy and morality were impotent to resist; and the pride of equality, the last barrier of reason, gave way before the acknowledged supremacy of a living mortal. Among the Romans themselves the adoration of the Cæsar was veiled perhaps at first in the recesses of private dwellings; but the remark of Dion, that no personage of consideration ever worshipped a living emperor in Rome or Italy, can hardly be maintained in the face of the compliments which were paid to their patron by Virgil and Horace, not to mention the grosser adulation of later times.²

The second of the civil wars which was consummated by the triumph of Octavius, had lasted through a period of twenty years, dating from the passage of the Rubicon in the year of the city 705. With the reconciliation of internal dissensions all foreign quarrels were buried in oblivion, universal peace was restored, the fury of arms was lulled to sleep in every quarter, the laws recovered their force, the tribunals their authority, the senate its majesty, the powers of the magistrates returned to their ancient limits.³ Such was the glowing language of the panegyrists of the Cæsarean house; but they echoed faithfully the solemn accents of the national decrees. The cry of the whole nation was for peace, and the government took advantage of the general enthusiasm to inaugurate the cessation of hostilities by an impressive religious ceremony. The temple of Janus, on

¹ It was not unusual to erect temples even to the proconsuls in the provinces. Suet. *Oct.* 52.

² Dion, li. 20.; Virg. *Georg.* iii. 16.; Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1. 15. Comp. Ovid, *x Pont.* iv. 9. 105.

³ Vell. ii. 89.: "Finita vicesimo anno bella civilia, sepulta externa, revocata pax, sopitus ubique armorum furor, restituta vis legibus, judiciis auctoritas, senatui majestas, imperium magistratum ad pristinum redactum modum."

the border of the Roman Forum, stood constantly with open doors. The origin of this usage was lost in remote antiquity; but at the close of the first Punic war there existed a tradition, that Janus had never been shut except in time of peace; and it was confidently affirmed that no such blissful era had dawned upon the martial city since the tranquil reign of its lawgiver Numa. In the year 725 of the city the senate decreed that this temple should be closed for the third time by Octavius. In its zeal to assign a distinction, which was now regarded as a merit, to the victorious emperor, it refused to recognise the existence of the petty disturbances of Spain, or on the Gallic frontier, where his lieutenants were still engaged in obscure and desultory warfare. Octavius enumerated the closing of the gates of Janus among his most honourable, as it was undoubtedly one of his most popular, achievements; and so much was he pleased with the favour it obtained from the citizens, that he performed the same ceremony again on two subsequent occasions.²

When the excitement attendant upon these spectacles and ceremonies had subsided, both the Roman people and the new master they had admitted within their walls had leisure to meditate upon the future. Octavius felt that the pretexts upon which he had taken the command of the legions were fully satisfied. He had avenged the murder of the Marian champion; all the conspirators against Cæsar had perished by the sword. He had defended the state from foreign invasion, and trodden on the prostrate neck of the enemy. Some humble advances on the part of the Parthians might be accepted as an instalment, at least, of the reparation due for the disaster of Carrhæ. The closing of the temple of Janus

Closing of the
Temple of Ja-
nus.

The Romans
and their mas-
ter reflect upon
their position
towards each
other.

¹ Liv. i. 19.; Vell. ii. 38. 89, 90.; Flor. iv. 12.; Suet. Oct. 22.

² *Monum. Ancy.* ii. 42.: "Quumque a condita urbe Janum Quirinum bis omnino clausum fuisse prodatur, eum senatus per me Principem ter claudendum esse decrevit." It has been doubted whether the word *ter* be not a mistake or an abbreviation for *tertio*. But Dion alludes to the two subsequent occasions, A. U. 729 and 744. Dion, liii. 26., liv. 36. Comp. Oros vi. 22.

indicated that the state reposed peacefully under the laurels its champion had gained for it, and required no longer the protection of his sword. Hitherto he had acted with the studied moderation of a republican patriot. Though consecrated by the example of his illustrious uncle ready to his hand, he had abstained from demanding the title of dictator; he had laid down the extraordinary office of triumvir at the moment when its appointed object seemed to be attained. Thenceforth he had remained content with the consulship, the cornerstone of freedom and law. Armed with the powers of this popular office, which, while jealously limited within the city, conferred in the provinces and on the frontiers almost boundless authority, Octavius had disposed the affairs of the empire beyond the seas at his own discretion, and surrounded himself with an enormous military force. The senate, in the exercise of its legitimate functions, confirmed all the acts of his foreign and domestic policy: every step he had taken had been carefully adapted to acknowledged precedent, and admitted an apology from constitutional usage. Meanwhile, the adulation of his grateful countrymen threatened to transgress in every direction the strict form to which he so studiously confined himself. He feared to be hurried over the boundaries of law by the pressure of popular acclamation. The concentration in his hand of all the powers of the sword, which, by their dispersion among several rivals, had hitherto preserved the balance of the state, seemed to point to the dictatorship as the natural summit of his ambition. But he was deeply impressed by the fate of his great predecessor, to whom he confessed his own inferiority in fame, in favour, and perhaps in genius. In the height of his power and popularity Julius had perished, because the personal envy of his associates could be cloaked under the guise of resistance to tyranny. The conspiracy against him had been headed by his dearest and most trusted friend; and Octavius, secure in the devotion of the national will, might tremble at the specious pretences of the private assassin. He had resolved deliberately from the first to win supremacy and to keep it; he would not now thwart the

settled purpose of his life by surrendering the preeminence he had attained, and throwing the prize into the forum for his rivals to scramble for. The people of Rome were at the moment determined to have a chief ruler, whom they regarded as a pledge of public tranquillity ; and the succession of Julius would undoubtedly have devolved by popular acclamation upon a Lepidus, or an Agrippa, if its hereditary claimant renounced his pretensions. Indeed, in the second recast of the imperial drama, Agrippa might seem to play the part of Brutus to the Cæsar of Octavius. The trusty friend and officer of the emperor might still wear a poniard under his robe, to be drawn in any moment of dissatisfaction or jealousy. Cæsar, it was surmised, had judged Brutus worthy to inherit from himself ; and the reputation of Agrippa as a soldier and a statesman, together with the regard in which he was held by the citizens and the legionaries, might point him out to the people as fittest to succeed or supplant Octavius. Indeed, it was only in birth and family connexions that his chief was superior to him. These accidental merits might be thrown into the shade by a strong personal claim to popular admiration ; by pretending to a more genuine republican spirit and disparaging the dubious merit of descent from the dictator, the lieutenant might take, in general regard, the place of the emperor himself.

Accordingly, among the various motives which might combine to induce Octavius to veil his supremacy under the forms of the republic, not the least cogent, we may imagine, was the position of his friend. The common tradition of antiquity, that Agrippa was at heart a republican, is founded probably on a consciousness of the demands of his political situation. It was currently reported that Octavius after his return to Rome deliberated seriously whether or not he should resign his preeminence ; and tradition, faithful to its conception of the character of the soldier-statesman, represented him as earnestly exhorting his chief to sacrifice his personal ambition at the shrine of the general weal. The rhetorical taste

Pretended debate between Octavius and his advisers whether he should resign the supreme power.

of the historian Dion eagerly seized the opportunity for an ingenious array of arguments suitable to the occasion. He introduces a supposed debate in the private recesses of the imperial palace, in which Agrippa and Mæcenâs respectively counsel their master, the one to relinquish the monarchy, the other to retain it.¹ Modern criticism has justly concluded that these elaborate harangues are pure inventions of the writer. That attributed to Agrippa is in substance ill-conceived, for it confines the supposed patriot's argument mainly to the question of personal ease and security, and recommends resignation simply as a measure of precaution. But the speech ascribed to Mæcenâs is a composition of a higher order; and though it is written on the misconception that the rule of Octavius was a definite monarchical system approaching to that of Commodus, it is not the less valuable as an authentic development of the imperial constitution in the second or third century. Indeed the writer is himself partly conscious that the organization of the commonwealth, suggested, as he pretends, by Mæcenâs, was not fully carried out under the principate of his patron. After giving in minute details the various regulations under which the private council of the emperor, the senate, the knights, the magistrates, the army and the provinces, were ultimately constituted, he adds, that Octavius, while he fully approved his friend's advice, deferred from motives of policy its complete execution, and left indeed many of his recommendations to be effected by his successors in the supreme power.

We shall hardly believe that the undisputed master of the republic at the age of thirty-three seriously debated within himself whether he should descend from the elevation to which he had dared to aspire at nineteen. That he may have allowed such a notion to get abroad may not be improbable; but his private counsels with Agrippa and Mæcenâs, who knew him too well to be deceived by any specious pretensions to republican virtue, were undoubtedly devoted to rearing the edifice of legitimate

Octavius resumes the prefix of imperator.²

¹ Dion, lii. 1-40.

power on the basis of military force. The army which followed the triumphal car through the streets of Rome was not disbanded when the procession had reached its goal. The emperor still kept his place at the head of the legions, and retained the imperium or military authority which it was usual to surrender into the hands of the senate. But Cæsar had been permitted to wield the imperium permanently, in token of which the title of emperor was prefixed to his name. The precedent once established, it was easy to resort to it again, and the senate readily sanctioned the adoption of this peculiar distinction by Cæsar's successor, who had in strictness an hereditary claim to it.¹ Thus the permanent command-in-chief of all the military forces of the state was conferred upon Octavius before the close of the year 725. Almost at the same time he was invested with functions of another nature, namely, the powers, without the title, of the censorship.² The new master of the Roman people was anxious to restore the mutilated and degraded senate of Julius and Antonius to a portion at least of its ancient estimation. The numbers of this once august body of nobles, limited in the later ages of the republic to six hundred, had been increased by the dictator to nine hundred, and still further indefinitely augmented by Antonius. Decimated by the sword of the proscriptions, its vacancies had probably been again supplied by many unauthorized intruders; for it is stated that its numbers at the restoration of peace were found to exceed a thousand.³ In dignity, in fortune, perhaps in age, the qualifications of a large proportion fell below the standard required by law. Foreigners, common soldiers, and freedmen, had been enrolled in it almost indiscriminately, even slaves, freed for the occasion, had been advanced to it, and the proscrip-

¹ According to the tenor of the decree, by which, if we may believe Dion, the "prænomen Imperatoris" was conferred not only upon Cæsar, but upon his children and his posterity. Dion, *xlili.* 44., *lii.* 41.

² Suet. *Oct.* 27. Dion speaks of him as actually censor (*lii.* 42.), but this is not to be pressed strictly.

³ Dion, *l. c.*

tion had spared precisely those members who conferred upon it least respectability. The policy of the new ruler demanded that the acts of his government should be administered through the hands of this body: the senate under the Cæsarean regime was to impersonate the state; and the great mass of the Roman people, restrained from the actual functions and honours of government, was to see itself reflected in this ancient and venerable order. It was necessary therefore to impart to it dignity corresponding to this exalted destination. To accomplish this end it was requisite that the body should be thoroughly renovated. It had been the function of the censors, under the republic, to choose new members periodically to replace vacancies in the senate, and examine the circumstances and character of the existing members, with a view to the expulsion of the unworthy. A notable instance of its exercise occurred in the year 704, in the censorship of Appius Claudius. But the grave responsibility of an office, worthy of the purest days of the republic, had been prostituted in the corruption of the age to mere personal or party views. The Romans were little disposed to entrust an office so delicate and invidious to the minister of a political faction. They offered it to Octavius, as the man who alone could execute it without fear or partiality. He accepted it

He accepts the powers of the censorship, and purges the senate of unworthy members.

in substance, while, on considerations apparently of technical form, he declined the title appertaining to it.¹ He associated Agrippa in the office with himself; and herein we may suspect a sinister motive; for its vigorous exercise was sure to create disgust and disaffection among many personages not destitute of weight and influence, and it was a crafty stroke of policy to commit a possible rival to hostility with them. Octavius made Agrippa his instrument for eliminating the most staunch republicans from the assembly, through which he proposed to rule with absolute sovereignty. But he proceeded cautiously, and with great show of moderation. In the first instance he

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 27. The censorship was held to be incompatible with the consulship

allowed such among the senators as were conscious of their want of desert, or of their compromised position, to withdraw spontaneously from the assembly. When, in his place in the curia, he called upon the members to consider their own lives and birth, and judge for themselves whether they were fit for the illustrious college, fifty of the number at once understood the hint, and quitted the place of assembly to return no more. But the wielder of the censorship was not yet satisfied. Upon further examination he struck off as many as one hundred and forty more names from the list, and those only who had withdrawn of their own accord did he permit to retain through life the insignia of the order. The ejected members indeed resented with loud murmurs the severe measure which was dealt to them. Octavius pretended to require the defence of an escort of his most faithful followers, and even wore a corslet under his toga in the assembly.¹ Upon the termination of the inquiry he issued an edict forbidding all persons of senatorial rank to quit Italy without his express permission; he feared the disaffection which might be excited by his discontented nobles in the provinces.² Over all whose ill-will he had cause to apprehend he kept constant watch, and while he publicly asserted that he had committed the correspondence of Antonius to the flames, it was well known that he preserved for the most part and diligently studied it.

The censorial power thus added to the other functions of the imperator and consul might cause Octavius to be regarded as the fountain of honours and advancement. The new and perhaps even the older senators could not fail to regard him as the author of their dignity: at the same time he undertook to supply the vacancies which twenty years of slaughter had made in the ranks of the patricians. The civil wars had drained the life-blood of

He is regarded
as the fountain
of honour.

Suet. *Oct.* 35. : "Cordus Cremutius scribet ne admissum quidem tunc quenquam senatorum nisi solum et prætentato sinu."

¹ Dion, *l. c.* This regulation continued long in force. Sicily and the Narbonensis were alone excepted from it; the latter at a later period. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 23.

the oldest and noblest families of Rome. The various religious rites which were attached to these venerable houses became extinguished with them. It was necessary to repair the loss and redeem the scandal. Octavius obtained a law, passed in the regular form, to enable him to call up many plebeian families into the patrician gentes.¹ While he thus affected to restore the hereditary distinctions of the state to their ancient splendour, he was in fact making such honours more cheap and promiscuous, and thereby, as he clearly saw, widening the gulf which already lay between the master of the Romans and his dependent nobility. The eyes of the citizens were averted from an order which had lost the charm of ancestral dignity, and fixed with more admiring gaze on the hand which could depress the lofty or exalt the lowly at its will.

In the year 726 Octavius claimed a sixth consulship, in which he associated himself with Agrippa. His conduct was truly *civil* as the Romans expressed it; such, that is, as befitted a good and loyal citizen. He shared the ensigns of office with his colleague, after the simple fashion of the genuine republic, assuming the fasces himself only each alternate month.² At the expiration of his term he modestly gave account of the discharge of his duties, and declared upon oath that he had not transgressed the just limits of his functions. He continued to exercise the power of the censorship; and this year he numbered the Roman people, an act of authority which the government had omitted to perform for a period of forty-two years.³ The result of this inquiry gave the number of four million and sixty-three thousand citizens of the military age, that is, from seventeen to sixty years, which represents a total of more than seventeen millions of both sexes.⁴ This was an enormous advance

Octavius takes
a census of the
Roman people.

Tact. *Ann.* xi. 25.

¹ Dion (liii. 1.) says that the consuls shared the fasces equally throughout the year. Hoeck corrects this statement on the authority of ancient usage.

² *Monum. Ancyrae*. ii. 1.

⁴ See Clinton's calculations, *Fast. Hell.* iii. 461. This enumeration com

upon the numbers which had been published on the last similar occasion. The citizens, it may be presumed, did not estimate with precision the different bases on which preceding calculations had been made, and they were doubtless filled with admiration when they heard it announced officially that the Roman people had increased eightfold through forty-two years of dissension and bloodshed. Some part of the glory of this result might seem to redound upon the fortunate hero of the nation who had taken the census. The Romans were now eager to confer new honours upon their favourite. It was the function of the censors, on the completion of their solemn duty, to select from the number of those who had previously served the same office one whose acknowledged merits and distinctions might point him out as fittest to lead the assembled fathers by his vote and counsel. Since the death of the illustrious Catulus there had been no first man, or prince, as he was termed, of the senate. Agrippa now exercised his censorial power in naming his colleague to that distinguished place, which, while it conferred no direct authority upon him, could not fail by its indirect influence to smooth his path to the principedom of the people.¹

And is appointed *princeps* or first of the senate.

Meanwhile the usurper exerted himself to keep pace in acts of popular munificence with the honours which were showered upon him. In his sixth consulship he celebrated at Rome the Actian festival in commemoration of his great victory, and exhibited

Liberality and magnanimity of his conduct.

prehends the citizens dispersed throughout the provinces. The census in the year 684 had given four hundred and fifty thousand citizens of military age. The franchise at this period had been already extended to the Italians, and this number is manifestly inadequate to represent the whole free population of the peninsula. But the admission of the Italians made but a trifling addition to the numbers of the census. The enumeration of the lustrum was confined perhaps under the republic to the citizens who could present themselves before the censors in the city. Under the empire it was executed throughout Italy and the provinces by the help of local machinery.

¹ Dion, liii. 1. The full significance and influence of this title will be explained in the next chapter.

games and shows to the people, intoxicated with the repeated draught of insidious flattery. The public treasury, so lately filled to overflowing with the spoils of the East, was already exhausted ; but Octavius defrayed the cost at his own private expense. With similar liberality he this year increased four-fold the customary largess of corn.¹ While he thus courted the favour of the mass of the citizens his generosity was not less diligently displayed in giving aid to poor members of the senate, and to men of families whose circumstances would not allow them to undertake the costly magistracies of the state. He remitted at the same time with certain exceptions all arrears of public dues, and burnt the documents relating to them.² To the state he made compensation for this sacrifice from his own funds. There was no less generosity, of another kind, in rescinding many enactments of the triumvirate, which bore with harshness and injustice upon particular citizens. A single magnanimous edict swept away all that remained of the iniquitous legislation of that reign of terror. At the same time, the example and earnest exhortations of the imperator induced many of the principal nobles to undertake the execution of splendid works for the decoration of the city. Agrippa and Pollio, Statilius and Philippus, Plancus and Balbus, vied with each other in paying court to their patron by this well-timed munificence, which the public could no longer claim from them. Octavius consecrated the famous temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill ;³ which, besides its dazzling columns of Parian marble,⁴ was renowned for the library which he there collected for the use of the citizens. Nothing could exceed the outward signs of prosperity which attended the foundation of the new constitution of Rome. Amidst the acclamations of the people,

He consecrates
the temple of
Apollo on the
Palatine.

¹ Dion, liii. 2.

² Dion, *l. c.* ; Suet. *Oct.* 32.

³ This temple was built on a part of the site of the founder's private mansion : a portion of this dwelling had been consumed by lightning, and the augurs declared that the god demanded the spot for his own. Suet. *Oct.* 29.

⁴ Virg. *Æn.* viii. in fin. :

“Ipse sedens niveo candentis limine Phœbi.”

the gratitude of the nobles, and the zealous services of his associates and ministers, Octavius might tread the ground firmly and feel his footing sure. He effected a closer union between himself and his colleague by giving him his sister's daughter Marcella in marriage.¹ It was a measure of precaution, perhaps, not less than a mark of favour.

As Octavius felt himself more secure of his countrymen's regard, he ventured to affect magnanimity of a still higher kind. The imperium had been conferred upon him without any limitation in point of time: the citizens in their enthusiasm had invested their

Octavius offers
to resign the
imperium.

champion with powers only second to those of a dictator, without even the ordinary guarantees for their speedy cessation. The politic usurper was apprehensive of the jealousy which would succeed to this boundless confidence when the first ardour of their affection should cool. He had caused himself to be appointed consul for the seventh time for the year 727: but on the first of January he offered in a solemn address to the senate to resign the imperial functions into the hands of his indulgent patrons. Such then was the result of the private deliberations of which the city had already been apprised. Octavius was prepared, forsooth, to restore the independence of the commonwealth. The imperial rule was an ensign of war: but the emperor had shut the temple of Janus. Every public enemy had fallen before him; every citizen had been preserved; every province secured; every ally satisfied. The champion of the state had fought for the interests of Rome, nor had he ever proposed to advance his own dignity beyond the legitimate bounds of constitutional precedent. If the peculiar circumstances of the times had surrounded his person with extraordinary distinctions, if all the legions of Cæsar and Pompeius, of Brutus and Antonius, had arrayed themselves under the banner of the last survivor of the civil wars, he at least could not forget the duties of a citizen, nor would he shrink from the sacrifice which patriot-

¹ Marcella, daughter of Octavia by her first husband C. Marcellus, consul
▲ *τ.* 704. *Plut. Anton.* 87.; *Dion.* liii. 1.; *Suet. Oct.* 63.

ism demanded. Duty, he continued, commanded him to resign his military supremacy; his personal safety counselled the same course; the toils and troubles he had undergone had exhausted the vigour of his youth, and his failing health reminded him that a power which might be wielded for a moment in the excitement of a political crisis, was a burden exceeding, under ordinary circumstances, the strength of man. In replacing his trust in the hands of the commonwealth, he depended upon her wisdom and firmness, under the sanctions of the law, for the preservation of public order at home and dominion abroad, which by divine favour his victorious arms had obtained for her. Such was probably the tone of the wily politician's address. The garb in which the historian Dion has invested it, is evidently borrowed from the ideas of a much later age, and we are not to imagine that Octavius proposed in direct terms to surrender a throne and a sceptre, and exchange an acknowledged despotism for popular independence and legal equality.¹

The historian just referred to has analysed with much ingenuity the feelings with which the Romans beheld this unexpected manœuvre. Doubtless many of them, and those in truth the wisest and most far-sighted, shuddered at the prospect which it pretended to open. They foresaw that the descent of their champion from his actual preeminence would only reopen the question of a century of civil war, what man or what party should bear rule in Rome. Whether the heir of the dictator had really usurped the powers which he wielded, whether he had seized them by force or extorted them by flattery, or whether in fact they had been thrust upon him, restitution was no longer possible. It was not in the power of the emperor himself to restore the commonwealth to the position she occupied only

The Romans
insist upon his
retaining it.

¹ Dion, l. ii. 3-12. Comp. Suet. *Oct.* 28.: "De reddenda republica his cogitavit: primo post oppressum statim Antonium ac rursus tædio valetudinis." Seneca, *de Brev. Vitæ*, c. 5.: "D. Augustus cui dii plura quam ulli præstiterunt, non desit quietem sibi precari, vacationem a republ. petere. Omnis ejus sermo ad hoc semper revolutus est, ut sibi pararet otium."

fifteen years before, when the trumpets were sounding under the walls of Mutina, still less to roll time and circumstance seven years further back, when Cæsar's Gallic coursers stemmed the waters of the Rubicon. The double process of exhaustion and infusion had drained the senate of its best blood, and replenished it with weaker and impurer life. It had forfeited all claim to guide the counsels of the people; and the people itself had undergone a similar transmutation, and, while it had learned to disdain the prescriptive authority of its patrician chieftains, had acquired no independent principles of political action. The Roman nation at the close of the Julian revolution, without organic life or spontaneous motion, lay supine and plastic in the hands of the most powerful. The work of destruction was fully accomplished; exhausted of the ideas and spirit of the past, the antiquated forms of the republic were incapable of any reconstructive effort. Some at least of Octavius's hearers may have been conscious of all this: others again, less far-sighted as politicians, may have looked not less deeply into the recesses of the human heart, and refused to believe in his sincerity. Nor were there wanting, perhaps, others who checked the acclamations which rose to their lips, through fear of deterring him from his purpose by the readiness of their acceptance. Meanwhile the agents who were acquainted, or believed themselves acquainted, with his real wishes, played upon the hopes, the fears, and the admiration of the multitude, and failed not to guide the popular sentiment into the channel to which he tacitly pointed. The senators with one voice entreated their magnanimous patron to retain the powers they had entrusted to him for their benefit. Either part was discreetly played; the illusion on each side duly felt or feigned; and when the chief actor came forward to acknowledge the plaudits of his audience and submit himself to the expressed wishes of the people, the curtain had already fallen upon the last scene of the revolutionary drama.

The imperium or chief military command was thus thrust back upon Octavius; but he could only be prevailed on to ac

He is prevailed on to resume it for a term of ten years with proconsular power, and divides the government of the provinces with the senate.

cept it for a specified period of ten years. Neither in extent nor duration did this command imply a monarchical autocracy; nor was it so understood either by the nation or its chosen chief. What Octavius acquired by this pretended resignation was in fact simply a legal confirmation of his military authority in Rome and the provinces. But while he limited it in duration to a prescribed period, he also restricted it in extent to a certain portion of the national dominions. He selected from the list of the entire provinces such as from their position or character seemed most to require the vigour of military control. These he reserved for his own government; the rest he handed over to the senators, to be ruled by officers in their sole appointment. This division seemed to surrender to the senate the riches of the wealthiest portions of the empire, as well as those most easily governed; while the emperor assigned to himself the harder and less grateful task of defending the least secure and bridling the most unruly. In resuming the government of these provinces for ten years he caused it to be understood that he hoped in that interval more effectually to protect or more thoroughly to subjugate them, and that he would be ready on its expiration to resign them once more and for ever. We shall see that the time for such resignation never actually arrived; the term of military command was periodically renewed throughout the life of its first holder; and even his successors, long after the perpetuity of their supreme authority was virtually guaranteed to them, still continued to preserve a memorial of its first establishment in the quinquennial or decennial festivals with which they repeatedly inaugurated it.¹ But the nascent emperor, if Octavius may now be so designated, obtained at least one conspicuous ensign of royalty in the formal institution of a guard of ten cohorts for his personal service, which was still more closely attached to him by double the legionaries' pay.²

¹ Dion, liii. 16.

Dion, liii. 12.

The master and his subjects continued to rival each other in demonstrations of mutual confidence and self-sacrifice. But the favours of the one were specious and illusory, while those of the other, even when they seemed to refer only to names and titles, were, in fact, substantial realities. Octavius had warily declined any of the recognised designations of sovereign rule. Antonius had abolished the dictatorship; his successor respected the acclamations with which the people had greeted this decree. The voices which had saluted Cæsar with the title of king were peremptorily commanded to be dumb. Yet Octavius was fully aware of the influence which attached to distinctive titles of honour. While he scrupulously renounced the names upon which the breath of human jealousy had blown, he conceived the subtler policy of creating another for himself, which, borrowing its original splendour from his own character, should reflect upon him an untarnished lustre. Some of the counsellors to whom his secret wishes were communicated suggested to him the name of Quirinus or of Romulus. To assume the title of the divine author of the Roman race was too bold a step for the wariest of statesmen: but it is said that Octavius would gladly have accepted the designation of the founder of the city. But he remembered that the son of Rhea had been the first of a line of kings; and such an association of ideas might prove fatal to his policy. To the epithet Augustus, which was next proposed, no such objection could attach. The name was intact; it had never been borne by any man before, and Octavius required the influence of no other man's name to recommend his own. But the adjunct, though never given to a man, had been applied to things most noble, most venerable, and most divine. The rites of the gods were called *august*, the temples were *august*; the word itself was derived from the holy *auguries* by which the divine will was revealed; it was connected with the favour and *authority* of Jove himself. And courtly poets could play still further upon it, in strains which our language cannot faith-

Octavius assumes the title of Augustus.

fully re-echo, and pray for the Roman commander, that he might *increase* in years and *increase* in power.¹

This illustrious title was bestowed upon the heir of the Cæsarean empire in the middle of the month of January, 727, and thenceforth it is by the name of Augustus that he is recognised in Roman history. The exact day is given with some variation by the ancient authorities. The scientific chronologer Censorinus fixes it to the seventeenth, while Ovid, the poetical ritualist, assigns it to the thirteenth. Strange to say, an existing calendar discovers to us the sixteenth as the actual date; while Orosius, the Christian historian, anxious no doubt to find or make a synchrony between an epoch so important in the world's history and one of the most signal events recorded in his own creed, claims it for the sixth, on which the church celebrated the festival of the Epiphany.² It seems that the Augustan years, by which the later Romans sometimes calculated, were made for convenience sake to commence with the first day of the month; and thus the more correct epoch from which many historians dated the origin of the empire, being of no practical importance, was left to conjecture or fancy.

Not yet, however, did the princeps-imperator grasp the whole sphere of the functions of the destined monarchy of Rome. More than one stride remained to be taken before he could reach the summit of his ambitious designs, and place himself at the head of every order and interest in the state. In the mean time he gave way to no indiscreet haste. He allowed his new powers time to consolidate themselves, and become familiar to the

Augustus quits Rome and visits the provinces.

¹ Dion, liii. 16.; Suet. *Oct.* 7.; Florus, iv. 12.; Ovid, *Fast.* i. 609.:

“Sancta vocant Augusta Patres: augusta vocantur

Templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu:

Hujus et augurium dependet origine verbi,

Et quodeunque sua Jupiter auget ope.

Augeat imperium nostri ducis, augeat annos.”

² Censorin. *de Die Natal.* 21.; Ovid, *Fast.* i. 587.; Kalendar. Prænestin. in *Fast. Verrian.* (Orelli, *Inscr.* ii. 382.) Oros. vi. 20.: “Octavo Idus Januarias quo nos Epiphania observamus.”

people, before he sought still further to extend them. There was a vast system of administration to be organized ; from the city itself to the furthest provinces there was no department of the government which did not require reform and reconstruction. Augustus committed the capital once more to the superintending vigilance of Agrippa and Mæcenas, while he undertook to visit in person the frontiers of the empire, and chastise the last disturbers of his universal peace. The exploits of his proconsular command in the provinces shall be recorded in another place ; we are now hastening to complete the annals of his ascent to supremacy at home. It is enough at the present moment to say that in the year 727 he threatened in the first instance a descent upon Britain, but the affairs of Gaul, and afterwards of Spain, detained him from so distant and barren an enterprise.¹ At the same time his legatus, Terentius Varro, was engaged in warfare with the mountaineers of the Graian Alps, and while Vinicius and Crassus avenged the majesty of the republic on the Germans and Dacians, Augustus remained in Spain, confined for the most part at Tarraco with sickness, through the two following years, in which however, though absent from the city, he assumed an eighth and ninth consulship. Early in 730 he returned, crowned with laurels, his own or his officers', to Rome, and signalized the restoration of the peace of the empire by closing a second time the temple of Janus.²

Even before he entered the walls his subservient senate had hastened to confirm with a solemn sanction the acts of his proconsulate. Augustus straightway reciprocated the compliment by refusing to discharge a promised largess to the people until he had obtained the consent of that illustrious order. Once more the senate responded by releasing its gracious master from

Augustus on his return to Rome receives further favours from the people.

* This is the proposed invasion to which Horace refers, *Od.* i. 35. 29. :

"Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos."

Dion, liii. 26. ; Oros. vi 21.

He is released from the "lex Cincia de muneribus."

His relatives are released from the "lex annalis."

the provisions of the Cincian law,¹ an immunity which, as will be shown hereafter, has been extravagantly supposed to extend to the whole circle of the laws. A similar exemption from a particular enactment was granted at the same time to Marcellus the son of Octavia, and Tiberius the offspring of Livia by her first husband Tiberius Claudius Nero. The former of these youths, so nearly connected with Augustus, had attained his nineteenth year. He was released from the restrictions of the *lex annalis*, and allowed to sue for the consulship ten years before the legal period, while by a similar dispensation Tiberius, at this time eighteen years of age, was permitted to hold the great offices of the state five years earlier than the law allowed. At the same time the career of honours was opened to each; the one was designated for the ædileship, the other for the quæstorship.² The splendour of the imperium and the principate, thus reflected upon the nearest connexions of the chief of the commonwealth, served to lead men's minds gradually to the notion of hereditary succession; and another advance was made on the path which rose insensibly towards monarchy.

This question of the succession must at this time have forced itself upon men's minds with peculiar urgency. The long and dangerous sickness under which Augustus had recently suffered in Spain, following several other attacks of hardly less violence in earlier years, could not fail to fill the Romans with the anticipation that his life would not be long protracted. The prospect of a

His dangerous sickness. Question of the succession.

¹ Dion, liii. 28. Comp. Noodt, *Diss. de Jure summi Imperii*, &c. in *Opp.* i. 629., ed. Barbeyrac, 1735. The difficulty respecting the *lex Cincia* (A. U. 550.), which is supposed to have restricted the amount of gifts of property, arises from the enormous sums mentioned as gifts, especially by Pliny the younger, without any hint of such restriction. Savigny in his essay on the subject in the *Zeitschrift für Gesch. Rechtswissenschaft*, iv. 1., has discovered a plausible solution: but his additional remarks, *Vermischte Schriften*, i. 384., have thrown the whole question open again. The original limitation of the law may have become disregarded.

² Dion, *l. c.*

vacancy in the place he occupied among them inspired them with unfeigned alarm. It was impossible not to forecast the troubles and perils into which the vessel of the state must drive when the pilot of the revolutionary storm should be lost to her. The appointment of a legitimate successor to the supreme power which he so ably wielded might seem the safest precaution for the expected crisis. But Augustus himself had encouraged no such arrangement. Cæsar had permitted the senate to decree that his imperatorial title should descend to the adopted heir of his fortunes; but Augustus had carefully abstained from claiming his uncle's title in virtue of his descent. While he asserted his right to the private property of the testator, and took upon himself the domestic obligations it involved, he had founded all his claims to pre-eminence on his services to the state and the favour of the people. During his absence in Spain Agrippa had wielded a delegated authority at home with his accustomed zeal and discretion. Much firm-
Conspicuous position of Agrippa.
ness and delicacy was no doubt required to control the fears and hopes which must have been excited in various quarters by the report of the emperor's sickness. Nor could Agrippa himself have contemplated the contingency of his death unmoved by conflicting passions. He must have felt that the prize of succession lay near enough to tempt him to sue for it. The exalted position in which he was placed at Rome, must have offered opportunities no less than temptations. The enthusiasm of the Romans was easily kindled by the splendour of public works and the munificence of their authors. It was during the breathless suspense of the protracted
The Pantheon.
sojourn at Tarraco that the walls of the glorious Pantheon were rising in the Field of Mars. While the consulars and nobles vied with each other in repairing or erecting the shrines of particular divinities, Agrippa undertook to raise a single magnificent temple to the tutelary deities of the Julian house. This building still stands almost unchanged from its original form and arrangement. The most conspicuous place in the interior, fronting the entrance, is supposed to

have been occupied by the image of Jupiter the Avenger, who had chastised the murderers of Cæsar; the principal niches on either side may have been filled with statues of Mars, Venus, and Romulus, of Æneas, Julius and Julius himself. It is possible that other gods and heroes may have stood in the spaces between them; but the name of Pantheon, or divine consistory, by which the building was known to posterity, is undoubtedly a misnomer, derived probably from its circular walls, its unusual height, and the ample dome which surmounted it. Such a form of construction was little in unison with the spirit of temple architecture; but it might remind the admiring worshipper, when his eye, whichever way it turned, encountered the image of a new divinity, of the palace of the Olympian deities suspended in the sky.¹ It is said that the courtly founder had reserved one niche for the figure of Augustus himself; but when this extravagant compliment was declined, he placed it on one side of the door of entrance, and erected his own statue as its companion on the other. This apparent assumption of equality may have had some significance in the mind of the favoured minister. Augustus himself was not unconscious, and even affected to approve of it. It can hardly have failed to suggest to the citizens the idea, that if the master were lost, the minister was at hand to supply his place. Agrippa possessed many qualifications for wielding the ensigns of command; he was conscious that he possessed them, and he let the people understand that he was so.

If the emperor's return in safety to Rome dissipated any schemes of ambition thus gathering in the bosom of his friend,

¹ See Fransen's *Agrippa*, p. 165. foll. The passages of the ancient writers respecting the destination of the Pantheon are Pliny, *H. N.* xxxvi. 15.; Dion, liii. 27.; Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 13.; Capitol. *Anton.* 8.; Serv. *ad. Æn.* ix. 408. The inscription on the portico declares that it was erected in Agrippa's third consulship, A. U. 727; but Dion expressly says that it was finished in 729. The great feature of the Pantheon is the dome. It exceeds in span any of its modern rivals. The diameter of that of St. Paul's is stated to be 112 feet, of S. Sophia 115, of S. Peter's and the Duomo of Florence 139, and of the Pantheon 142.

the recurrence of sickness still more virulent and more alarming than before, may have speedily revived them. In the year 731, when Augustus had entered upon his eleventh consulship in conjunction with Calpurnius Piso, he was stretched upon a couch from which all hope seemed to have fled.¹ He had summoned to his chamber all the great notables of the commonwealth. It was supposed that they were called to receive his last instructions, and the recommendation of Marcellus as successor to his public functions. But they were mistaken. He pretended to resign his trust at the last moment into the hands from which he had received it, and die in the austere discharge of an act of duty. After conferring with them for a space upon state affairs, he handed to his colleague Piso a schedule of the forces and resources of the republic,² and at the same time delivered his seal-ring to Agrippa. Not a word did he utter. The bystanders interpreted the action to signify that he restored all the powers of the state to the civil authorities; but at the same time commended his minister to their choice, should they determine to confide them again to any single hand.

Augustus in his illness gives his ring to Agrippa.

But the crisis was fortunately averted. Augustus recovered. His first care was to afford his subjects a more positive assurance that he had had no intention of naming a successor. He proposed to open his testament and show that he made no such appointment. But the Fathers were shocked at his supposing they could require any fuller assurance of his magnanimous patriotism. They would not allow him to communicate to them the contents of the will. He responded to their confidence with further acts of generosity. He now resigned the consulship which he had borne for so many years consecutively, and even appointed in his place a conspicuous opponent of his policy, by name L. Sestius, who cherished the principles of his friend M. Brutus, to whose effigy he assigned a conspicuous place in his mansion. Au-

Augustus recovers. He declines the consulship, and accepts the "potestas tribunitia."

A. U. 731,
B. C. 23.

¹ Dion, liii. 30.

² This is called by Suetonius (*Octav.* 28.) "Rationarium Imperii."

gustus affected to admire such faithful attachment even in an enemy, and sought to convince the world that his government was administered by the noblest and best of whatever shade of political opinion. In return for this specious liberality his countrymen proceeded finally to invest him with the last element of power the state had yet to give. They conferred on him for life the potestas tribunitia, or privileges and functions of the tribunate;¹ not the tribunate itself, for that could not be legitimately held by a patrician.² The character of this extraordinary dignity will be explained in another place; it will suffice at present to say that it placed its possessor at once at the head of the popular element in the constitution. It might serve in other hands as a counterpoise, in those of Augustus as a complement, to the powers he already wielded. It made him chief of the people as he had before become chief of the senate. If he was already commander of the legions, he was now supreme over the materials from which the legions were raised. At the same time some extension was given to the functions which he exercised as prince in the senate, or in his proconsular capacity in the provinces. He was permitted to exercise a certain paramount authority even over the prefects appointed by the senate in the half of the empire confided to its care. But the tribunitian power was still justly considered the keystone of the whole

From hence-
forth he may
be designated
as emperor.

imperial edifice. From this period Augustus may deserve the title of emperor, and here accordingly may close our review of the steps by which he attained the summit of his power.

¹ Dion, liii. 32. This writer had already stated that the tribunitian power was conferred upon Augustus for life in the year 724. (Comp. li. 19.) This we may presume was an error, as neither he nor any other writer affirms that Augustus resigned, and reaccepted it.

² Dion, liii. 32; Suet. *Octav.* 27.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE IMPERIAL AUTHORITY A COMBINATION OF THE PREROGATIVES OF SEVERAL REPUBLICAN OFFICES.—THEIR CHARACTER AND FUNCTIONS.—1. THE IMPERIUM : 2. THE PRINCIPATUS : 3. THE CONSULSHIP AND PROCONSULAR COMMAND : 4. THE POTESTAS TRIBUNITIA : 5. THE POTESTAS CONSULARIS : 6. THE SUPREME PONTIFICATE : 7. THE EMPEROR'S LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS.—HIS EDICTS, RESCRIPTS, AND CONSTITUTIONS.—HIS EXEMPTIONS FROM LAW.—THE LEX REGIA.—THE NAME OF CÆSAR.

WE have followed through thirty chapters the eventful annals of the revolution which transferred the commonwealth of Rome from the rule of an oligarchy to that of a single potentate. We now enter upon the history of the imperial government from its permanent establishment by Augustus. In order to understand the transactions which we are about to review, it is necessary to obtain a clear conception of the nature of the constitution as it came from the plastic hands of the second of the Cæsars. The successive steps by which he acquired his various powers and prerogatives, distinct from and complementary to each other, have been already marked. It remains to examine each of these prerogatives in order, and ascertain as far as possible their precise nature and limits. When we have achieved this task we shall be in a position to comprehend the extent of the authority assumed by Augustus, and to trace by comparing one era with another, the progress of despotism through the ages that lie before us. We shall have weighed the real meaning of the old republican phrases and titles which will still continue to meet us

The government formed by the combination of several distinct prerogatives.

on every side ; at the same time we shall have guarded our selves from confounding names with things ; we shall have distinguished legal sanctions from mere popular impressions, and drawn the veil from the self-delusions of the people and the impositions of the sovereign. But the examination will have been instructive, inasmuch as it will show that the system of the Roman empire with which the greatest monarchies of modern Europe have claimed affinity, recognizes in its most solemn formulas the popular will as the foundation of political power, and repudiates alike the fantastic principles of patriarchal autocracy and of feudal sovereignty.

I. When the Roman Fathers elected their king in the first ages of the national history, they made a decree in the assembly of their Curies by which they surrendered to him certain rights over their own persons and wills. These were the prerogatives of proposing laws, of deciding suits, of commanding the armies, and of taking the auspices, that is, of performing the most solemn act of religious ceremonial. The main element of political freedom they still retained, in the right of discussing and rejecting the measures he proposed for their acceptance. The change from monarchical to republican government imposed no essential restrictions upon these royal prerogatives : the great safeguard of popular independence which was then invented was the division of the supreme authority between two colleagues and its limitation to a single year. The later institution of the tribunitian magistracy, as the guardian of the privileges of the plebs, was no restriction upon the consuls in their capacity as chiefs of the patricians, but only a guarantee for the liberties of the second order, which was rising in political importance, and had become impatient of the oppression of its rival.

The consul received the imperium on the day when he entered upon his office : in the first ages of the republic his distinctive appellation was prætor, a term which signified the leader of an army ; and his first duty in almost every instance was to place himself at

The consul is
imperator only
in the field.

the head of the citizens, and take the field for the defence of their estates or the extension of their boundaries. But it was only in the field, and as soon as he had quitted the precincts of the city, that he acquired the title of imperator. His armed compatriots, on the first success obtained under his auspices, saluted him with the designation of military command, nor perhaps could he in strictness claim it until this formal salutation had taken place. But, at least in later times, he was known as imperator as soon as he put himself at the head of the troops, and the subsequent salutation on the field of victory was held to be a popular ratification by the soldiers of the choice which had been made in the comitia. The citizens had invested him with the imperium, and he had now proved himself worthy of their favour.

As soon as the consul entered upon his military career, he assumed certain symbols of command. The cloak of scarlet or purple which the imperator threw over his corslet was named the *paludamentum*, and this, which became in later times the *imperial robe*, he never wore except on actual service. When to-

He laid aside the ensigns of command on entering the city ;

wards the close of the year he returned from the frontier to restore the armed citizens to their homes during the winter, and to surrender to a successor already designated in the summer the civil and military functions of the consulship, he laid aside the imperial garb, before entering the walls. The imperium which he bore in the city was more restricted than that which he was permitted to wield in the camp. The citizens when they met for deliberation in their assemblies rejected with indignation the stern discipline, and the power of the axe and the rod to which they cheerfully submitted in the face of the enemy. They were released from their sacrament or oath of obedience, and resumed along with their late commander the symbol of civil functions, the peaceful toga. This custom, strictly and jealously guarded throughout the best ages of the republic, admitted of one splendid exception. If the imperator had gained

except only in the case of a triumph.

a victory which the senate deemed worthy of the honour of a

triumph, the constitutional rule was relaxed for the occasion. After returning from the scene of his campaign, accompanied by his veterans, the successful general remained outside the walls till the preparations for the ceremony were complete. He then entered it by the triumphal gate at the head of his troops, arrayed in the ensigns of military command, and pursued his way through the principal streets to the Capitol, where he offered the national sacrifice to Jupiter. As soon as the ceremony was completed, he disbanded the legions, and took his seat once more in the curule chair in the senate-house.

In the course of years, however, when the frontiers of the empire became enlarged, and at the same time the civil duties of the first magistrates increased in weight and urgency, prætors, consulars, and others were deputed by the senate to lead the armies of the commonwealth at a distance from the city. The *imperium*, as far as regarded its exercise in the camp, was conferred upon them; they were invested with the prerogative of military command and discipline, with the right of arbitrating between the soldiers in camp, and of taking the auspices, without which no military operation could be duly conducted. The citizens who were now enlisted under the banner of this special officer were required to take the oath of obedience to him as well as that of fidelity to the senate and people. It was apparently at the period of the second Punic war that the mutual engagement which at first the soldiers voluntarily made among themselves was changed into an oath exacted by the tribune in each cohort, and referred to the imperator and the state.

A further change took place in the character of the *imperium* when the wide-spread interests of the republic required that the supreme military command should be confided to a generalissimo, the chief of many legions, quartered in several provinces and distributed along an extensive frontier line. The imperator directed the operations of these numerous armed bodies through his subordinate officers; each separate

extended over several provinces at once, as in the case of Sulla, Marius, and Pompeius.

force of one or more legions being entrusted to a legatus or lieutenant-general. Such had been the far-reaching command of Sulla and Marius, and of others before them; and such was preeminently the command of Pompeius when the provisions of the Manilian and Gabinian laws gave him the supreme control of the public resources throughout the eastern half of the empire. Under these circumstances the soldiers of every legion still swore obedience to the commander-in-chief, though they might never have come personally under his orders. The legates were merely his representatives, to whom he delegated the functions necessary for conducting the operations he directed, and even the victories they gained were attributed solely to the valour of his arm, and the virtue of his auspices. Except in cases of special favour, the honours of the triumph were reserved for the commander-in-chief alone, and even the title of imperator was imparted to none but him.

Another step in the progress of military authority was the licence first assumed by Pompeius of remaining himself in the immediate vicinity of the capital, while he despatched his lieutenants to command the legions entrusted to him in distant provinces. He affected, indeed, to be occupied with the enlistment of recruits, and the collection of munitions of war: but the pretence was in truth merely nominal; it was well understood that his real object was to keep close to the centre of political action, and control by his immediate presence the course of affairs at home. Still he so far respected the prescriptions of the law as to abstain from entering the city, at least in public, during the exercise of his Spanish proconsular command. He might, indeed, come actually within the walls and confer privately with his friends, without exciting animadversion; but he could perform no public act, nor be seen to take part in the proceedings of the people in the forum, nor of the Fathers in the senate, at least when they assembled in any hall or temple within the city. But in the time of Pompeius Rome had in more than one quarter outgrown the lines traced by Servius. Many public and private

Pompeius as proconsul assumes the licence of remaining in the neighbourhood of Rome, and deposes his command to lieutenants.

buildings lay without the hallowed precincts of the pomœrium, and the movement of the population was almost as busy in the Field of Mars as in the Velabrum or Suburra. Already skilled in evading the spirit of the constitution, the senate was wont to seek the advice and animating presence of its champion by meeting in the temple of Bellona, whither the emperor might repair without violating its letter. It was by availing himself of this technical subterfuge that Pompeius contrived to maintain himself at the head of the domestic administration of the state, during the period of Cæsar's absence in Gaul, without relaxing his hold upon her military resources, and thus he had doubly fortified himself against the anticipated attack of his antagonist.

Cæsar, on the other hand, disdained to temporize, or manage by vain pretences the people who had submitted to his sway. His rival had, in effect, reigned almost as despotically as a king, while he preserved an outward show of obedience to recognised forms; he would reign openly and fearlessly, and inaugurate a new government of facts and not phrases. He assumed the title of emperor with a new force and meaning attached to it. He adopted it as a constant prefix to all his other appellations, bearing it equally within and without the city. While in fact he released his veterans from personal attendance upon him, and declined even the escort of a guard of honour, he openly avowed himself the perpetual commander of the national armies, and vaunted his military supremacy as the noblest addition to his name. The functions of dictator he assumed to enable him to reform abuses, and remodel the laws; but those of emperor he grasped as the source of all real power and the appropriate reward of his unparalleled desert in warfare. It may be conjectured that it was during his usurpation that the tribunes struck the names of the senate and people from the formula of the legionaries' oath, and caused them to vow fidelity to their emperor alone. Certain it is that before the end of a century the oath had been thus mutilated, and it is difficult to imagine that such an inno-

Cæsar assumes the "prænommen imperatoris," and makes himself perpetual emperor.

vation would have been attempted by the more politic of his successors, or permanently respected by the senate, if introduced by tyrants whom it detested and whose acts it abrogated after their deaths.¹

The imperium had been conferred upon Octavius by a decree of the senate, when he took up arms in conjunction with the consuls to protect Decimus Brutus against his assailant. He had been saluted imperator by his victorious legions under the walls of Mutina. The proconsular imperium of the second triumvirate. Throughout the various campaigns which he conducted in Macedonia and Pannonia, in Dalmatia and Egypt, he had exercised no other than the proconsular functions. In virtue of the triumviral commission which gave him the government of one third part of the empire, he had acted as the commander-in-chief of various armies under numerous lieutenants. This same commission had invested him moreover with extraordinary powers for the reformation of the government at home; and he marched as he listed up and down the city, and brandished his sword without scruple in the precincts of law and justice. It was an age of revolutions, and none ventured to ask whether the commission were legal, or whether it were legally discharged. The senate greeted the victor of Actium with the complete ratification of all his acts; and from thenceforth both master and subjects vied with each other in striving to bury the past in oblivion. From that happy era of reconciliation and amnesty the conqueror studied to represent himself as in all things the servant and instrument of the state. While he accepted the title of imperator as a perpetual prefix to his names and titles, after his uncle's example, and thus asserted, in the spirit of the old traditions, the military basis of the national polity, he nevertheless abstained from assuming the ensigns of command within the city. Augustus never appeared in the senate or before the people in the garb of an imperator. He never maintained a legionary garrison within the city. He left it to his successor to establish a camp of

¹ Tac. *Hist.* i. 55. (A. U. 823, A. D. 70.): "Senatus pop. que Rom. oblitterata jam nomina sacramento advocabant."

prætorian cohorts within the walls, and contented himself with the personal service of a mere handful of body-guards. Nevertheless, as generalissimo of the Roman armies he controlled the operations of the legions throughout the provinces; he appointed all their officers, and made them strictly subordinate to himself. For a moment indeed the policy of Augustus wavered in this particular. He allowed Carrinas to triumph in conjunction with himself, and two years afterwards Crassus and Messala exhibited in the Capitol the spoils of Thrace and Aquitania. But from the year 727 the highest honours of the profession of arms were closed against the lieutenants of the commander-in-chief, and by a bold fiction the reward of their victories was conferred upon the emperor himself, under whose auspices they were reputed to have gained them. By an act of grace on his part, he divided the command of the provinces between himself and the people represented by the senate. He reserved, as we have seen, for his own direct control the regions which from their position on the frontiers, or from the temper of their population, seemed most liable to disturbance from within or from without. The imperial provinces were the Tarraconensis and Lusitania in Spain, the whole of Gaul beyond the Alps, the two Germanies, or districts bordering on the Rhine, in the west; and in the east Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia with Cyprus, and Egypt. To the senate he resigned the more peaceful regions of Africa, Numidia, Cyrenaica, Asia, Bithynia, Pontus, Achaia, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Sicily and Crete, Sardinia, and Bætica. The scanty military forces required to keep these in subjection were headed by officers appointed by the senate. But the position of these officers and their troops was an object of jealousy to the emperors. It was rarely that they were afforded an opportunity of obtaining a triumph; but the last instance, it may be remarked, of saluting with the title of imperator occurred in the case of a senatorial proconsul in Africa.¹ Meanwhile the emperor became more and more dis-

¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 74.: "Tiberius . . . id quoque Blæso tribuit ut imperator a legionibus salutaretur. . . . concessit et quibusdam Augustus id vocabulum, at tunc Tiberius Blæso postremum."

tinctly recognised as the generalissimo of the whole military force of the state. It was to him accordingly, and not to his lieutenants, that the military oath was taken. If Cæsar had permitted the names of the senate and people to drop from the prescribed formulas, it may be supposed that Augustus would not insist upon their being reinserted, and accordingly they fell into complete desuetude. Sufficient respect was deemed to be paid to these empty names by the initials S. P. Q. R., which still continued to represent them on the imperial banners.¹

The military oath was originally imposed upon those only who were actually engaged in service, and was administered immediately before their taking the field. But when the provinces came to be permanently occupied with standing armies, it became usual to repeat the ceremony every year on the calends of January: under the emperors it was further exacted on the anniversaries of their birth and accession. But as every Roman citizen of competent age was deemed liable to military service, and as, at least in the provinces, the greater part of the Roman residents were actually invested with military rank and charged with some corresponding functions, the custom gradually extended from the soldiers duly enlisted to the mass of the citizens, and from the citizens to the provincials. Thus we find that even under the earlier successors of Augustus, the custom prevailed of binding the whole mass of the subjects to the allegiance of the emperor by the sanction of an oath repeated at least once every year.² Still a peculiar feeling

The military oath of obedience taken to the emperor as general of the armies.

¹ The names of the senate and people were never, as far as we know, restored. In the Christian period the formula became: "Per Deum et per Christum et per Spiritum Sanctum et per majestatem Imperatoris." Veget. ii. 1. I may observe that I was first led to study the character of the imperial government from perusing De la Bleterie's ingenious essays on the subject in the *Mémoires de l'Académie d'Inscriptions*, tom. xxi. xxiv. xxv. xxvii., and to him I owe a great portion of these remarks.

² Tac. *Ann.* i. 7.: "S. Pompeius et S. Appuleius Coss. primi in verba Tiberii juravere; mox senatus milesque et populus, xvi. 22. Principio anni vitare Thræsea solenne jusjurandum." Comp. Plin. *Ep.* x. 50.

seems to have lingered in the minds of the best instructed Romans, which forbade them to address or allude to their ruler by his military title, except strictly in reference to his military capacity. It is observed that the elder Pliny never speaks of emperors before his own time as imperators. It was as Cæsars or Princes, as members of a particular family, or as invested with a civil title, that they were more properly known to him and to the citizens in general. But when he refers to Vespasian, or his son Titus, he uses the term imperator; because as admiral of their fleet at Misenum, he recognised in them his military superiors.¹ In the same manner, one generation later, the younger Pliny, who was proconsul of Bithynia, with military command, addresses Trajan as imperator also.²

II. As the title of imperator conferred the highest military rank upon Augustus and his successors, so did that of *princeps senatus*, or *princeps* (as it came to be expressed by an easy but material abridgment), convey the idea of the highest civil preeminence consistent with the forms of the old constitution. In ancient times this title had been appropriated to the first in succession of living censorii, men who had served the office of censor; and such were necessarily patricians and senators.³ The sole privilege it conferred was that of speaking first in the debates of the senate; a privilege however to which considerable importance might attach from the exceeding deference habitually paid to authority and example by the Roman assemblies. The age of the princeps, and the weight of his personal character, for none but men venerable for their probity could be appointed

II. The title of "princeps senatus."

¹ Pliny the elder addresses Vespasian in the preface to his great work as "Jueundissime imperator."

² Plin. *Ep.* x. 1. 3.: "Imperator sanetissime imperator optime." But he more commonly used the term *dominus*, which evinces a great degeneracy of feeling. Ovid contrasts Romulus with Augustus (*Fast.* ii. 142.):

"Vis tibi grata fuit; florent sub Cæsare leges:
Tu domini nomen, principis ille tenet."

³ Liv. xxvii. 11.: "Ut qui primus censor ex iis qui viverent fuisset, eum principem legerent."

censors at all, invested his position with peculiar dignity. When the qualification of age or priority was relaxed it was only in favour of a more illustrious reputation. In the year 544 (B. C. 210) the consul, in making the appointment which was vested in his office, claimed the privilege of selection from among the censorii. He chose Fabius Maximus : *Fabius*, he said, *is the first of the Romans, as Hannibal himself would allow.*¹ This deviation from the established custom became a precedent for later times. The names of some of the distinguished personages who attained this honourable post have been preserved to us. Among the most illustrious is that of M. Æmilius Lepidus, the great-great-grandfather of Lepidus the triumvir, who was re-appointed six times at successive lustrums. In the decline of the commonwealth a graceful tribute was still paid to public virtue in the appointment of Æmilius Scæurus ; but the most celebrated and not the least respected of the list was Lutatius Catulus, whose position at the head of the senatorial oligarchy has been signalized at the outset of this history.

The title of prince of the senate fell into abeyance after the death of Catulus in the year 694. The functions of the censorship had been interrupted, and with one exception suspended during the lives of a whole generation. But the authority of the dictator or triumvir reigned paramount in a subservient senate, and required no aid from the indirect influence of private estimation. It was the policy however of Augustus to lead the senate, the chosen instrument of his will, by indirect agency, and the functions of the censorship which he had exercised, though under another title, might furnish a pretext for allowing this principate or leadership to be conferred upon himself. The title of princeps was modest and constitutional ; it was associated with the recollection of the best ages of the free-state and the purest models of public virtue ; it could not be considered beyond the deserts of one who was undoubtedly the foremost man of the nation. Nor was it alto-

Importance of
this title to Au-
gustus.

¹ Liv. i. c.

gether without some solid advantages. Although it implied the holding of no magistracy or direct power of any kind, it is easy to conceive the influence which a person in the place of Augustus might indirectly exercise through it. On the one hand it connected its bearer with the aristocratical party, the despised and broken remnant of which might again raise its head under the patronage of the same chief who had effected its overthrow. On the other hand it might serve no less as a guarantee to the still jealous democraey, that their faithful champion would guide their adversaries into the paths of equity and public virtue. It was more particularly valuable to the founder of the empire, who wished to preserve the semblance of free discussion in the first assembly of the commonwealth, from the legitimate means it gave him of expressing his own sentiments upon every question before the members should be committed by discussion to any other. It saved both parties from the risk of collision; for it afforded to the creatures of the empire the fairest excuse for following in the wake of so high an authority, while it precluded its foes from declaring their opinions, before the ruler's real views could be known or the support on which he could rely be correctly estimated. The popularity which the assumption of this republican title conferred upon the early emperors may be inferred from the care with which it is noted, and its constitutional functions referred to by the writers of the Augustan age and that which succeeded it.¹

¹ Compare Tacitus, *Annal.* i. 1. : "Non Cinnæ non Sullæ longa dominatio; et Pompeii Crassique potentia cito in Cæsarem, Lepidi et Antonii arma in Augustum cessere; qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine Principis sub imperium accepit." Again, "Non regno neque dictatura sed principis nomine constitutam rempublicam," and *Hist.* i. 4. : "Vulgato imperii arcana posse Principem alibi quam Romæ fieri." Sucton. *Calig.* 22. : "Nec multum abfuit quin statim diadema sumeret, speciemque principatus in regni formam converteret." See also c. 31. ; Plin. *Paneg.* 9. : "Ut non obsequeris principi civis, legatus imperatori, filius patri;" and again, c. 55. : "Hic regnum . . . aret atque submovet, sedemque principis obtinet, ne sit domino locus." See also Ovid, *l. c.* Later writers confound the terms princeps and imperator without scruple. Vopiscus, *Tacit.* 7. : "Vos sanctissimi milites et sacratissimi vos quirites habetis principem:" and again, "Vos sanctissimi commilitones

But it was an easy and natural step in the progress of political ideas to drop the application of the title, and contract it from prince of the senate, to prince merely.

The original character of the appellation was soon forgotten, and the proper limits of its privileges

Its signification is extended under the emperors.

confounded in the more vague and general prerogative which the bare designation of first or premier seemed to imply. While the commonwealth was still free, Cicero might with innocence and propriety style Pompeius the prince or foremost man of all ages and nations;¹ but when applied to Augustus and his successors, such a phrase could not fail to acquire a grave technical significance.² Accordingly we shall find that Tiberius, the second prince of the imperial regime, careful and accurate as he was in his use of political terms, assumed without remark that this distinction implied a supreme authority, having no definite or peculiar object, but extending to a general superintendence over every magistracy in the state. *My station*, he said in a letter to the senate, *is not that of an ædile, a prætor, or a consul; let those magistrates confine themselves to the exercise of their special functions, and labour for the common weal each in their own province; wider and loftier are the duties which devolve upon the prince; he must lead the way in proposing measures for the general good of the state, for the correction of manners, and the cure of political diseases.*³ If

qui scitis principem approbare. . . . Exercitus sine principe” Even the jurist Gaius, in the age of the Antonines, gives the Emperor his military title while speaking of him strictly in his civil capacity, in which he issued his constitutions or decrees: “*Constitutio principis est quod imperator decreto vel edicto vel epistola constituit.*” But these constitutions continued to be correctly designated as *Principales*. There were no *constitutiones Imperatorie*.

¹ Cic. *pro Dom.* 25., *ad Div.* i. 9. 4. Velleius applies a similar phrase both to Pompeius and Crassus.

² The grandsons of Augustus, Caius, and Lucius, obtained the title of *Principes Juventutis*; a designation originally given to the first or most distinguished of the knights, the three hundred youths whom Romulus selected for his body-guard. In the *Consolatio ad Liviam* (v. 356.), attributed to Pedo Albinovanus, the wife of Augustus is complimented with the title of *Principes Romana*.

³ Tac. *Ann.* iii. 53.

such was the monarchical view of the principate taken by Tiberius, we may suppose that the original limitation of its functions was speedily obliterated, and that even the most moderate and constitutional of succeeding emperors, such as Trajan and the Antonines, would not seek to restore it in the spirit of the past. It is recorded, however, of Pertinax, who ascended the throne as the nominee and champion of the senate itself, that he revived the ancient and popular title of prince of that assembly; from which we may infer that, in his time, it had long fallen into desuetude, and was only restored as a measure of policy to fortify a precarious claim to power.¹

III. Emperor, king, and prince, are the titles by which the nations of modern Europe have generally agreed to designate the possessors of sovereign authority: but while the early Romans rejected with horror the ideas of autocratic domination which they attached to the appellation of king, they carefully disjoined from the empire or the principate any notion of civil supremacy. The Roman emperor was strictly, as we have seen, the commander of the armies; the princeps was the most illustrious and most honoured of the senators. But the supreme magistracy within the city was that of the consulship. As long as the consuls, says Polybius, are resident within the city they enjoy supreme power in all public affairs. All the other magistrates, excepting only the tribunes, are subordinate to their authority. They admit foreign ambassadors to audience; they propose matters for deliberations to the senate. The decrees of that body are executed by their hands. Further, it is the consuls that convoke the assemblies of the people, submit measures to their decision, and provide for the fulfilment of their pleasure.² He proceeds to declare that they are also supreme in military affairs; but in the later ages of the

¹ Xiphilin, (*epit. Dion.* lxiii. 5.): καὶ ἔλαβε τὰς τε ἄλλας ἐπικλήσεις καὶ προσηκούσας, καὶ ἑτέραν ἐπὶ τῷ δημοτικῷ εἶναι βούλεσθαι· πρόκριτος γὰρ τῇ γερονσίας κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπωνομάσθη.

² Polyb. vi. 12.

republic the consuls seldom quitted the city for the camp, and the armies were led by the proconsuls in the provinces. But although they surrendered to their deputies the command of the troops, they lost no portion of their dignity and preeminence at home. The administration of the public revenues, though collected by the quæstors, resided in the consuls themselves. They inherited from the kings the prerogative of administering the laws: but these functions were shared in some degree with the tribunes, and gradually transferred to the prætors, till in process of time the consuls abandoned the bench of justice altogether, and confined their cares to the other important offices they had to discharge.

So wide a jurisdiction and so enviable a dignity might have been easily perverted to the re-establishment of tyranny. The Romans guarded against this danger by dividing the power and limiting its duration; but the spirit and resolution of the people were the firmest bulwark of their liberties. In course of time it was thought necessary to provide further that no consul should be re-elected except after an interval of ten years;¹ but this jealous regulation was infringed within half a century.² Nevertheless it was well kept on the whole, till first the splendid success of Marius against Jugurtha, and afterwards the peril of the state during the irruption of the Cimbri, induced the Romans to disregard it; and the champion of the commons enjoyed six consulships in the course of eight years.³ The precedent was readily adopted by the revolutionary chieftains of the disastrous times that followed. A Cinna, a Carbo, and a Sulla extorted the office, the two former more than once, within the period prescribed by law. From the death of Sulla there is no instance of its violation,

¹ Liv. vii. 42. A. U. 413. This restriction was extended to all other magistracies.

² Q. Fabius Maximus and P. Decius Mus were re-elected more than once at shorter intervals than ten years. Livy records the circumstances as regards the former in the year 453; but this was not a solitary instance.

³ Marius was consul I. A. U. 647, and five times consecutively in the years 650-654. His seventh consulship took place after an interval of thirteen years, A. U. 668.

till the extraordinary crisis occurred which induced the people to appoint Pompeius sole consul to coerce the contending factions of the city. The usurpation of Julius Cæsar introduced a new era in this as in other respects. He exercised four of his five consulships in the course of the last five years of his career. Neither the prefixed title of imperator nor even the perpetual dictatorship superseded in his estimation the political importance of this republican dignity. He clung to it even while he seemed most regardless of its degradation by the numbers whom he thrust into it for a few months or days only. Even while the senate and people lavished upon him the most brilliant ensigns of personal preeminence, he seems to have grasped with insatiate avidity all the pomp and circumstance which belonged officially to the consulship. The Romans, childishly fond of shows and decorations for their own sake, were peculiarly attached to those associated with the national traditions; and it was hard to persuade them, when they gazed upon the robed and laurelled figure of the consul seated on the ivory-mounted chair, that they were not still living under the free institutions of which he was in their eyes the symbol and the pledge.

Octavius, from the camp before Mutina, had demanded the vacant consulship on the death of Hirtius and Pansa; which the senate, upon whom the right of nomination in such an emergency devolved, had ventured to refuse him. He approached the city at the head of his soldiers, and the desertion of the legions in which the assembly confided rendered all further resistance fruitless. In the year 711 Octavius became consul for the first time. It would appear that he scrupled to associate the highest ordinary magistracy of the state with the extraordinary functions of the triumvirate, and after entering on a second consulship, on the calends of January 721, he resigned it again the same day. Two years afterwards, when the term of the triumvirate had expired, he exercised a third consulship, and from that time forward he caused himself to be an-

Usurped by
Julius Cæsar.

Numerous and
successive con-
sulships of Oc-
tavius.

usually re-elected for eight years successively. While the show of popular suffrage was still preserved, effectual means were doubtless taken to deter any candidate from proposing himself without the sanction of the virtual ruler of the state, and Augustus continued to nominate himself and whomsoever else he chose as his colleague, assigning him generally only a portion of the year, and filling his place with more than one supplementary appointment.

But the dignity of the perpetual consul, who wielded a substantial power and carried on a deliberate policy, must have derived additional lustre from this contrast with his fleeting and shadowy colleagues. Augustus, though constantly desired to renew his term of office, and yielding professedly to the gentle urgency of his admiring compatriots, seems to have had some misgiving that his position was too nearly allied to royalty. After the year 731 he declined to resume the consulship. He proposed to visit the provinces and make a lengthened progress through the distant parts of the empire. The principles of his administration, which promised to combine the security of the subject with efficiency in the executive, required to be fixed throughout the dependencies of the state by the same temperate hand, and under the same experienced eye, which had established them firmly at the centre of government. But so illustrious a personage could not quit the city except in the character of a great public officer. He could not leave behind him the privileges and powers which befitted the saviour, the reformer, and the defender of the commonwealth. The consul of past years might have assumed the government of a proconsular province on resigning his functions in the city. But it was not to any single province that the care of Augustus was to be confined. A proconsular imperium of far wider extent had been entrusted under the republic to the most distinguished champions of the state. The instance of Pompeius has been frequently referred to. The command entrusted by the senate to Cassius at a later period had been of similar

After 731 he declines to accept the consulship.

Augustus receives proconsular authority throughout the empire.

character. He had been constituted supreme over the governors of all the eastern provinces. These commands were assigned for a special purpose, and extensive as they were, they were nevertheless strictly defined. Not so however the proconsular imperium, which was now granted to Augustus. It was limited to no special purpose; it was extended over all the provinces both imperial and senatorial; and it was declared at once perpetual. It gave him throughout the domains of the republic the control of the revenues, the disposal of the armies, the execution of the laws, the administration of internal reforms, and the adjustment of foreign relations. The senate indeed still retained the appointment of officers in its own division of the empire; but these officers found themselves accountable in every public act to the emperor himself, and doubtless he maintained and brandished over their heads the power of directing, punishing, and displacing them.

IV. While Augustus was meditating the surrender of the consular supremacy he had so long enjoyed, his countrymen proposed to confer upon him for life the prerogatives of the tribunate. The coincidence of these circumstances may have been more than accidental. From the moment he ceased to be consul Augustus would lose the important privilege of initiating legal measures in the senate. The commons would doubtless have delighted to appoint him tribune, and in that capacity he might have proposed measures to the comitia of the tribes, and have superseded in effect the action of the more aristocratical assembly. But there were grave objections to such a course. Augustus, since he had become a patrician, could not with propriety occupy a place on the tribunitian bench, which was reserved exclusively for the plebeian order. Neither did it comport with his policy to raise the commons into an effective instrument of government. He had discouraged and almost suppressed the meetings of their capricious and turbulent assembly, and now sought to rule through the senate alone, which he could more easily direct or coerce. Hitherto he had guided his subservient legislators from the consul's

IV. The "potestas tribunitia."

chair : henceforth it became requisite that he should have the means of controlling them from the level of their own benches. The tribunitian power, which was now conferred upon him without the office, placed in his hands precisely the instrument he required. By the interposition of his veto he could compel the rejection of any measure he disliked ; and if he divested himself of the prerogative of proposing legislative enactments, he assumed in compensation the right to prohibit them.

Such was the most substantial element of the tribunitian power ; but its importance to Augustus was not confined to a single privilege. While the relation of the Plebs to the Patres had been radically changed since the first institution of the tribunate, the old associations attaching to that office still conspired to endear it to the mass of the nation. Even in the latter troubles of the republic, when the tribunes were often the hired agents of the oligarchy, the popular sentiment had seldom failed to applaud the exercise of their veto when they stepped forward to obstruct the proceedings of the senate. The people had greeted Clodius and Metellus with acclamations not less hearty than those which saluted the ears of Antonius and Curio. They still venerated the tribunes as the guardians of their rights and the pledges of their social privileges, and they mustered in all their strength to protect their persons and assert their inviolability. Accordingly, in assuming the tribunitian power, Augustus, the commander of the legions and the organ of the senate, laid claim to the favour and admiration of the commons. Even while he silenced the voice of their demagogues, and coldly conceded to them a mere shadow of popular suffrage, he still vaunted himself their legitimate protector, and pretended to throw himself between them and the traditional oppressors of their class, the patrician oligarchy.¹

It was the policy of the founder of the empire to rest his authority on the presumed will of the nation. In the view

¹ Tac. *Ann.* i. 2. : "Ad tuendam plebem tribunitio jure contentum (se ferens)," a passage already referred to at the beginning of the last chapter.

They date the years of their reign by the years of their holding this power.

of the Romans a king ruled by virtue of his own sole will and pleasure, a dictator by the authority of a privileged order; but the tribunitian power was the organ of the people itself, which it placed in the hands of its chosen champion. In either case the authority itself, at least while it lasted, was supreme, absolute and irresponsible; it was legitimate or odious, popular or tyrannical, according to the source from whence it sprang. In the second century of the empire, Tacitus represents the tribunitian power as a designation of sovereignty, equivalent to the rejected titles of king or dictator, by which the emperor crowned all his other offices and prerogatives.¹ Impressed with this idea Augustus and his successors always carefully inscribed the tribunitian title on their coins and monuments. They insisted that it should be formally renewed to them every year, and counted the duration of their tenure of power not by the period they had held the imperium or the principate, but by the number of times the power of the tribunate had been conferred upon them.²

The protection which the tribunate afforded to the commons was not confined to the obstruction of proceedings in the senate prejudicial to their interests. The tribune was always on the watch to relieve a plebeian from an oppressive exercise of the powers of any other magistracy.³ He could control the inquisition of

Appellate jurisdiction of the tribune.

¹ Tac. *Ann.* iii. 56.: "Id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus reperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen assumeret, ac tamen appellatione aliqua cætera imperia præmineret."

² The emperors dated their tribun. potestas from the day it was first conferred; *e. g.* in the case of Augustus, June 27, 731. The title is preserved on the medals of all the earlier emperors, and the year of the trib. pot. is usually added, which is equivalent to the year of the reign, except when the emperor was associated in trib. pot. during the lifetime of his predecessor. Thus the date of a coin of Tiberius, Tib. Cæs. Aug. P. P. trib. pot. xxxv = the twentieth year of his reign. From the year 1021 of the city, 268 of our era, the title first ceases to occur regularly on the imperial medals.

³ The tribunate was not, in strictness, a magistracy, and did not possess the imperium, Plut. *Qu. Rom.* 84.; but in the later ages of the republic the

the censors into the lives and manners of the citizens, quash judicial proceedings, forbid the prætor's execution of a judicial sentence; nor was he compelled to assign any reason for his peremptory interposition.¹ There were two kinds of appeal by which the Roman citizen might stay the hostile proceedings of a civil magistrate; the one was to the people, the other to the tribune himself. The powers of the guardian of the plebs extended indeed only one mile beyond the walls; but within those limits they were sure to be respected; he was not permitted to be absent a single day from the city, and his doors must stand open at all hours to those who wanted to implore his succour. He claimed the power of inflicting imprisonment and even death on any one, even the highest magistrate, who should resist him in the discharge of his functions; his attendant ministers had been known to arrest even a consul or a censor, and on one occasion he had hurried the first magistrate of the state to the Tarpeian rock, and would have cast him headlong forthwith, had he not been prevented by the interposition of a colleague. In fact it was only by the mutual jealousies and conflicting interests of the ten members of the tribunitian college, whom the senate was always careful to play off against each other, that any limits were set to the jealous despotism of the office. To crown the prerogatives of the tribunate, the person of its possessors was declared sacred, and its sanctity was held to be violated not by deeds only but even by opprobrious language. The sovereign people threw around its champions the garb of its own majesty, and when the tribunes took refuge from the consular menaces in the camp of Cæsar they carried with them the indignant sympathy of the insulted nation.

Such were the mighty functions and prerogatives which the Romans confided to Augustus, or rather transferred to him, when they bestowed upon him the tribunitian power. They were transferred to him from

Right of protection and par-

term was very generally applied to it. Comp. Cic. *cont. Rull.* ii. 5., and Vell. ii. 2.

¹ Walter, *Gesch. des Römischen Rechts*, p. 172.

don assumed
by the emper-
ors.

the legitimate tribunes ; for though the ordinary office of tribune still continued to exist, its political importance was surrendered to the possessor of the extraordinary title. Nor were these prerogatives checked, as heretofore, by any of the safeguards which the people had raised against their flagrant abuse. They were no longer limited to a single year, nor counterpoised by the rivalry of a bench of colleagues ; the restriction by which they were locally confined was soon relaxed, and rendered indefinite ; the appeal to the people became merged in that to the emperor alone ; the right of protection was exchanged for the prerogative of pardon ; and finally the sanctity of the tribune himself was extended by an indulgent interpretation to the mere effigy of the emperor in his statues or on his coins. The law of

The law of
treason or
"majestas."

treason, by which the ancient legislators of the republic had sought to protect popular liberty from the encroachments of tyranny, and which had been applied at a later period to enhance the dignity of the officers who reflected the majesty of the nation, was gradually concentrated upon the emperor alone, the sole impersonation of the sovereign people.¹ The definition of the crime itself was loose and elastic, such as equally became the jealousy of a licentious republic, or of a despotic usurper. The emperors surrounded themselves with a host of parasites who stimulated and directed the sentiment of veneration attaching to their exalted position, and gradually diverted it from their office and fixed it on their persons. From the sanctity of the tribunes to the divinity of the Cæsars was a long stride in public opinion ; but the first century of adulation made it easy and practicable.

V. Some at least of the powers of the tribunate had been

¹ Cicero *de Invent. Rhetor.* ii. 18. : "Majestatem minuere est dignitate aut amplitudine aut potestate populi, aut eorum quibus populus potestatem dedit, aliquid derogare." The jurists continued to give a similar definition under the empire : "Majestas est crimen illud quod adversus pop. Rom. et securitatem ejus committitur." Ulpian, in *Digest.* xlviii. tit. 4. 1. There will be occasion to examine this subject more closely hereafter.

accorded to Julius Cæsar, and afterwards to Augustus himself as early as the period of his victory over Sex-tus. On his return from Asia in 725 he was again invested, according to Dion, with the tribunitian prerogatives. It seems probable that the historian was misled by finding mention made in his authorities of some particular instance in which the emperor had been allowed to obstruct a decree of the senate, or extend his protection to an appellant. The power which was bestowed upon him in 731 is generally referred to as the keystone of the imperial arch, and from this era the establishment of the monarchy is most properly dated. This power, divested as it practically was of the direct limitations under which it had been wielded by the tribunes of the republic, could not fail to clothe its possessor with prerogatives utterly inconsistent with civil liberty, besides casting upon him an impression of personal sanctity, which must tend to elevate him more and more above the ranks of the citizens. Nevertheless, the existence of independent magistrates of the highest class, such as the consuls, could not fail to impose restraint upon his action and detract from the splendour of his preeminence. In circumstances of the last emergency, when the senate fulminated its *ultimate decree*, requiring the consuls to *see that the state suffered no harm*, those magistrates received unlimited authority over the citizens of all sorts and conditions within Rome or beyond it, under pretext of which they had been known to inflict condign chastisement even upon the tribunes themselves. As long therefore as this awful weapon remained sheathed in the armoury of the senate, even the emperor could not feel himself really supreme. But Augustus, as we have seen, shrank from the annual assumption of the consulship to which the people continued to invite him. He renounced the trabea and the fasces at the close of the year 731, and declared that he would retire from the supreme administration of the state which their possession implied. No sooner however had he descended from the curule chair than the city was visited with a series of calamities. Famine was succeeded

V. Events which led to conferring on Augustus the "potestas consularis."

by pestilence, and an inundation of the Tiber swept away some of the holiest monuments of the national religion.¹ Prodigies were announced which filled the multitude with the apprehension of still greater evils. The people murmured against their hero, whose retirement from the helm of state was manifestly displeasing to the gods, and they denounced their own supineness in allowing him to abdicate the consulship. They assembled in angry crowds and urged the senate to create him dictator. The senate deliberated, and the multitude, in their impatience, threatened to reduce the curia to ashes. The senate acquiesced, and the people seized the fasces of the two consuls,² and rushing with them to Augustus, entreated or insisted that he should accept absolute power for the restoration of the public safety, together with the care of supplying the city, such as had been forced in a similar emergency upon Pompeius. But the fixed resolve of the emperor was not even then to be overcome. He tore his robe and bared his breast to the multitude, while he stoutly refused to accept an arbitrary and hateful office, which even his rival, the arrogant Antonius, had proposed to abolish.⁴ He could only be induced to accept the charge of relieving the scarcity; nor would he allow himself to be invested with the functions of the censorship, which were again proffered to him. But he caused two functionaries to be appointed to institute the census of the people, and these were the last private citizens who ever discharged that office, which in later times was almost always performed by the emperors themselves.

¹ Dion, liv. 1. The critics have generally referred the ode of Horace, *Od.* i. 2., to this event; but I am disposed to agree with Orelli that it relates to an earlier period, perhaps A. U. 725. The application of the word *princeps* to Augustus at this early date is no objection, for it is not used in the sense of *princeps senatus*, but generally, as by Propertius, iv. 6. 46. :

“Principe te fluctus regia vela pati.”

² The consuls had each twelve fasces, the dictator twenty-four, inasmuch as during his six months of office, he superseded the consular magistracy.

³ Dion, *l. c.*; Vell. ii. 89.; Suet. *Oct.* 52.: “Genu nixus, dejecta ab humeris toga nudo pectore deprecatus est.”

The enumeration of the people was a solemn and religious ceremony, which befitted the personage of highest consideration in the state.

The transport of popular despair was thus calmed ; but the person of the beneficent hero who could alone avert impending calamity from the nation was not secure against the malice of political foes. While the great mass of the citizens undoubtedly revered Augustus as their champion and patron, the assertors of liberty were not utterly extinguished, and if armed resistance to his usurpation was acknowledged to be hopeless, there was still room and opportunity for private conspiracy. Licinius Murena and Fannius Cæpio, men of distinction in the commonwealth, were implicated in the charge of treason against the majesty of the state in the person of its cherished emperor.¹ The culprits were allowed perhaps to evade the vigilance of the officers of justice. They were condemned in their absence, the stepson of the emperor, Tiberius, putting himself forward as their accuser ; and it is said that in the course of a short time they were privily made away with. The moderation which Augustus had affected seems to have revived the spirits of the republicans. When he condescended to appear in certain trials and give evidence at the prætor's tribunal, in the guise of a private citizen, subjecting himself with plausible humility to the licentious abuse of some of the parties engaged, though flatterers were found to extol this specious patriotism, his enemies took occasion by it to bring him into contempt. Augustus may have found already that it was no easy task to reign as the first citizen of a republic. He panted for more unlimited sovereignty, and yet shrank from the suspicion of claiming it. He was not yet assured that his countrymen felt their need of him, and he aimed at bringing the necessity of monarchy to a decisive test. It was undoubtedly with this view that he now withdrew himself from the centre of affairs, and left the city, nominally, at least, to the control of its legitimate

Conspiracies
against Augustus.

He retires from
Rome,
A. D. 732.

¹ Dion, liv. 3.

magistrates, while he occupied himself with a tour of inspection in the eastern provinces. At the consular comitia for the year 733 the tribes, now first, for many years, left free to the exercise of their own discretion, elected Lollius to one seat, and offered the other of their own accord to Augustus. But when the wish of the citizens was signified to him, he declined to accede to it : a fresh election was announced, and the new candidates threw the city into confusion by their intrigues and violence. Some personages of the highest consideration now waited upon the emperor abroad, and besought him earnestly to return, and quell the disturbance with his nod. Again Augustus refused to interfere ; he contented himself with rebuking the rival candidates, and enjoining them to absent themselves from the city at the time of election. The commotions of the populace were not even thus allayed, and it was by violence rather than legitimate suffrage that an election was at last effected. Augustus watched his opportunity, and when he appointed Agrippa to govern the turbulent city in his absence, even the consuls, upon whose office the prefect must have glaringly encroached, were well pleased to lean upon the proffered aid. The elections for the next year now passed off without disturbance, Appuleius and Silius succeeding in due course to the vacant chairs. But at the next election the people insisted once more on creating only one consul, Sentius Saturninus, and keeping the other place open for Augustus himself. Again did their favourite baulk their desire, and the attempt to supply his place was attended with a repetition of popular commotions not without bloodshed. At this crisis Agrippa it seems was absent from the city ; the reins of government had fallen to the ground : the senate was reduced to despair, and rushed in its consternation to the extremity of decreeing that the state was in danger, and arming the sole consul with arbitrary powers for its protection. Sentius was appalled at the perilous supremacy thrust upon him. The imperator, he apprehended, would never forgive the momentary encroachment on his own paramount authority. He

He is entreated to return to quiet dissensions, but steadily refuses,

induced the senate to retract the rash decree and send envoys to the real master of the state, and beseech him to step forward and save it. Augustus now felt that his time was come. He consented to interfere so far as to name a second consul, and quiet was once more restored. Blood had been shed, and this perhaps was the proof he required to convince all classes of the state that popular government was no longer compatible with the exercise of genuine freedom. He was now ready to return to the city, and the citizens were no less prepared to place themselves unreservedly in his power.¹ When he entered Rome in 735 new honours and privileges were tendered for his acceptance. These for the most part he declined. He allowed a temple to be consecrated to the Fortune of his return, and the auspicious day to be commemorated with a festival named the Augustalia. He accepted the powers of the censorship ostensibly for a term of five years; but he allowed them from thenceforward to be periodically renewed to him. But the great prize for which he had been so long intriguing was the consular power, which he now finally accepted for life. He thus cut the knot which entangled his position; for he dared not assume the perpetual consulship; he dared not associate a colleague in his own permanence; still less did he dare to abdicate the highest magistracy in the state, and exalt a citizen over his own head.

till blood is shed and popular government proved to be impracticable.

He accepts the "potestas consularis" for life.

As the tribunitian power assumed by the emperor transcended the legitimate tribunate, so did the consular power which was henceforth attached to his prerogative surpass the ordinary consulate both in authority and dignity. Its superior eminence was displayed even in its outward trappings. The senate decreed that Augustus should occupy a seat between the actual consuls in its assemblies, and assigned him the constant attendance of the twelve consular lictors, the same number which was wont to attend only alternate months upon the supreme magistrates of the republic.

Importance of this power.

¹ Dion, liv. 10.

Whatever prerogatives the consuls possessed by virtue of their office were undoubtedly conferred upon him in this new capacity, and the imperator of the armies and proconsul of the provinces became supreme over the citizens in Rome itself. It was no longer possible for the senate, by declaring the state in danger, to arm a domestic magistrate with rival powers to the commander of the legions abroad. If the necessity should arise for introducing an armed force within the walls, Augustus might lay aside the toga and array himself in the military garb. Possibly the emperors in the first instance condescended to obtain on such occasions the authority of a senatorial decree; but they soon dropped all delicacy on the subject, and when, towards the end of his life, Augustus himself declared the state in danger, no mention is made of any action of the senate regarding it.¹

VI. The foregoing enumeration, however, of the political functions which the emperor combined in his own person, and by which he effectually controlled the commonwealth throughout its civil and military organization, does not yet embrace the whole sphere of his action. It will be desirable therefore in this place to anticipate the few years which intervened between his attaining the perpetual power of the consulate and the death of Lepidus in 742, when he was invested, for life also, with the illustrious dignity of the supreme pontificate. In the hands indeed of such a mere political puppet as its last possessor, this dignity might seem to be merely an honorary distinction, and to confer no other privileges than those of rank and precedence. But it had been far otherwise in earlier times, when the noblest organs of the oligarchy or the staunchest champions of the commons wielded therewith the great political instrument of the state religion; it was far otherwise when the emperors grasped it as one of their most cherished prerogatives, and evinced their sense of its importance by the pertinacity with which they retained it. We have seen the

¹ This was upon the disastrous defeat of Varus in Germany, Dion, lvi. 23 See Hoeck, *R. G.* i. 1. 293.

use which Cæsar made of it, in sweeping away the cobwebs of antiquated prescription by which the nobles had kept in their own hands the regulation of the national calendar: it must never be forgotten that that salutary reform, the most lasting monument of the dictator's power, had a political no less than a social aspect. Nor was his successor less sagacious, as we shall soon perceive, in deriving political advantage from this dignity, and making it his instrument for imposing upon his countrymen the spiritual yoke of a new element in their religion. The Pontifex Maximus or supreme pontiff was the chief of the pontifical college, consisting of fifteen members, and itself the chief of the four principal boards or associations of the ministers of the Roman religion. The epulones formed a college for the administration of the sacred festivals, to which much of the pomp and pageantry of the national worship attached: the quindecimvirs had the custody of the Sibylline books, mysterious volumes inscribed in occult language with the future fortunes of the state: the augurs exercised the science of divination according to prescribed formulas, the meaning and power of which they alone understood: but superior to all these in dignity and importance was the college of the priests or pontiffs, whose business it was to ordain ceremonies, to appoint sacrifices, to maintain the temples, to declare the usages of every ancient, and determine those of every new cult, to control in short the whole ritual of the state religion; all which they did under the sanction of a code of pontifical law, explained, expanded, and enforced by their own decisions.

The pontiffes, epulones, quindecimvirs, and augurs.

The interests of the people might seem to demand that they should have a potential voice in the appointment of officers to whom functions so extensive and so delicate were to be committed. The power of election became, as might be expected, a subject of jealousy to the different orders of the citizens.

The people confer the supreme pontificate on Augustus, A. U. 742.

From the curies it was transferred to the centuries or the tribes. At another time it was resigned to the members of

the college itself; again it was restored to the assembly of the people, and this arrangement was finally ratified by the legislation of Julius Cæsar. The appointment to the presidency of the college had followed nearly the same career. Antonius had recommended Lepidus to the people, and they had acceded to his suggestion with alacrity. A few years afterwards they had offered it to Octavius, and this offer seems indeed to have been more than once repeated, sometimes by popular acclamation, sometimes by the zeal of individuals who might pledge themselves to obtain for it the ratification of the comitia.¹ But the dignity of chief pontiff was perpetual, and Augustus constantly forbore to wrest it from the feeble old man to whom it had fallen. He shrunk, as we have seen, from accepting any distinct state-office for life; and still more from seizing any such in defiance of legal prescription, however little he might apprehend the sympathy of the people for a rival whom they had allowed to drop into oblivion. Accordingly he waited with no signs of impatience for the death of the existing occupants; but when that event took place, and the growing consolidation of his power encouraged him to extend its foundation still wider, he no longer hesitated to accept the vacant dignity, and take the religion of the state under his immediate superintendence. This religious supremacy was indeed too important a prerogative to be confided by the emperor to any private citizen. The election of magistrates, the march of armies, the transaction of all public business, might lie at the mercy of one, who from that exalted place could control the divination of the augurs, and the responses of the quindecimvirs. But the union of the emperor and the pontiff reduced these discordant elements to harmony. Every act of policy received the seal of religious ceremonial. Meanwhile the people relinquished their suffrages to the emperor without an effort to retain them. The elections to the pontifical college ceased to be

¹ Dion, xlix. 15. (A. U. 718); and again, liv. 15, where he says, *πολλακις γὰρ καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ταύτης ἀξιούμενος οὐκ ἐδικαίωσε ζῶντος τοῦ Δεπίδου λαβεῖν αὐτήν.*

anything but a mere form. The emperor's appointment was direct and conclusive; while the number of the members was extended indefinitely to augment the circle of his favours. The choice of the vestal virgins was also thrown into his patronage. Augustus could determine the authority of the manifold vaticinations, passed from mouth to mouth, which perplexed and terrified the people. He pretended to institute a strict inquiry into their validity, and amassed, it is said, not fewer than two thousand volumes, Greek as well as Latin, which he adjudged to be burnt as spurious and pernicious. The Sibylline books, which he retained and sanctioned, received fresh credit from the results of this investigation: but they too were purged, it was said, from some apocryphal interpolations, and a select canon of unimpeached integrity was deposited in two golden caskets within the pedestal of the statue of the Palatine Apollo.¹

Augustus exercises this office for the suppression of unauthorized vaticination.

The care and vigilance of Augustus in his sacerdotal capacity were exerted in various matters. He hastened to correct an error which had already vitiated the computation of the year, the pontiffs under the guidance of their inefficient chief having intercalated in every third year, since the reformation of the calendar, instead of every fourth. At the period when Augustus proposed to rectify this blunder, in the year 746, there had been twelve days intercalated, whereas there should have been nine only. The remedy was to allow fifteen years to pass without intercalation; but from the year 761 the process continued to be correctly observed, till, as has been shown in a former

The name of the month Sextilis changed to Augustus.

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 31.: "Quicquid fatidicorum librorum Græci Latinique generis nullis vel parum idoneis auctoribus vulgo ferebatur, supra duo millia contracta undique cremavit; ac solos retinuit Sibyllinos; hos quoque delectu habito; condiditque duobus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi." Tacitus refers to the same circumstance, *Ann.* vi. 12. Similar examinations had been made on various occasions under the republic, and again by Tiberius, A. U. 772. Dion, lvi. 18. Treasures were deposited for greater security within the base or pedestal of the divine images. Comp. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 5. "in Capitolini Jovis solio."

chapter, it was found necessary many centuries afterwards to repair the accumulations of the trifling error which still existed.¹ The name of the month Quintilis had been changed to Julius in honour of the chief pontiff, who had accomplished the reformation of the calendar in the year 708, and the month itself had been chosen as that of the reformer's birth. The precedent was seized to invent a fresh distinction for the new reformer, and Sextilis was duly changed to Augustus. The emperor indeed had been born in September; but the glories of the month which precedes it in the calendar had eclipsed the estimation even of that auspicious epoch. The decree of the senate by which the transfer was sanctioned declared that the month henceforth to be styled Augustus was the most fortunate to the empire of all the twelve; for in that, Octavius had commenced his first consulship; in that, the legions on the Janiculum had devoted themselves to his service; in that, his three triumphs had been celebrated; in that, finally, Egypt had submitted to the dominion of Rome, and civil discord had reached its term. The citizens, it is recorded, ratified the decree with a plebiscitum, on the motion of a tribune of the people.²

The biographer of Augustus has enumerated the principal acts of religion which the second Cæsar performed; but some of them at least were the pious deeds of a period anterior to his pontificate. The erection or repair of temples was a work of munificence from which no private citizen was excluded, and this the first of the citizens had effected himself on an extensive scale, be-

Acts of Augustus's pontificate.

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 31.; Plin. *H. N.* xviii. 57.; Maerob. *Saturn.* i. 14. The peculiar mode of computing time used by the Romans led to this confusion. Observe the last-mentioned writer's expressions: "Nam quum oporteret diem qui ex quadrantibus confit *quarto* quoque anno *confecto* antequam quintus *inciperet*, intercalare, illi quarto *non peracto sed incipiente* interealabant post hoc unum diem quinto quoque *inepiente* anno interealari jussit." The bissextile years had been 712, 715, 718, 721, 724, 727, 730, 733, 736, 739, 742, 745. The correction took place doubtless in the following year. From 745 there was no further interealation till 761. Ideler, *Chronol.* ii. 132.

² Suet. *l. c.*; Dion, *lv.* 6.; Maerob. *Saturn.* i. 12.

sides instigating others to emulate him in the same career. There may have been some irregularity however in the ritual restorations which he enacted, unless we are to suppose that the pontiff Lepidus was made the organ of his patron's policy. The customary supplication for the safety of the state was renewed after long disuse in the year 725; the flamen of Jupiter was reappointed, and the Lupercalia and other festivals revived probably about the same time; and lastly the year 737 was rendered famous by the celebration of the secular games, a grand service of prayer and praise to the gods for the general weal. On this occasion it is recorded that the quindecimvirs announced, upon inspection of the Sibylline books, that the secular festival ought to be held. The nature and purport of this traditional solemnity were but faintly indicated; Augustus appointed the most experienced jurist and antiquary of the time, Ateius Capito, to examine and report upon them; and at his suggestion the various ceremonies were ordained and duly executed, the most interesting of which, at least in our eyes, must have been the choral performance of the hymn which Horace the court poet composed at his patron's desire.¹ After these and other honours paid to the national gods, Augustus proceeded to exhibit next to them his veneration for the national heroes. He repaired the edifices which had been constructed in past times by the great statesmen and warriors of the republic, and allowed the names of the founders to continue to adorn them, instead of replacing them, as custom would have permitted, by that of the restorer. It was no point of his ambition to display himself as the author of a new order of things, and throw the past into the shade; on the contrary, both his temper and his policy led him to juster views, and induced him to cherish every link of the chain which connected him with the consuls and imperators of the ancient commonwealth. He thronged the corridors of the Augustan forum, which he erected by the

¹ The *ludi seculares* were performed A. U. 737. It was doubtless in his pontifical character that Augustus forbade the Romans to use the Druidical worship. Suet. *Claud.* 25.

side of the Julian, with the statues of the most famous captains of Roman story, arrayed in the triumphal ornaments which they had won and worn successively. An imperial edict declared that he placed them thus conspicuously in the eyes of the citizens, in order that his countrymen might estimate by their model both his own actions and those of future princes.¹

VII. The position of the emperor, as regarded the legislative and judicial functions pertaining to his several capacities, requires to be examined separately.

VII. Legislative and judicial functions.

The making of the laws was the great prerogative of the Roman people, which they had never surrendered to any magistrate. When the assemblies of the curies fell into disuse, or were maintained only for the sake of certain technical formalities, it was in the comitia of the centuries alone that laws properly so called (*leges*) could be passed, on the motion of a senatorial magistrate for the ratification of the project of law already approved by the senate. But the plebiscita, which from an early period of the republic had the force of law, and were binding upon all classes of citizens, were proposed by the tribunes and enacted by the comitia of the tribes. This power of making laws is necessarily the attribute of sovereignty: wherever it is really admitted to reside, there the power of the state must actually centre. Augustus professed to wield a delegated authority. He made no attempt therefore to suspend the legislative functions either of the senate or the people: he merely studied to guide and control them; but in so doing he showed the way to his successors gradually to supersede them. Accordingly both the senate and the people continued to meet for the purpose of legislation. Every ordinance which the emperor wished to receive the force of law was made to pass at his instance through the regular stages, according to the forms of the old constitution. His care now was to prevent others from proposing laws, independent of

He assumes the prerogative of initiation.

¹ Sueton. *Octav.* 31.

his counsel and suggestion: he wished the initiative to be actually or virtually confined to his own hands. Under the commonwealth both the consuls, as we have seen, and the tribunes had possessed this prerogative of initiation. Augustus had certain reasons for declining to be either consul or tribune; but he retained the substance of either office by the anomalous *potestas* which he had caused to be conferred upon him. In this consular capacity he accepted a specific permission to propose a single measure at any sitting of the senate. It does not appear why he thus restricted himself; nor again why his successors relaxed this limitation and allowed themselves at last to propose as many as five enactments on the same day. It would seem that the licence assumed by Augustus was extensive enough for any practical purpose; and it may be doubted whether he used his tribunitian power for introducing *plebiscita* at all. At the same time the actual consuls and tribunes, whom he overshadowed from his superior eminence, were doubtless too well drilled in compliance to exercise their initiatory functions except at his special instance. Thus, without abrogating the functions either of the senate or the people, which continued to exist and were occasionally referred to for at least two centuries, the emperor became in fact the sole fountain of the national legislation, and it was rarely, if ever, that any obstruction was thrown in the way of his enactments by the independent exercise of their suffrages.

But occasions might still arise when Augustus might not choose to propose a law directly, and yet might wish a certain colour or interpretation to be given to existing statutes. Here also the strict forms of the constitution substantially befriended him. The magistrates who possessed judicial functions, or in the Roman phrase, jurisdiction,—such as the consuls originally, the prætors, and in certain cases the tribunes also, in the city, the proconsuls and proprætors in the provinces,—were enjoined to publish their edict or proclamation, in which they declared beforehand the principles on which their decisions would be guided in cases for which the strict letter of the law offered no solution.

The emperor's
edicts.

In his consular or tribunitian capacity Augustus might claim to sit upon the bench of justice. He too might take occasion to announce his views of law by edict; with this advantage, that whereas the jurisdiction of other magistrates was local, his was unlimited; while theirs was specific, his was general; while theirs was temporary, his was life-long. The force of their edicts was circumscribed, while his were unlimited in duration, and even survived his own decease if the senate consented to confirm the acts of the departed emperor. The decisions of the emperor therefore could not fail to accumulate more and more authority. The exact limits of their validity would not be too closely scanned. He would be emboldened in course of time to declare not only what was the law, but what should be the law, and still the people, if they discovered the encroachment, would in fear and adulation only the more applaud it. But Augustus, and even his successors, were for the most part extremely temperate in pressing this grave prerogative. They continued to seek the sanction of the senate, after they had ceased to refer to the people for every important decision to which they wished permanent authority to attach. Meanwhile, the magistrates, the provincial governors, states and corporations, and lastly private citizens, besieged the doors of the palace with questions for the emperor's solution. Every day new cases arose in the administrative system of the empire, which called for his authoritative decision. The rescript or reply which issued from his council chamber was gladly accepted by a perplexed executive, and registered for future reference in the public archives. In process of time the edicts, the rescripts, and the official letters of the emperor were collected, compared, and methodized, and a vast mass of imperial legislation received the sanction of customary use under the name of the prince's constitutions.¹

Rescripts and
constitutions.

¹ Gaius, i. 5.: "Constitutio Principis est quod Imperator decreto vel edicto vel epistola constituit; nec unquam dubitatum est quin id legis vicem obtineat, cum ipse imperator per legem imperium accipiat." The reason here assigned is of course illegitimate; but in the time of Gaius (circa A. D. 150),

But Augustus at least did not live to witness these distant results. If he was not, in any strict sense, the maker of the laws, still less was he exempted from the obligation to obey them. The misconception which long existed on this point among the learned has been cleared away by a subtler criticism, sharpened in the struggle for constitutional freedom, and is chiefly interesting now as an obsolete memorial of those pretended rights of despotism against which the philosophical jurists of modern Europe have successfully contended. But it is not long since the autocracy of the Austrian Cæsars was defended by an appeal to the *lex regia* of the Roman empire, and it was contended that even from the time of Augustus the people had formally released their sovereign from every law and ordinance of the state. It is true that the Roman jurists, at least from the third century of the empire, were prone to magnify the imperial prerogatives, and sought to place them upon the basis of such a popular donation. Justinian himself asserts boldly that whatever the prince wills has the force of law, because the people has surrendered to him all its sovereignty and power,¹ and that by the special enactment denominated the Royal Law, through which he received the imperium. The emperor Alexander Severus had preceded the great legislator in declaring that the law of the imperium has released the sovereign from the forms of law.² Ulpian had said, still more concisely, *The prince is released from the laws*;³ and this same phrase is used by the historian Dion,⁴ a courtier and

Misconception
of the phrase
"legibus solu-
tus."

the theory of the constitution was forgotten or overlooked even by the jurists themselves.

¹ Justinian, *Inst.* i. tit. 3. 6. : "Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem, cum lege regia quæ de ejus imperio lata est, populus ei et in eum omne suum imperium et potestatem concessit."

² In pr. D. de Const. Princ. : "Licet enim lex imperii solennibus Juris imperatorem solverit, nihil tamen tam proprium Imperii est, quàm legibus vivere."

³ D. i. tit. 3. 31. : "Princeps legibus solutus est."

⁴ Dion, liii. 18. : λέλυνται γὰρ δὴ τῶν νόμων ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ Λατινικὰ ῥήματα λέγει· τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἐλεύθεροι ἀπὸ πάσης ἀναγκαίας νομίσεως εἶσι, and comp. c. 28.

a minister, to express the entire independence of all legal restrictions which the emperor enjoyed. Doubtless these authorities reflect the actual sentiments of their own days; it is not less certain however that the language they used, the old technical language of Roman law, bore in fact no such meaning as the phrase seems in strictness to convey. It is seldom perhaps that a mere verbal ambiguity or incorrectness has led to so grave a misapprehension as in the instance before us. There is no doubt that in the best ages of the commonwealth the legal term, *to be released from the laws*, meant simply a specific exemption from some particular law or constitutional principle. If a candidate for public honours was permitted by special enactment to sue for a magistracy before the legal age, he was said to be *released from the laws*; ¹ if an emperor obtained leave to enter the city before the day appointed for his triumph, the same phrase was applied to him: ² so when a citizen was allowed to be buried within the walls, or a prætor to absent himself more than ten days from the city. ³ The same phrase was applied to Julius Cæsar, the same to Augustus, when they demanded exemption from special restrictions; and the fact that it was applied to the latter on more than one occasion in the course of his principate shows that, at least in his time, the Romans were fully sensible of its technical limitation. But these occasional exemptions were easily converted into precedents. When the senate confirmed the acts of a deceased emperor his successors might claim to step at once into all his immunities. The imperium was still formally conferred by a senatorial decree, representing the law of the curies, an example of which has

¹ As in the case of Pompeius. Cic. *pro Leg. Manil.* 21.

² Suet. *Jul.* 18.

³ Cicero, *de Legg.* ii. 23., *Philipp.* ii. 13. In all these cases the phrase is clearly adopted from much earlier usage. The word "Leges" by itself has often the general scope of our phrase "the constitution." So, for instance, in the phrase "Inter arma silent leges." With us the suspension of a single principle of law may sometimes be called the suspension of the constitution.

been preserved to us in the case of Vespasian.¹ This document, a portion of which still exists, declares that the new emperor shall enjoy every exemption as well as every function bestowed upon his predecessors, and such doubtless was the prescribed formula employed at each accession. We shall find however that this sweeping donation did not supersede the action of the senate, which continued to a late period to dispense the various prerogatives of sovereignty, one by one, with affected hesitation. It was not till the accession of Alexander Severus, and that only for special reasons, that it conferred all together, immediately after the imperium, *the name of Augustus, and father of his country, the proconsular and tribunitian powers, and the right of initiative in the senate.*²

It may be difficult to reconcile this usage with the literal sense of the document just referred to: nevertheless, in questions of this sort the clear records of history must prevail over the bare letter of the law, which, as ^{The "lex regia."} we have just seen, may sometimes deflect widely in practice from its grammatical purport. The decree however which has been cited was, we may suppose, an example of the *lex regia* to which the imperial jurists refer as the foundation of the sovereign power. This law derived its name from the period of kingly rule, when the chief of the Roman state received

¹ Gruter, p. 242.; Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall*, ch. lxx.; Niebuhr, *Hist. Rom.* i. 337., is confident of its genuineness. It has been repeatedly published by writers on Roman law, and editors of Tacitus and Suetonius. The passage which bears upon the question before us runs:—"Utique quibus legibus plebeive seitis scriptum fuit ne Divus Aug. Tiberiusve Julius Cæsar Aug. Tiberiusque Claudius Cæsar Aug. Germanicus tenerentur, iis legibus plebisque seitis Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus solutus sit: quæque ex quâque lege rogatione Divum Aug. Tiberiumve Jul. Cæsarem, Tiberiumque Claudium Cæsarem Aug. Germanicum facere oportuit, ea omnia Imp. Cæsari Vespasiano Aug. facere liceat." The emperors omitted are evidently those whose acts the senate had refused to ratify.

² Lampridius, *Alex. Sev.* 1. 8. The emperor himself remarks upon it as a novelty: "Quæ omnia novo exemplo uno die in me contulistis." After this time it became common to confer all these functions together, but still not till the imperium had been first bestowed. Comp. Capitol. *Max. et Balb.* 8.; Vopisc. *Prob.* 11, 12.

his investiture from the assembly of his nobles. In spite of the jealousy with which the regal title was regarded, the name continued perhaps to be attached to every *lex curiata de imperio* throughout the period of the commonwealth, and thus survived to witness the revival of the monarchy, and to serve as an instrument for its consolidation. Yet even under the grinding tyranny of the most despotic of the emperors, the Romans might still console themselves with reflecting that no *king* reigned in Rome. The imperial medals struck in the metropolitan mint abstained from this hateful title.¹ It was only in the provinces, and under the decent veil of a foreign language, that the idea could be suggested to the public mind by the term *basileus* inscribed on the coins which passed from hand to hand. The Greek writers indeed in the second and third centuries ascribe the royal title to the emperor without reserve; but in Latin it is only to be found, I believe, thus applied among the solecisms of the African Tertullian, and in the metaphors of a poetaster such as Claudian.² It is the more remarkable that the emperors should have refrained so carefully from appropriating it, since the very mansion which the chief pontiff inhabited was technically denominated the *regia*.³ But the wreath of the emperor, the symbol of the widest and noblest sovereignty the world has ever known, the ensign of a Julius, an Augustus, and a Trajan, finally gathered round it a glory of its own, and eclipsed with its

¹ Spanheim, *de Usu Numism.* p. 686.; Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm.* viii. 366.

² Tertull. *de Virgin. Vel.* 17.: "Ut ait Romana quædam regina." Claudian, *Epith. Hon.* 253.:

"Magnorum soboles regum parituraque reges."

³ The same name was applied to a state pavilion in the theatres, and to any public hall or curia of peculiar magnificence; as by Statius, *Sylv.* i. i. 30.: "Belligeri sublimis regia Pauli." Hence, I conceive, rather than from any supposed convertibility of the terms *imperator* and βασιλεύς, the imperial halls of justice were denominated βασιλικαί. Another derivation of the Basilica is from the στοὰ βασιλική at Athens in which the Archon Basileus presided. But this seems extremely farfetched both in geography and chronology.

halo of brilliant associations the pallid lustre of Oriental diadems.¹

But this consummation falls only just within the limits of the long period before us. It was impossible indeed that the sovereign who wielded the powers of so many distinct offices should not soon acquire, at least ^{The name of} "Cæsar," in popular language, some peculiar designation expressive of this aggregate supremacy. It mattered not that the designation bore no such literal meaning; or rather it suited the imperial policy, and accorded not less with popular prejudice, that its actual signification should be wide of the idea it was really intended to convey. Octavius was the adopted heir of Julius Cæsar: from the moment of his adoption the surname of Cæsar became appropriated to him, and it was by this name accordingly that he was most familiarly known to his own contemporaries. Modern writers for the sake of distinction have agreed for the most part to confine this illustrious title to the first of the Cæsarean dynasty; but we should doubtless gain a clearer conception of the gradual process by which the idea of a dynastic succession fixed itself in the minds of the Romans, if we followed their own practice in this particular, and applied the name of Cæsar not to Augustus only, but also to his adopted son Tiberius, to the scions of the same lineage who succeeded him, and even to those of later and independent dynasties.² As late indeed as the reign of Diocletian, the Roman monarch was still eminently the Cæsar. It was not till the close of the third century of our era that that illustrious title was deposed from its preemi-

¹ It may be worth while to observe that the linen fillet is a sacrificial, the wreath of laurel, or rather bay, a military ensign; the golden band surmounted with spikes or rays, the parent of our modern crowns and coronets, is a token of divinity.

² Dion (lii. 40.) gives it as the advice of Mæcenæ, ὥς εἴγε τὸ μὲν πρᾶγμα τὸ τῆς μοναρχίας αἶρη, τὸ δ' ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας ὥς καὶ ἐπάρατον φοβηθῆς, τοῦτο μὴ προσλάβης, τῇ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος προσηγορίᾳ χρώμενος αὐτάρχει. The popular notion that Czar and Cæsar are in fact the same word is now denied by the learned; but it is still, I believe, encouraged by the Russian government and commonly accepted by the nation.

nence, and restricted to a secondary and deputed authority. Its older use was however revived and perpetuated, though less exclusively, through the declining ages of the empire, and has survived with perhaps unbroken continuity even to our own days. The Austrian Kaiser still retains the name, though he has renounced the succession, of the Cæsars of Rome, while the Czar of Muscovy pretends to derive his national designation by direct inheritance from the Cæsars of Byzantium.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION.—1. THE PEOPLE : 2. THE PRIVILEGED ORDERS ; THE SENATE, AND THE KNIGHTS : 3. THE MAGISTRATES : THE CONSULS, THE PRÆTORS, THE JUDGES, THE QUÆSTORS AND ÆDILES ; THE PRÆFECT OF THE CITY ; MUNICIPAL OFFICERS.—OFFICIALISM.—THE PROCONSULS AND GOVERNORS OF THE PROVINCES : THE MUNICIPAL PRIVILEGES OF THE PROVINCES.—4. THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT : 5. THE FINANCES ; OBJECTS OF EXPENDITURE AND SOURCES OF REVENUE.—CONCLUDING REMARKS.

THE last chapter has presented to us the portrait of the emperor himself, standing out unrelieved from the blank canvas ; our next step must be to fill in the back-ground of the picture, to give life and reality to this central figure, and harmonize the colouring of its parts. I proceed to bring under a rapid review the constituent elements of the imperial administration, to describe the political condition of the Roman people, the functions and prerogatives of the privileged orders, the powers of the principal magistrates, the government of the provinces, the military and financial systems of the empire, as constituted by the founder of the monarchy. The settlement effected by Augustus endured in its main features throughout the three centuries and a half which now lie before us ; but that long period is divided into two unequal portions by the great revolution which broke the sceptre of the Antonines, and finally subordinated the civil to the military institutions of the state. Even before the era of the accession of Pertinax we shall remark in particular instances the innovations of time and cir-

Subject of the chapter, the imperial administration.

cumstance, and observe the general gravitation of the whole machine towards a more absolute despotism.

I. The victor of Actium, on his return to Rome, found the people, assembled in their centuries, the acknowledged arbiters of every project of law submitted to them by the senate, while in their tribes they could originate measures of their own, at the instigation of their tribunes, and enforce them upon the collective body of the citizens. The course of political change, which in the best ages of the republic had elevated the commons to a full equality with the patrician class, had gradually extended the authority of the popular assemblies, and constituted them in fact, at the moment when the republic was passing into an empire, the real makers of the laws. This prerogative of sovereignty the master of the commonwealth could neither safely seize himself, nor abandon to a coordinate power in the state. He began therefore with modestly claiming only the initiative of measures, through the various magistracies of which he possessed himself: he then encroached gradually with his rescripts and proclamations upon the legitimate province of the law, and thus accustomed the people to the rarer use of their highest and gravest functions. The plebiscita or measures initiated by the tribes were the first to cease. The emperor firmly maintained the dignity of the senate against the rivalry of the comitia, and required that every measure should at least receive the assent of the more illustrious body, before it was stamped as law by the fiat of the centuries. It was not often however after the reign of the second of the princes, Tiberius, that the people were actually summoned to ratify a law at all. Still less were they indulged with the exercise of the judicial prerogatives, by which they had asserted their paramount sovereignty in the period of the commonwealth. Jealous even of the powers they entrusted to magistrates of their own appointment, they had admitted an appeal from the civil jurisdiction to their own superior tribunal. The people assembled in their tribes exacted from their officers an account of the exercise of their

I. Constitution-
al functions of
the Roman peo-
ple under the
empire.

functions, and inflicted at least pecuniary mulcts in cases of malversation. In charges affecting the life of a Roman citizen, the culprit was summoned before the popular judicature of the centuries: but the law was tenderly considerate to the interests of the criminal and the feelings of his judges, and allowed him to decline the appointed trial by withdrawing into exile. Certain of the allied cities were specified as places of refuge for the accused Roman, and a clause in the compact between them and the republic guaranteed the inviolability of their hospitable retreats. But this judicial prerogative was soon absorbed in the general jurisdiction of the emperor, and of the judges appointed by his authority.¹ The right of appeal was silently withdrawn from the people, and vested in the supreme ruler of the state alone: the privilege of declining a trial was still allowed to linger; but it continued to offer no substantial advantages to the culprit; for the allied states were rapidly absorbed into the imperial provinces, and no city of refuge extended its arms to receive him.² The emperor, if he allowed his victim to evade the disgrace or peril of condemnation, appointed him his place of exile on some barren rock, or in some ungenial clime, where existence was itself a punishment; or if he withheld this miserable favour, constrained him to relieve his judge by self-destruction from the painful necessity of ordaining his execution.

The duties of legislation were laborious; those of jurisdiction were invidious also; but the sovereign people possessed another prerogative, the sweets of which might counterbalance the pains and toils of all their other functions. Assembled in their centuries the Roman citizens appointed to all the higher magistracies of the

They are deprived of the election of magistrates.

Dion, lvi. 40.: ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὸ δύσκριτον ἐν ταῖς διαγνώσεσιν ἐς τὴν τῶν δικαστηρίων ἀκρίβειαν μεταστήσας, τό τε ἀξίωμα τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν αὐτῷ ἐτήρησε, κῶν ταύταις τὸ φιλότιμον ἀντὶ τοῦ φιλονείκου σφᾶς ἐξεπαίδευσε.

² Gibbon (*Decl. and Fall*, ch. iii.) has pointed out in striking language the impossibility of escaping the wrath or justice of the emperor; but in his summary of the imperial constitution he has not paused to show how it was that the old means of refuge were precluded.

republic ; convened in their tribes they dispensed the lesser or municipal offices of the city. For these honourable distinctions, for the pleasure and profit of serving the commonwealth, there was ever a crowd of competitors, to strive with or bid against one another, to descend to the meanest flattery or the darkest intrigues, to hold forth shows and entertainments with the one hand, and to lavish gold with the other. The occupants of every magistracy were annually replaced, and a fresh crowd of candidates, arrayed in white robes and attended by experienced canvassers, glided through the streets and public places, visiting from house to house, or thronging the forums, the theatres and the baths, till the moment arrived when the voters were marched across the *bridge*, and penned in the *sheepfold*, and admitted in secrecy and security to place their ballots in the urn. The mass of the citizens divided with the senate, as their executive committee, the manifold patronage of the state. The foreign relations of the commonwealth, including the provinces, were mainly confided to the care of the latter assembly ; and while the people retained the appointment to the metropolitan offices, they generally allowed the senate to nominate the proconsuls, ambassadors and political agents to serve their interests abroad. The value of these ulterior appointments had stimulated the competition in the Field of Mars : the race for preferment was long, but it was cheered by the acclamations of the spectators, the excitement of the struggle, and the splendid prospect of the prize. It was the policy of the principate to tame down the passions which had been generated in the headlong fury of this career. The prizes were multiplied in number, and diminished in dignity and value. Augustus stepped into the arena of public competition to recommend candidates of his own selection, and his voice was more influential than even that of the prerogative century. He may have adopted some specific measures for controlling the elections, and ensuring the nominations he demanded. Such at least seems to have been the object of the plan he devised, of permitting the citizens in the Italian colonies, which he had filled with partisans

of his own, to send up their votes to the capital.¹ By thus dispensing with the voters' personal appearance, he might obtain a multitude of suffrages which otherwise could not have been tendered at all, and overpower the unruly or venal voices of the urban populace. The fate of the popular elections was precipitated by the discovery the candidate soon made, that the favour of the prince was more efficient than that of the people. The sordid compliances demanded of the canvasser had always galled the pride of the Roman patrician. To kiss the hand of the emperor was less painful to him than to grasp the horny palm of the urban artisan. Before the captain of the armies, the prince of the senate, the high priest of the national divinities, he could prostrate himself without humiliation in the dust; but to cringe to the barbarian of yesterday, or the freedman whom he had himself emancipated, was a degradation in his fastidious view to which the direst necessity could hardly reconcile him. The emperors watched and profited by this feeling. They redoubled the amusements of the people, while they withdrew their privileges; and if a shadow of free election was still preserved through the reign of Augustus, his successor promptly swept it away, and raised but a transient unheeded murmur by its suppression.²

¹ The passage from which we learn this curious innovation in the principles of ancient government is an obscure one. Suet. *Oct.* 46.: "Italiam . . . etiam jure et dignatione urbi quodammodo pro parte aliquâ adæquavit, excogitato genere suffragiorum, quæ de magistratibus urbicis decuriones colonici in suâ quisque coloniâ ferrent, et sub diem comitiorum obsignata Romam mitterent." It seems probable from the context that this indulgence was limited to the twenty-eight military colonies of Augustus. Savigny supposes that the right of voting in this manner was accorded to the decurions only. Others by *ferrent* understand *ferri juberent*, and maintain that the decurions collected the suffrages of their fellow townsmen for the elections of the capital.

² Tac. *Ann.* i. 15. Of the limitation with which the language of Tacitus is to be understood more will be said hereafter. Julius Cæsar had materially curtailed the power of election; but his arrangement, which was as distinct as it was arbitrary, lasted only during his life. Suet. *Jul.* 41. During the triumvirate the elections had been controlled, but Augustus restored them ostensibly to their ancient form. Suet. *Oct.* 40.: "Comitiorum pristinum jus reduxit." Comp. Dion, liii. 21. Some have understood the *pristinum jus* to

Augustus however was actuated by no deliberate wish to degrade the estimation of Roman citizenship. He may have considered that the dictator had gone as far in extending the franchise as the circumstances of the times would justify. His efforts were directed rather to shutting the door against the provincials than throwing it more widely open; and he restricted the liberty of manumitting slaves to which the cupidity of needy masters seemed too easily tempted. He wished the masters of the Roman world to be distinguished by the national costume in which they had so long ruled over it. During the late disturbances the use of the short military lacerna had superseded even in the city the ample folds of the peaceful toga. The substitution might be recommended by its convenience; but it was deemed unseemly, and moreover it served to recall painful associations. Augustus was anxious to correct it. He abstained however from repressive measures, and with admirable tact contented himself with repeating a verse from the *Æneid* of Virgil, with whose noble accents the Roman world was then first resounding. *Behold*, he exclaimed with indignant irony, *the lords of earth, the nation of the gown*.¹ Nevertheless the necessities of his position induced him to pamper this ill-bred populace with gratifications which could not fail to break down every remnant of personal or national pride. The policy of the triumvir had been a perpetual effort to coax or terrify the unruly citizens. The failure of the sources whence the granaries of the city had been supplied had long held his affairs trembling in the balance. The sagest counsels and expedients, backed by the strongest demonstrations of force, had barely sufficed to maintain order while Sextus was threatening Rome with famine. This dire experience had determined the emperor never to trust his power to the caprices of the seasons or the improvidence of a dissolute mob.² Various

mean the regulation introduced by Julius, and assuredly the practice under Augustus differed little from that under his predecessor.

¹ Suet. *Ocl.* 40.: "Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam."

² An anecdote told of Augustus by Aurelius Viator, if not strictly credible,

causes, both physical and moral, combined to impede the improvement of agriculture in Italy at a time when the population of its cities, and especially of Rome itself, was rapidly increasing, as we may presume, with their increasing political importance. Nor were the methods of transport by sea sufficiently matured under the natural laws of exchange to supply a sudden deficiency in the harvests of the peninsula. The policy of providing against these perilous acci-

Disastrous
policy of free
distributions of
corn.

dents was forced upon every successive government. But the change from providing plenty in the markets to doling gratuitous alms to every poor or lazy applicant, was rapid and disastrous. Pompeius had trodden in the one course, Cato had sanctioned the other. Cæsar had modified, while he admitted, the fatal expedient of a free largess, and the triumvirs had resorted to it without shame or remorse to prop their precarious usurpation. Hitherto however the aid of the magistrate had been occasional only and irregular. Augustus reduced it to a system, and made it perpetual. Yet even he saw the danger, and would have grappled with the difficulty, had he not been convinced, as he himself avowed in his later years, that even if he withdrew his gratuitous distributions, a successor or a rival would undoubtedly restore them. He contented himself therefore with imposing restrictions on the claims to his bounty. When he came to power he found three hundred and twenty thousand citizens of the male sex (for females were excluded) enrolled as recipients of the public dole. It was by the exercise of no little firmness and energy that he reduced this number to two hundred thousand by striking off fictitious claimants and pretended paupers, and by removing into his colonies as many as could be tempted to emigrate. The Roman commons were themselves an impoverished aristocracy in the

though countenanced apparently by Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 46., may at least attest the extreme importance supposed to attach to the due supply of the capital with grain: "Cives sic amavit ut tridui frumento in horreis quondam viso statuisset veneno mori si e provinciis classes interea non venirent." Aurel. Vict. *Epit.* i. 6.

midst of a population of slaves and dependent foreigners. Not many perhaps among them, if they chose to seek employment, could sink into absolute want. But the false pride of political rank revolted from the vulgar industry of trade and labour; and the prejudice which a wise ruler would have combated with mild resolution, was confirmed by this ill-judged indulgence. Yet notwithstanding all his care to import grain for free distribution from the most abundant regions of the empire, for which object he kept his new province of Egypt under his own direct control, Augustus could not prevent the recurrence of severe scarcities. The tumults which ensued upon that of 732 have been already mentioned, and another in 759 constrained the government to adopt the harshest measures to reduce the number of mouths in the famishing city. Then it was that Augustus confessed that these largesses were working unmitigated evil, retarding the advance of agriculture, and cutting the sinews of industry.¹

II. The senate and the knights were orders of the Roman people distinguished by certain political privileges from the mass of their fellow-citizens. The former of these I have ventured to designate as the executive committee of the people, whom in some sense it represented: for under the republic to have exercised any of the magistracies to which the people elected constituted a claim to admission into its ranks. It transacted with dignity, despatch, and at least comparative privacy, many state affairs which could not be confided to a capricious and turbulent assembly. It conferred with foreign envoys, and when war was declared by the joint resolution of the senate and people, it was by the compact energy of the senate alone that hostilities were conducted. The senate appointed imperators and proconsuls, decreed them their provinces, and granted or withheld the honours of the supplication and the triumph. The same hand held not only the sword of the commonwealth, but its purse also; it imposed taxes and contributions of all kinds, and even the quæstors elected by the people were the

II. Functions
of the senate
under the re-
public.

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 42. 46. *Comp. Mon. Ancyr.* iii. 21.; *Dion.* iv. 10. 26.

accountable agents of the senate.¹ The religion of the state, a political instrument hardly less important than the legions or the treasury itself, was subjected to the same ultimate control. Measures to be submitted for the ratification of the comitia were first discussed in this assembly. Above all, the public safety was formally committed to its guardianship, and at a crisis of unusual danger the senate was authorised to suspend all ordinary forms of law, and arm the consuls with irresponsible powers.

Such were the principal cares of this august order under the republic; and they were duly repaid by the favour and reverence of the people, the awe and subservience of foreigners, the robe of honour, by which its members were distinguished, and the long array of places and offices to which they might aspire.² Augustus, while he owed his elevation to the popular interest in the state, was anxious to raise up a barrier of wealth and rank between himself and the spirit of democracy. While he showed himself anxious to multiply in many directions the public sources of profit and dignity, he rigorously confined the number of the senate to six hundred, the limit fixed before the civil wars. He raised the property qualification to twelve hundred thousand sesterces, equivalent to about ten thousand pounds of our money.³ In his censorial capacity he ejected, as we have seen, the impoverished and the unworthy, and the appointments he made, as far as appears, were carefully se-

Augustus maintains the dignity of the order.

¹ Cic. *in Vatin.* 15.: "Eripueras senatui provinciæ decernendæ potestatem, imperatoris deligendi iudicium, ærarii dispensationem, quæ nunquam sibi pop. Romanus appetivit"

² Cic. *pro Cluent.* 56.: "Senatorem queri non posse quod ea conditione honores petere cœpisset quodque permulta essent ornamenta quibus eam molestiam mitigare posset, locus, auctoritas, domi splendor, apud exterarum gentes nomen et gratia, toga prætexta, sella curulis, insignia, fascēs, exercitus, imperia, provinciæ."

³ Comp. Suet. *Oct.* 41., with Dion, *liv.* 17., and the annotations of the commentators. The ancient Roman law restricted the citizen's *property* in land to a few acres, and accordingly, though this sumptuary regulation was evaded by the *occupation* of unlimited tracts of public domain, the *census* or valuation of his estate regarded his personal effects also.

lected. The emperors continued to exercise the appointment to the senate exclusively ; but their practice became gradually laxer. The admission of provincials to the order was decried by many as a degradation ; but more judicious observers remarked the advantage it derived from the greater simplicity of such members' tastes and the greater purity of their conduct.¹ But the provinces at least were proud of the "*right of senatorship*," which was thus formally conferred upon them, and rejoiced to be connected by a closer bond with the interests of their honoured mistress.²

Augustus decreed that the senate should assemble twice every month for the despatch of business, and required that at least four hundred members should be present at every sitting. In the sultry and pestilential months of September and October he released them from this fatiguing service, except only a smaller number chosen by lot, who were constrained
 Method of
 transacting
 business in the
 senate. still to meet on the stated days. There must have been a large amount of business, even under the empire, to occupy so many councillors so often and so constantly. The forms indeed of the republican legislation were for the most part observed: the consul or next superior magistrate, in his absence, proposed the question of the day ; the opinion of the prince, the consulars, and the other past magistrates, were asked in order, and their votes were given by the ballot. The actual magistrates were forbidden to record their suffrages. Julius Cæsar had appointed in his consulship that the proceedings of the senate should be published ; and these together with the acts of the popular

¹ Tac. *Ann.* iii. 85.

² These foreign senators were not only required to reside in Rome, but forbidden to revisit their native country, except it were Sicily or the *Narbo-nensis*, without special permission of the emperor. In the time of the younger Pliny candidates for office were compelled to devote a third part of their property to the acquisition of lands in Italy. "Now is the time to sell," he exclaimed to his correspondents, when Trajan promulgated this decree : "*Scin tu accessisse pretium agris, præcipue suburbanis? si pœnitet te Italico-rum prædiorum hoc vendendi tempus tam hercule quam in provinciis compa-randi.*" Plin. *Ep.* vi. 19.

assemblies and the principal events of the day were duly registered in the *acta diurna* or journal of the city. But publicity had no effect in eliciting the truth; it was meant rather to degrade the senators as the instruments of government, than to elevate the tone of public morality. Cæsar himself, and after him Antonius, had scandalously falsified the reports, and even affixed the names of absent senators to their decrees to give them more weight.¹ Augustus, we are told, forbade this publication: it is more probable that he merely exercised some discretion in the proceedings he allowed to be divulged.² The usage continued to exist, though it excited little interest or remark, to the latest periods of the empire; it is attested by the historians of the third century of our era, and by the preamble to the code of Theodosius in the fourth.³

Among the most cherished instruments of government used by Augustus was the distribution of official business among the higher ranks of the citizens, especially the senators. He employed their industry in mat- Distinction of the senators. ters of petty interest, such as might exercise their abilities without stimulating their ambition. He taxed his invention to create new offices, in order, as he himself professed, that more persons might participate in the administration of affairs.⁴ The provinces which remained under the control of the senate continued to be assigned by lot to consulars and

¹ See the just complaints of Cicero in his letters, *ad Div.* ix. 15., xii. 1., and *Philipp.* v. 4.

² Suet. *Oct.* 35. Leclerc (*Journaux Romains*, p. 245.) supposes that the "*acta temporum D. Augusti*" referred to by Pliny (*H. N.* vii. 11.) are the record of the proceedings in the comitia, as distinguished from those of the senate. I rather think the term comprehends all the reports of public events promulgated in the official bulletin.

³ See for instance the textual citations of Vopiscus from the proceedings of the senate at the election of the emperor Tacitus: Vopisc. *Tac.* 3. seq., and the "*Gesta in Senatu P. R. in recipiendo codice Theodosiano.*" So usual was it to report the proceedings of the senate, that a resolution, the publication of which was withheld, was called a "*Senatusconsultum tacitum:*" see Capitolinus, *Gordian.* 12., who speaks of this as an ancient practice.

⁴ Suet. *Oct.* 41.: "*Quo plures partem administrandæ reipublicæ caperent nova officia excogitavit.*" These offices will be specified in another place.

prætorians, while the salutary laws which required a certain interval between the consulship and proconsulship were now for the first time really enforced. While however the substance of their authority dwindled away, the honours and distinctions of the senators sensibly increased. The laticlave or broad purple stripe along the edge of the toga, and the black sandals fitted with a silver crescent, constituted the badges of their order. The best places were allotted them in the theatre and the circus, and they banqueted in the Capitol at the public charge. The permission accorded in ancient times to the sons of senators to sit with their fathers in the assembly was revived, after long proscription, by the founder of the empire. With the disuse of the functions of the censorship, the senate, from an elected or nominated character, became eventually changed into an hereditary peerage. Such it had undoubtedly become in the fourth century of our era,¹ and it seems probable that the usage we have just noticed may have had some share in producing the innovation. The notion of hereditary right seems indeed to grow spontaneously under the rule of the one or the few. It was soon applied to the imperial succession; but vehement were the struggles and bloody the revolutions which occurred before that principle was fixed in the descent of the throne.

It would be premature to examine in this place the claims of the senate to appoint the successor to the sovereign power, which it continued to advance with more or less success through several centuries. After the disuse of the comitia of the curies, the senate seems to have represented that patrician assembly, as most akin to it in spirit and composition, and to have conferred the imperium upon the magistrates in the ancient form. The *lex curiata* or *lex regia*, by which this act was effected, became the legal instrument of the imperial appointment, and by this law, as we have already seen, the prerogatives and exemptions of the deceased emperor were solemnly transferred to his successor. By the same instrument the acts of the late

Claim of the
senate to elect
the emperors.

ruler were duly confirmed, on no other principle than that by which the senate of the republic had ratified the proceedings of its imperators and proconsuls. We shall see in the sequel how the senate presumed, in virtue of these traditional functions, not only to confirm the appointment or succession of the emperors, but even, when opportunity favoured, to elect them of its own free choice. Such a stretch of prerogative was hailed with acclamations by the people, and regarded as an assertion of the majesty of the law, though undoubtedly it was countenanced neither by law nor prescription. But it was at least a protest against the all-engrossing power of the prætorians and the legions, and if the people had been strong enough to control their own armies, it would have become the regular and appointed method of transmitting the imperial authority.

The equestrian order had struggled to wrest from the senate a share in the administration of the provinces, and the passions engendered by this rivalry had rent the commonwealth in sunder, while it armed the champions of revolution with their most effectual weapons. But when the oligarchy fell, the instruments of its overthrow gained nothing by the change. The spoils of the senate accrued to the emperor, and not to the knights. The equestrian order continued, as under the republic, to farm the revenues of the provinces, a business which they found more lucrative than the higher walks of government, shorn as they now were of their irregular emoluments. The knights retained their place among the classes from which the judges were selected; but this prerogative also, once so fiercely contested, had lost most of its charms with the checks imposed upon corruption. Nevertheless the caresses lavished upon them by the emperors, who rivalled in the arts of popular flattery the demagogues their predecessors, humoured their self-importance, and kept them contented. The knights, it was said, are the nursery of the senate: chosen themselves, under the powers of the censorship, from the noblest families of Rome, Italy, and the provinces, it was from among them

Occupations
and distinctions
of the knights.

that the vacancies in the higher order were supplied. The property required for the knights was one-third of that demanded of the senators. They were distinguished from the rest of the citizens by the decoration of the golden ring, and to the members of a superior class among them, the emperor, after the example of the ancient censors, presented a horse, as a symbol of military rank. From early times the distinction of knighthood had become hereditary in many families. Even the native of an obscure Italian town could boast that he inherited his rank through several generations.¹ But all the affection with which men regard an honour derived from their progenitors, and all the panegyrics of Cicero and compliments of the emperors, which continued to soothe the ears of the knights of the empire, could not avail to maintain the dignity of the order against the overwhelming infusion of meaner blood, by which it was gradually swamped. Its respectability was assured by no limitation of number, and the favour of the emperors continued to make the cheap distinction still cheaper, till it lost almost all its attraction. It was in vain that an imperial decree could order the knights to rank next in dignity to the nobility of the senate, at a time when the wearing a golden ring was conceded even to slaves upon manumission.²

III. I pass on to the principal executive officers by whom the empire was administered, the same generally in name as under the commonwealth, the same in most of the outward ensigns of authority, and even in their ostensible functions; yet widely different in the source from which they derived their offices, and the spirit in which they accordingly administered them.

When the emperor first took his seat between the consuls in the senate-house, he pretended to elevate himself as the

III. Executive officers under the empire.

¹ Ovid, a native of Sulmo, could boast (*Trist.* iv. 10. 7.) that he was

“Usque a proavis vetus ordinis hæres.”

² Cod. xii. tit. 32.: “Equites Rom. secundum gradum post clarissimatus dignitatem obtinere jubemus:” after a constitution of Valentinian and Valens. Comp. Digest. xl. tit. 10. 1.

most eminent of private citizens to a level with the highest and most honourable magistracy in the state. But the legitimate majesty of the consulship dwindled away with its substantial power, and the lustre he reflected as sovereign ruler upon his assessors on either hand, became in no long time the proudest distinction remaining to them. Augustus continued to transact the business of the senate through their agency. They were his eyes, his voice, and his hands; and the most wary of his successors persisted in the same prudent and moderate policy.¹ The Romans allowed themselves to be deceived by the mere shadow of authority which was still thrown over this cherished magistracy, the earliest birth, and as they still fondly deemed, the latest pledge of their freedom; while they allowed its dignity to be prostituted, almost without a murmur, to the mere nominees of their actual rulers. While they acquiesced in its degradation by the process, which soon became habitual, of transferring it month by month or even at shorter intervals, from one imperial favourite to another, that it should be absolutely vacant, for however brief a space, shocked and distressed them, and it was cited among the gravest offences of the most wanton of their tyrants, that he deprived the state for three days of its supreme magistracy.² The extraordinary respect which the people still persisted in professing for this almost empty title encouraged the emperors to magnify its distinction as the most brilliant their omnipotence could confer. From the time of Tiberius they ceased to make even the show of an application for the sanction of the tribes or senate to their nominations. Neither political experience nor military service was required as a qualification for it. Ministers of the imperial household, who were generally freedmen of foreign extraction, rhetoricians and professors, men in short of any grade or character who might recommend themselves to the

The consuls.

¹ Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 7.: "Cuncta Tiberius per consules incipiebat tanquam vetere republica et ambiguus imperandi."

² Suet. *Calig.* 26.: "Consulibus oblitis de natali suo edicere abrogavit magistratum, fuitque per triduum sine summa potestate republica."

monarch by subserving his personal interests, were numbered among the recipients of his most shining favours.¹ Even the consular ornaments, or personal insignia of the office, served to content the candidates for whom no room could be found on the curule chairs. These ensigns were the same which tradition ascribed to the kings of the infant state. The dignity of the consuls was marked by the wreath of laurel on their brow, the trabea or striped robe of white and purple, in which they performed the most august ceremonies of their national faith, and the guard of lictors bearing the axes and rods in token of their summary authority. Even in the decrepit ages of Byzantine autoeracy the Roman consulship was still qualified as the noblest of human distinctions.² The year continued to be named after these magistrates down to the middle of the sixth century of our era.³ Every citizen was required to make way for them, and even to dismount, on meeting them in the streets; and every other magistrate rose in their presenee, and lowered the point of his fasces in acknowledgment of his own inferiority.

Besides presiding in the senate the consuls discharged some judicial duties, not perhaps very clearly defined or regularly administered. The prætors continued under the empire, as under the republic, to stand

The prætors.

¹ Juvenal, vii. 197.:

“Si fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul;

Si volet hæc eadem, fies de consule rhetor:”

an epigram which was afterwards borrowed by Pliny, *Ep.* iv. 11., unless, indeed, both were indebted to a common source: “Ex professoribus senatores, ex senatoribus professores.”

² Julian, *Orat.* iii.: τιμὴ καθ’ αὐτὴν τῶν ἄλλων πάντων στερομένη πρὸς πᾶσαν ἰσχὺν ἀντίρροπος εἶναι δοκεῖ. Even at the moment of the dissolution of the western empire the Gothic historian Jornandes speaks of the consulship with admiration, as “Summum bonum primumque in mundo deus.” De ia Bleterie, *M. A. I.* t. xxiv.

³ That is to the year 541, in the reign of Justinian. See Gibbon, *D. & F.* c. 40.; Procop. *Anecd.* 26. The emperors however still continued to assume the title of consul at their accession *pro formâ*. The last who is known to have borne it is Heraclius, on whose sole existing coin we read ERACAIΩ CONSUAL. Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm.* viii. 333.

ostensibly at the summit of all civil and criminal jurisdiction. The city and foreign prætors, the chief commissioners of the board, continued to issue edicts annually on their accession to office, and though forbidden to vary their own procedure from the canon they had themselves laid down, their successors were not found to conform to it until the institution of the prætorian code, or perpetual edict of Hadrian.¹ The number of which the prætors' college consisted fluctuated according to the caprice or policy of the emperors. Under the commonwealth it had been raised from two to eight. Caesar had appointed as many as sixteen; but the Romans seem to have objected to the degradation of so high an office by this excessive extension, and Augustus reduced the number to twelve. His successor, Tiberius, raised it once more to the limits fixed by the dictator, but bound himself at the same time by a voluntary oath never to exceed them. Besides dispensing justice themselves in the tribunals, the prætors had the care of selecting judges The judges. for the trial of causes from the qualified orders. These, as under the latest institution of the republic, were the senate, the knights, and the ærarian tribunes: Augustus added a fourth class composed of citizens of inferior census, who were called *ducenarii*, as having a property of two hundred thousand sesterces, and these were deemed fit only to decide in cases of the most trifling importance.

The censorship was extinguished in its ancient form from the year 730, and its most important duties were thenceforth discharged by the emperors themselves, at least to the time of Claudius, under the name of the The quæstors, ædiles, and tribunes. prefecture of manners.² The quæstors and ædiles continued to exist under the monarchy; but the quæstors were subjected in the care of the treasury to the prætors' control, to whom the judicial business of the ædiles was also transferred.³ When the ædileship ceased to be a step to the con-

¹ The *lex Cornelia*, A. U. 687, compelled the prætor to abide by his own edict. Dion, xxxvi. 23.

² Dion, liii. 17.. liv. 2.

³ Dion, liii. 2.; Suet. Oct. 36.

sulate and proconsulate, it lost its attraction for the noblest and wealthiest of the senators, who no longer cared to contend for it in the Field of Mars, nor to dignify it with lavish expenditure in the circus. The fall of the tribunate might seem still more humiliating. The emperors, champions and representatives, as they professed themselves, of the people, shrank from abolishing the cherished symbol of popular independence. Some form of election was still retained; after the time of Augustus the senate may have supplied in this respect the place of the centuries; the right of veto on the proceedings of the senate was at least in theory allowed; and in the second century of the empire the sentence of the prætor might actually be stayed by the interposition of a tribune.¹ But the real exercise of its awful prerogatives, except perhaps in a few peculiar cases, was confined to the hands of the master of the Roman people, to whom nobles and commons equally bowed, whose power to enact and to forbid was in fact equally unlimited.

The institution of the prefecture of the city must have dispelled any lingering delusions upon this subject. The Cæsar was embarrassed by the amplitude of the powers committed to him. While his own hand sufficed to wield them during his personal residence in the metropolis, he might hesitate to restore them, on occasion of his absence, to the various magistrates upon whose functions he had encroached. The experiment of abandoning the commonwealth to the control of its ancient officers had demonstrated the need of a single central authority, and the commission with which Agrippa had been temporarily invested had proved both popular and successful. On the restoration of public tranquillity, Augustus seized the opportunity to perpetuate the instrument which had restored it. The ancient title of prefect of the city furnished him with a suitable republican appellation. Even in the time of the kings, such an

¹ Compare Plin. *Epp.* i. 23., ix. 13. The attempt which certain of the tribunes made to extend their jurisdiction beyond the one mile limit was unsuccessful. Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 28.; Hoeck, *R. G.* i. 1. 412.

officer, it was said, had been deputed to preside in the city during the sovereign's absence on the frontiers. But the consuls had been permitted to delegate their authority in a similar manner, until the creation of the prætorship provided them with a more regular substitute. Thenceforth the functions of the prefect had been confined to the special occasion of the celebration of the Latin feriæ, when he superseded even the highest ordinary magistrates, and convened the senate, in the place of the consuls or tribunes.¹ Augustus breathed life and activity into this antiquated shadow. The prefect of the city became his most efficient executive minister, and his deputy for domestic appeals.² While himself present in Rome, he might limit this officer's functions to jurisdiction between masters and slaves, patrons and clients, wards and guardians, usurers and creditors; to the superintendence of the city police and the general care of the public tranquillity: but whenever the emperor abandoned the helm of state, the duties of the prefect swelled to still ampler dimensions; he was empowered to forbid access to Rome to any citizen he might deem disaffected, and even to deport him for safe custody to an island. His direct superintendence reached one hundred miles every way from the city. Augustus was careful to select the most illustrious personages to confer splendour upon an office so conspicuous. The first of his prefects was Mesala, who had refreshed his republican laurels with triumphs gained under the imperial auspices; and when the friend of Brutus and Cassius renounced the charge as too harshly opposed to public freedom, it was bestowed upon Statilius Taurus. Thenceforth the emperors professed to make the prefecture the last and highest step in the career of civil honours, though occasions were not wanting in which it was sullied by the appointment of the basest of their creatures.³

¹ Aul. Gell. xiv. in fin.

² Suet. *Oct.* 33.: "Appellationes urbanorum litigatorum præfecto delegavit urbis."

³ See the supposed advice of Mæcenas in Dion, lii. 26, 37. The same counsellor is there made to recommend the appointment of the emperor's

It was the policy of the emperors, first devised by the prudence of Augustus, to extend and multiply the functions of the Roman municipality. Extension of municipal offices. Mæcenas, it was said, had counselled his master to furnish public occupation to as many of the citizens as possible, in order to attach them to the government by interest, and at the same time give them experience in affairs. It might be deemed of no less importance to divert their restless energies into safe and useful channels. But in fact the time had arrived when the vast amount of civil business required to be placed under more regular and systematic management; when the complexity of public affairs had outgrown the simple agency of independent administration. The Romans had arrived at the era of centralization, and it was no longer possible to leave to private zeal or munificence the care of their most important and pressing interests. Accordingly, from henceforth the irregular vigour of individual enterprise was superseded by the organized industry of boards and commissions. The care of the public buildings furnished occupation for one body of commissioners; the charge of the roads, of the aqueducts, of the navigation of the Tiber, of the distribution of grain, of senatorial and equestrian scrutinies for several more.¹ It may be presumed that these various services were compensated from an early period by fixed salaries, and the government strengthened by the expedient, so commonly applied in modern times, of retaining in its pay a host of interested officials. The history indeed of official remuneration is an obscure one. It was the first principle of the ancient free-states that public service should be esteemed an honour and not a burden. The generous citizen strained every nerve to compete for the glorious privilege of lavishing his substance for his country's advantage. But if such was the theory,

freadmen to the highest stations, as a measure of security; a suggestion which faithfully represents the practice of the later Cæsars, but was repugnant to the spirit of the selections made by Augustus. Statilius was succeeded in the prefecture by L. Piso. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 10.

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 41

more vulgar interests were found to operate practically. At one time the administration of office furnished many sources of irregular emolument; at another the state itself compelled the services of reluctant citizens, and exacted from them not only the labour of their heads or hands, but ample pecuniary contributions also. The regular payment of fixed salaries, at least to the higher class of civil administrators, was unknown perhaps in Rome until the time of Augustus, nor indeed can it be clearly traced even to that era. Undoubtedly the chief magistrates continued throughout the imperial period to serve without official remuneration, and the system of municipal administration in the provinces was strictly moulded, in this as in many other respects, upon the metropolitan model. The burden of municipal office became, in the general impoverishment of later ages, odious and intolerable. The legislation of the emperors teems with notices of the desperate efforts their subjects made to escape from it. It may be doubted indeed whether Augustus himself introduced the payment even of such inferior offices as have been just described; but we may fairly presume, from the advice attributed by Dion to Mæcenas, that such was the established practice at least in the second century.

The term *salary* itself is derived, as is well known, from the composition made by the state for the provision, or, as its simplest element, the salt of the proconsuls, who governed the provinces in its behalf.¹ Some capitalist of the city, or the province itself, generally a Roman knight, undertook, for the consideration of an allowance from the treasury, or more commonly perhaps of the proceeds of a local toll or tribute, to supply the table, the attendance, the public expenditure in games and spectacles of the governor throughout his term of office. The farmer of the salary made his own profit out of this bargain; but the proconsul was not humiliated by touching the money of the state; his emoluments were derived from other and doubtless

Official payment of salaries.

¹ Strictly speaking, *vasarium* is the proconsul's outfit on going to his province, *salarium* the composition for his expenses in it.

far less reputable sources. But thus, at least under the free-state, the principle of public service was preserved intact.¹ Augustus introduced a more convenient arrangement, which was meant, we may presume, to operate as a safeguard to the interests of the provincials. Henceforth the proconsul was to farm his own salary. The sum supplied to him was still nominally assigned for the maintenance of his state; but he was not required to account to his employers for the surplus he might extract from it by judicious economy. We may trace in this new arrangement a curious step in the direction of regular official payment, and of the clearer and perhaps purer ideas of official duty connected with it.

Public service has thus its three stages. In the first the expense and burden are compensated by the honour or indirect advantage: in the second it is furnished with a salary or provision for the liquidation of its contingent charges: in the third it is directly requited by so much wages for duties performed. Under the imperial government these wages were sometimes paid in money, and sometimes partly in the maintenance by the state of the equipage suitable to the appointment.² Remuneration by

¹ It should be observed, however, that the provincies were required to furnish the proconsuls with a certain amount of corn at a low price (*frumentum æstimatum*); and that few of these governors refrained from accepting an additional gratuity under the title of *frumentum honorarium*. See Cie. *in Pisson*, 35. Here was a wide opening for extortion.

² Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 42. The enumeration of the objects provided is trifling and ludicrous from its minuteness and at the same time its meagreness. The proconsul was required to restore on the cession of his province the pair of horses, pair of mules, the single cook and single muleteer which had been furnished him. This edict of Alexander Severus may be compared with the far more liberal allowanees made in certain instances mentioned in the Hist. Aug. Ser. *Claud.* 15., *Prob.* 4. Our curiosity to learn the ordinary amount of the proconsul's salary is completely at fault. The allowanees above mentioned refer to special cases. At the beginning of the third century the governors of Asia and Afria seem to have received a million sesterces, about 8000*l.* Dion, lxxviii. 22. The proeurers in the imperial, who corresponded to the quæstors in the senatorial provincies, were arranged in classes, called *ducenarii*, *centenarii*, or *sexagenarii* according as they received 200,000, 100,000, or 60,000 sesterces (1600*l.*, 800*l.*, 480*l.*). Dion, liii. 15.; Capitol

fees, so common a feature in the public economy of modern times, seems to be the resource of governments which, having no fixed revenues of their own, cannot undertake to defray regular salaries from a fluctuating public income. But the governors of the Roman provinces were allowed to demand certain honorary emoluments. The principle that the proconsul's table should be maintained by the province or city in which he sojourned gave occasion for certain arbitrary requisitions of corn, commuted no doubt for money, which in the third century were found to require the direct interference of the emperor. Severus and Caracalla affected to regulate, with *elegance* perhaps, but certainly with little precision, the measure of the gratuities which might be expected from a decorous hospitality: as regards such compliments, they said, it is barbarous to refuse them altogether, but indecent to accept everything that is offered everywhere, and from everybody.¹ But with this important and vague exception, the acceptance of presents from the provincials was ostentatiously forbidden.

Nevertheless, although the presence of a proconsul with a numerous retinue was a considerable burden to the province in which he resided, the show and splendour of his court caused an outlay which seems to have Office of the
proconsuls. been universally regarded as an important element in its economical prosperity. The entertainments he dispensed attracted great numbers to the immediate sphere of his lavish

Pertin. 2. The sum which Piso claimed for his *vasarium*, when he went into Macedonia, was *centies octogies* = 144,000*l.* Cic. *in Pison.* 15. This large sum may have been meant to defray the whole expense of the proconsul's retinue, and perhaps to cover some military charges also.

Dig. i. tit. 16. 6. 3.: "Nec vero in totum xeniis debet abstinere proconsul sed modum adjicere, ut neque morose in totum abstineat, neque avaræ modum xeniorum excedat. Quam rem divus Severus et imp. Antoninus *elegantissime* epistola sunt moderati, ejus epistolæ verba hæc sunt: quantum ad xenia pertinet audi quid sentimus. Vetus proverbium est, οὔτε πάντα, οὔτε πάντοτε, οὔτε παρὰ πάντων. . . . Et quod mandatis continetur, ne donum vel munus ipse proconsul accipiat ad xeniola non pertinet, sed ad ea quæ edulium excedant usum." This title of the Digest is taken from a treatise of Ulpian, *de Officio Proconsulis*, circ. A. D. 210.

expenditure ; and the cities through which he was accustomed to make his progress, claimed and extorted an imperial decree to forbid him to vary the route by which he reached his destination. Thus we find, for instance, that the province of Asia demanded that its governor should arrive, not by the way of the Hellespont, but always by sea from Greece or Italy, and make his first halt at Ephesus.¹ The proconsul indeed was sent abroad to hold a mimic court, and reflect an image of the magnificence as well as the majesty of the conquering republic. He received, at least in the frontier provinces, a numerous army from the hands of his predecessor,² and during the term of his office he directed all his movements with no superior control, only with the risk of his acts being disavowed by the senate at the instance of some political opponent. Nor did such a disavowal bring with it any other inconvenience than the consequent rejection of his claim to the honours of a supplication or a triumph. In the summer, as long as there were any active enemies within or beyond his borders, he generally employed himself in military operations. In the winter he resorted successively to the principal cities of his government, which were designated by the title of *conventus*, as the central spots to which all the public business of the surrounding districts was brought for his adjustment. The proconsul exercised the full military imperium not only over the enlisted soldiers, but over the whole body of the provincials, whom from the force of old associations the republic could not learn to regard in any other light than as her conquered enemies, requiring the constant coercion

Dig. i. tit. 16. 4, 5.: "Quædam provinciæ etiam hoc habent, ut per mare in eas proconsul veniat, ut Asia scilicet . . . proconsuli necessitatem impositam τῶν μητροπόλεων Ἐφεσον attingere . . . Magni enim faciunt provinciales servari sibi consuetudinem istam et hujusmodi prærogativas." Cicero came to Ephesus on his way to Cilicia, and the younger Pliny on his way to Bithynia, *Ep.* x. 17. Cicero charges it as a crime on Vatinius that he did not take the prescribed route: in *Vat.* 5.

² Under the republic a proconsul could sometimes venture to baulk his successor by disbanding the legions and rifling the magazines before his arrival. See the story of Metellus in Val. Max., ix. 3. 7.

of the sword. He also presided in the tribunals, and issued an edict, at the commencement of his career, like that of the prætors, by which he bound himself to administer justice. The claims of the usurer and the tax-gatherer constituted perhaps the most pressing matters for his adjudication. By means of his quæstors he raised the tributes and tolls demanded by the state; he was attended by a host of secretaries, notaries, heralds, lictors, physicians and augurs;¹ his train or *cohort* was swelled by a number of young nobles, aspirants to place and favour, who were sent by their friends to receive under his auspices their first initiation in the mysteries of public service. As long as the strict law of the republic was enforced, which limited the tenure of provincial government to a single year, the proconsul was forbidden to take his wife with him on his foreign mission, which was regarded rather in the light of a campaign than of a civil employment. But when that restriction was relaxed, and the proconsulate extended, as was usual under the emperors, to five or even more years, this rigid military abstinence was no longer enforced. The cupidity and licentiousness of the women, who now followed their husbands to the provinces, gave occasion for just complaint, and the question of restoring the ancient discipline was agitated in the senate on a memorable occasion.² It was then determined, not unwisely, perhaps, that the balance of evil inclined on the other side; and the indulgent decree of a later period, which allotted to an unmarried officer a special sum for the maintenance of a concubine, consulted perhaps the domestic happiness of the provincials rather than the comfort, as it pretended, of the officer himself.³ But though the military commander was supreme in the province, his concern did not descend to the control of all its internal arrangements.

¹ Cic. II. *in Verr.* ii. 10.: "Comites illi tui delecti manus erant tuæ; præfecti, scribæ, medici, accensi, haruspices, præcones manus erant tuæ."

² Tac. *Ann.* iii. 32. Comp. Juvenal, viii. 129.

³ Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 42.: "Si uxores non haberent, singulas concubinas, quod sine his esse non possent." But Ulpian pronounced it expedient that wives should not accompany their husbands.

While the proconsul and his retinue were regularly sent from Rome to maintain obedience and enforce the public dues, the subjects of the state were permitted to retain something more than the shadow of domestic government. The Roman colonies enjoyed a municipal constitution, administered by a senate and officers of their own appointment; and this local arrangement was gradually extended under the first emperors to the provincial cities generally. The duumvirs of the foreign community corresponded to the consuls, the decurions to the senate of Rome: their duties were confined for the most part to devising and executing regulations of police, levying contributions for local purposes, and deciding suits of small amount. These functionaries enjoyed various important immunities: they were relieved from liability to military service, and exempted from torture and corporal punishment. Two members of each decuria were sent to Rome to watch over the interests of their constituents at the centre of government. The decurions were permitted to farm the local revenues of the state: but in the decline of the empire this privilege ceased to be a source of emolument; they were made personally chargeable by the governors with the amount of the local taxation, and the honour of their office degenerated into an intolerable burden. In the decay of society and civilization this institution had no effect in keeping alive any sentiments of patriotism or independence; but it fostered undoubtedly a mechanical aptitude for self-government, which survived the crisis of the barbarian invasions.

The division of the provinces into imperial and senatorial made by Augustus was no abrupt innovation, but only a modification of an arrangement previously existing. Under the early republic the provinces had generally been governed by proprætors, and it was only on the occurrence of a particular emergency that one of the consuls, or a consular, was sent with the title of proconsul, to take the command. Hence arose a distinction between the more tranquil provinces, which were ordinarily

Municipal institutions in the provinces.

Division of the provinces into imperial and senatorial.

prætorian, and those in which large armies were maintained, to which was assigned the designation of proconsular. The emperor was glad to build upon these legitimate foundations. His proconsular *potestas* gave him special authority on every frontier of the empire, and in every district where the temper of the natives themselves required the control of a strong military force. The officers whom he appointed to take charge of these provinces were strictly his military lieutenants; he selected them from any rank and order of the state, and as they were seldom consulars they did not obtain as a class the title of proconsuls. On the other hand the senate, acting on the part of the sovereign people, generally selected its highest magistrates for the government of its own provinces: its governors held superior rank, and received perhaps ampler salaries than those of the emperor's appointment; and they were distinguished by a retinue of twelve lictors, while their rivals were constrained to content themselves with half that number. Nevertheless while Augustus resigned one half of his vast dominions to the direct control of the senate and people, he continued to watch with considerable jealousy over the exercise of this co-ordinate power, and claimed eventually the right of intruding even into the senatorial provinces a legatus of his own to curb the independence of the proconsul. In one or two cases, when a senatorial province assumed a greater political importance, he negotiated an exchange with its patrons; and his successors ultimately engrossed the whole of the appointments, and united the entire Roman empire under their undisputed sway. Dependent and tributary potentates were uniformly subjected to the supervision of the imperial officers.¹

IV. The permanent institution of the emperor's proconsular authority naturally led to the perpetuation of the military establishment, or in modern phrase, the standing army of the empire. Originally the legions had been raised for special services, and disbanded at the conclusion of each campaign. When the wars of the republ

IV. Establishment of a standing army.

¹ Strabo, xvii. in fin

lie came to be waged at a greater distance from the city, and against the regular armies of Greek and Asiatic potentates, the proconsular levies were enrolled for the whole period of the contest in hand. In ancient times Rome secured every petty conquest by planting in the centre of each conquered territory a colony of her own citizens: but when her enemies became more numerous, and her frontiers more extensive, it was necessary to maintain her communications in every quarter by military posts, and the establishment of permanent garrisons. The troops once enlisted for the war could no longer be discharged on the restoration of peace. The return of their imperator to the enjoyment of his laurels in the city only brought another imperator, whose laurels were yet to be acquired, to the legions of the Rhone and the Euphrates. The great armies of the provinces were transferred, with the plate and furniture of the prætorium, the baggage and materials of the camp, from each proconsul to his successor. The legions came to be distinguished by certain numbers, indicating the order of their enlistment in the eastern or western division of the empire respectively, or by special designations of honour, such as the *Martia*, or the *Victrix*. With their names or numbers the particular history of each was duly recorded, and some of them became noted perhaps for a peculiar character and physiognomy of their own. The principle of permanence thus established to his hand, Augustus carried it out systematically, and extended it from the provinces to Rome

The emperor's
body guard,
and garrison of
the city.

itself. He instituted a special service for the protection of his own person, in imitation of the select battalion which kept watch round the imperator's tent. These prætorian guards were gratified with double pay, amounting to two denarii daily,¹ and the prospect of discharge at the end of twelve years, while the term of service for the legionaries was fixed at sixteen.² They were recruited

¹ These soldiers received nominally twenty ases, but in reality two denarii, which at this period were actually equal to thirty-two ases. Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 13.

² There is a discrepancy on this point between Tacitus and Dion. Au

from Latium, Etruria, Umbria and the old Roman colonies of central Italy exclusively. They were regarded accordingly as a force peculiarly national, nor when reminded of this distinction were they insensible of the compliment.¹ But the emperor did not entrust his security to the Italian troops only. Besides the prætorian cohorts he kept about his person a corps of picked veterans from the legions, a few hundred in number, together with a battalion of German foot soldiers, and a squadron of Batavian horse.² Cæsar had employed these barbarians, distinguished for their personal strength and courage, on the wings of his own armies, and his successor may have placed this confidence in them on account of their tried fidelity. In addition, however, to these household troops, the whole number of which did not exceed five or six thousand, Augustus first introduced a regular garrison into the city, consisting of four cohorts of fifteen hundred men each, which were also levied exclusively in Italy.³ He established no permanent camp or fortress to overawe the capital. The soldiers were billeted on the inhabitants, or lodged in the public edifices: they were always at hand to repress tumults and preserve the peace of the city, when the stores of grain ran low, and the prevalence of tempests on the coast menaced it with prolonged scarcity. But the ordinary police of the streets was maintained by an urban guard, named *Vigiles* or the Watch, seven hundred of whom sufficed for the service. The whole armed force of every description employed in the city might amount to twelve or fifteen thousand men.

Augustus disbanded the unruly multitudes who had crowded into the service of the great military chieftains of

gustus probably fixed the prætorians' term at sixteen years, which was afterwards reduced to twelve, when the former length of service was required of the legionaries. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 17.; Dion, lv. 23.

¹ Tac. *Hist.* i. 84. Otho addresses them as "*Italix alumni et Romanæ vere juvenus.*"

² Suet. *Oct.* 49.; Dion, lv. 24.

³ Tac. *Ann.* iv. 5., *Hist.* iii. 64.; Dion, l. c.

Pay and length
of service of
the legionaries.

the civil wars. He strained every nerve to gorge them with the largesses, for which alone they would forego the periodical plunder of unoffending cities, in which their leaders had been compelled to indulge them. But while they were reposing upon their estates, or rioting with their profuse gratuities, he speedily remodelled his military establishment, and equipped a force of twenty-five legions for the defence of the empire.¹ He fixed a reasonable scale of pay for every armed man in his service, from the rank and file of the cohorts to the *lieutenant of the emperor with proconsular rank*. The proconsular armies were maintained and paid by the machinery of the government in the provinces; so that the emperor, without being ostensibly the paymaster of the legions, did in fact, through his lieutenants, hold the purse upon which they depended. We have seen how incompetent we are to state the salary of the provincial governor; nor can we estimate the pay of the various grades of officers. We only know that the simple legionary received one denarius daily, a sum which may equal eight pence half-penny of our money. A part of this sum was stopped for his arms, implements, and accoutrements; but he retained perhaps a larger proportion of it than the pocket-money of the British private, and the simple luxuries of the wine shop were cheap and accessible. Marriage was strongly discouraged, and generally forbidden in the Roman ranks, and the soldier's allowance was perhaps chiefly extended in averting the blows of the centurion's vine-staff, and buying occasional exemption from the fatigues of drill and camp duty.² If we are justified in drawing an inference from the

¹ This was the number of the legions in the reign of the third of the Cæsars, Tiberius. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 5. It would be premature to specify here the disposition of this force in the various provinces as it stood at the period referred to by the historian.

² Tacitus gives us a curious glimpse of Roman camp-life in his account of the sedition of the Pannonian legions, A. D. 67 (*Ann.* i. 16. seqq.). The soldiers complained of the postponement of their discharge, the irregularity of their pay, the charges made upon it for arms and equipments, and the intolerable severity of their petty officers. The prohibition of marriage is expressly

proportion observed in a military largess in the time of Cæsar, we may conjecture that the centurion received double, and the tribune four times, the pay of the legionary.¹

The full complement of each of the twenty-five legions was six thousand one hundred foot, and seven hundred and twenty-six horse; and this continued, with occasional variations, to be the strength of the legion for a period of four hundred years.² The cohorts

Numbers of the imperial military establishment.

were ten in number; and the first, to which the defence of the eagle and the emperor's image was consigned, was nearly double the strength of the others. These brigades became permanently attached to their distant quarters: in later times the same three legions occupied the province of Britain for two or more centuries. They were recruited ordinarily from the countries beyond Italy; in the first instance, from the Roman citizens in the provinces. But even while the rights of citizenship were extended, this restriction was gradually relaxed; and instead of being the requisite qualification for admission to the ranks, the freedom of the city was often bestowed on the veteran upon his discharge. Numerous battalions of auxiliaries, differently arrayed and equipped from the legionaries themselves, continued to be levied throughout the most warlike dependencies of the empire, and attached to

affirmed by Dion, lx. 24. Comp. Herodian, iii. 25.; Tertull. *Exh. Castit.* 12., but this restriction must not be understood to apply to the superior officers. There are also some passages in Livy which can hardly be reconciled with a constant and entire prohibition. Women were strictly forbidden to follow the army or enter the camp. See Lipsius, *de Milit. Rom.* v. 18. This regulation seems to have been relaxed in later times. See Cod. v. 16.

¹ Lipsius, *de Mil. Rom.* v. 16. But compare Juvenal, iii. 132.:

“Quantum in legione tribuni
Accipiunt donat Calvinæ vel Catienæ;”

and Pliny, *H. N.* xxxiv. 6.: “Nec pudet (candelabra Æginetica) tribunorum militarium salariis emere.” The tribune's pay, according to the estimate in the text, would amount to about 50*l.* a year; much less, I should imagine, than the sums thus loosely indicated.

² See Vegetius, ii. 6., who wrote under Valentinian, and describes the legion as it had existed from ancient times down to his own days. But its numbers fluctuated considerably during this interval.

each legionary division.¹ It is generally computed that this force equalled in number that of the legions themselves, and thus we arrive at a total of 340,000 men, for the entire armies of the Roman empire, exclusive of the battalions maintained in Rome itself.

Augustus may be regarded as the founder of the naval power of the great military republic. She had exerted indeed her accustomed vigour on more than one occasion in equipping powerful fleets, in transporting military armaments, and sweeping marauders from the seas; but the establishment of a permanent maritime force, as one arm of the imperial government, was reserved for the same hand which was destined to fix the peace of the empire on a firm and lasting basis. While the influence of Rome extended over every creek and harbour of the Mediterranean, she had no rival to fear on the more distant coasts of the Atlantic or the Indian ocean. But experience has shown that the germ of a great naval power still continued to exist in the inveterate habits of piracy, fostered throughout the inland seas by centuries of political commotion. The Cilician corsairs had distressed the commerce and insulted the officers of the republic: the armaments of Sextus had taken a bolder flight and menaced even the city with famine: a conjuncture might not be distant when the commander of these predatory flotillas would dispute the empire itself with the emperor of the Roman armies. Augustus provided against the hazard of such an encounter by equipping three powerful fleets. One of these he stationed at Ravenna on the upper, a second at Misenum on the lower sea, a third at Forum Julii (Frejus) on the coast of Gaul. The two former squadrons amounted to two hundred and fifty galleys each, the third to about half that number. Besides these armaments he posted a smaller flotilla on the Euxine, and established naval stations on the great frontier rivers, the Euphrates, the Danube, and the Rhine.²

¹ Tac. *Ann.* iv. 5.

² Tac. *Ann.* iv. 5., *Hist.* iii. 46.; Strab. iv. 1.; Suet. *Oct.* 49

V. Under the republic, especially in its earlier period, the objects of public expenditure were extremely few and simple. The scanty supply of coined money which circulated from hand to hand, no less than the simple ideas of the primitive economists, combined to throw, for the most part, upon private persons the charges which under more refined systems of government are generally defrayed from the revenue of the state. We have seen how throughout the civil departments of administration, service, at least in the higher grades of office, was rendered gratuitously. On the same principle it was at first regarded as the citizen's duty to fight his country's battles without pay, and even to provide himself with his arms and accoutrements. As long at least as he was on actual duty on foreign soil, the warrior of the republic was maintained by exactions levied upon the enemy himself. It was not often that he was compelled to fight within his own frontiers: under such disastrous circumstances the state, we may suppose, provided for him the simple fare requisite for his sustenance; and the tributes of conquered lands, paid, for the most part, in produce, were convenient for this purpose. The charge of the public worship was defrayed probably at first by spontaneous offerings, and afterwards by special endowments. The erection of the national temples was generally the pious and popular undertaking of the wealthiest and most illustrious nobles, who had acquired perhaps a large share of the booty of successful wars: the same source defrayed the cost of the great military ways which were known by the name of the chiefs who constructed them. The charge of the public amusements was among the honourable burdens of political life. In short, look where we will through the various departments of public expenditure, as they appear on the balance sheet of a modern commonwealth, it is difficult to find any one which constituted a permanent burden upon the revenue of the state, according to the primitive usage of the Roman republic. But in process of time great innovations took place in the character of military service. From the

V. The finances. Objects of public expenditure under the commonwealth.

middle of the fourth century of the city, the soldier received daily pay during the short continuance of his annual campaigns.¹ At a later period the large armies which were kept up almost on a footing of permanence even in Italy, and the immediate neighbourhood of Rome itself, required a constant and heavy outlay for their bare maintenance. The civil charges of the commonwealth became at the same time more extensive and systematic: while the heads of departments, the consuls, prætors, and other high magistrates, continued to act gratuitously, the vast increase in public business was doubtless sustained by a host of clerks and inferior officers, who demanded regular remuneration. The state maintained an army of slaves in the public works and offices, whom it was necessary to feed and clothe at the common cost, though their duties were of course compulsory. All this administrative system received its full development under the new regime of Augustus. From his time we may observe that the government had to provide resources to defray a constant expenditure under the following general heads: 1. Military charges, including the pay and maintenance of the soldiers, arms and implements, ships and fortifications: 2. Civil service; *i. e.* salaries of officers of justice, of revenue, and of administration: 3. Public works, embracing also the shows and entertainments for the people: 4. Corn for cheap or gratuitous distribution to the populace of the cities. I know not how far ingenuity might be carried in casting up the probable amount of these various items of the imperial budget; or what analogies might be discovered to assist the investigation in the practice of modern communities:² but a single

¹ We are expressly assured that the Roman legionary first received pay in the year *u. c.* 347, *Liv. iv.* 59.: "Additum deinde ut stipendium miles de publico acciperet, quum ante id tempus de suo quisque funetus eo munere esset." I cannot consent with Niebuhr (*Rom. Hist.* ii. 438. Eng. trans.) to reject this explicit statement.

² Dureau de la Malle (*i.* 142.) has attempted a comparison between the cost of the French and Roman armies. It seems that under Napoleon the entire military charge averaged 1000 francs per man, and under Louis-Philippe, that is, in time of peace, about 750 francs yearly, equivalent to 40*l.* and 30*l.*

consideration is sufficient to discourage any attempt of the kind; for we must remember that all these burdens were partly imperial and partly local, so that it is obviously impossible to form any approximate estimate of the annual claims on the metropolitan treasury.

Light as were the burdens of the state in the early ages of the republic, recourse was had to more than one source of revenue to defray them. These consisted of, 1.

the public domain, a reserved portion of all conquered territory, the entire produce of which was

Sources of revenue. 1. The public domains.

claimed by the state as land-holder. Ample as this patrimony might seem to be as soon as the tide of conquest began to set in steadily, and maintained as it was by increasing conquests, it became in fact early exhausted. Immense portions of it were transferred to the colonies, and tract after tract was virtually alienated to private lessees. The agrarian laws of the tribunes swept away vast territories, and the enactment of Spurius Thorius in the year 642 abolished even the trifling or nominal rent-charge which the state still received upon them in acknowledgment of its real dominion.¹ Finally,

Cæsar in his consulship despoiled the republic of the territory of Campania, the last portion of public domain then remaining in the occupation of the state itself.² The old system of claiming possession of all conquered lands seems to have been thenceforth abandoned. The patrimony of the Gauls, for instance, appears to have been restored to them,

subject, as will be seen, to a land-tax imposed upon a different footing. 2. There was a direct contribution (*tributum*) levied upon the Roman citizens themselves, according to the value of their property, as estimated in

2. The tributum.

the periodical census of the people. When they had land,

of our money. At the same rates the establishment of Augustus might cost from ten to fourteen millions sterling. The military machines of the Roman armies may be fairly set in point of expense against modern artillery. Doubtless a large portion of this sum was charged upon the provincial revenues.

¹ Cic. *Brut.* 36., *de Orat.* ii. 70.

² Dureau de la Malle, *Econ. Polit. des Romains*, ii. 430.

the tribute was levied upon the land; when their possessions were limited to personal effects, the assessment was transferred to them. The conquest of Macedonia, A. U. 584, brought a considerable mass of treasure to the coffers of the state, and opened the prospect of fresh resources; the government now ventured to remit this contribution altogether, or at least to relieve from it the landed possessions of citizens

8. 'The capita- throughout Italy.' 3. The contributions from
tio. which the soil of Italy, and therewith all lands beyond the sea which enjoyed Italian privileges, were thenceforth exempted, continued to press upon the provinces. Under the empire the principal source of public revenue was the direct capitation, which comprehended both a land and a poll tax. Throughout the provinces every subject who possessed land was assessed thereupon at the rate generally of ten per cent. on the annual produce in grain, and at five per cent. on that of wine, oil, and fruits.² For the purposes of revenue the whole soil of the province was divided into portions designated as *capita*, heads, of the estimated value of one thousand *solidi*, and in one such fiscal unit several small properties might be combined.³ On the other hand, a single property might of course be divided

¹ Plutarch, *Æmil. Paul.* 38.; *Cic. de Off.* ii. 22. See above, p. 116, note. The question whether this tribute was reimposed in the time of Octavius, as asserted by Plutarch, is still debated. I am satisfied with Savigny's refutation. (See his *Röm. Steuerverfassung* with the additional remarks, 1842 and 1849, *Vermischte Schriften*, i., in opposition to Walter, who still maintains the affirmative. *Röm. Recht.* p. 247 of the first edition.)

² This proportion seems enormous, but the rate was probably commuted in reality, for the convenience of all parties, very much below its actual value.

³ *Jus Civ. ante Justin.* Nov. xlii. tit. 16.: "Sed et binos per jugum vel millenos solidos remunerationibus deputandos." The solidus or aureus is computed equivalent in weight of gold to twenty-one shillings one penny English money. This passage has only recently been noticed. See Dureau de la Malle, i. 304.; Savigny, *Vermischte Schr.* i. 174. Comp. Nov. xlii. tit. 3., and Cassiodor. *Variar.* ii. 38. This division into capita lasted to a late period of the empire, but the date of its institution is not known. An important passage regarding the number of these capita is in Eumenius, *Grat. Act. in Constantin.* 11. But its meaning has been grievously, and as it seems to me unaccountably, mistaken by Gibbon (c. 17.) and others.

into several capita.¹ 4. The classes which possessed no landed property paid upon their personal effects: in the case of mere labourers and even slaves, who had no property of any kind, the capitation assumed the form of a direct poll-tax, which was paid for them by their employers or masters, who were supposed to indemnify themselves by a deduction from their wages, or the use of their manual service.

⁴ The poll-tax

The direct revenue derived from these imposts was levied in various ways. In many parts of the empire it was most convenient to make the payment in kind, and the government was long in the habit of accepting large consignments of corn and other raw produce in place of current coin. These abundant

Mode of
payment,
partly in
money, partly
in produce.

stocks of provisions never wanted consumers while the armies of the republic were to be maintained on Roman soil, and the urban populace, we may believe, was always ready to receive the overflowings of the fiscal granaries, whether the government chose to dole them out at a cheaper rate, or to dispense them gratuitously. We may conjecture that the fatal institution of regular distributions of grain originated in this source. The revenues of the state could only be paid in kind, and the ample stocks thus received must sometimes either be given or thrown away. But these occasional largesses would doubtless operate to discourage husbandry within the narrow limits of the lands to which Rome was the natural market; and accordingly we find that even in the first ages of the republic the produce of the country round Rome constantly proved inadequate to supply the population of the city. Commissions were repeatedly appointed to bring grain from more distant parts, from the territory of the Etrurians and Volscians, from Campania and from Sicily.² Even in much later

¹ Hence the enigmatical lines of Sidonius Apollinaris, addressing the emperor:

“Geryones nos esse puta, monstrumque tributum;
Hinc capita, ut vivam, tu mihi tolle tria.”

² See for instance Liv. ii. 9.: “Ad frumentum comparandum missi alii in Volscos, alii Cumas:” ii. 34. “dimissis ad frumentum coemendum non in Etruriam modo . . . sed quæsitum in Siciliam quoque.”

times many of the most fertile provinces, such as Sicily, Sardinia, Spain and Africa, continued to make their payments to the treasury in raw produce. Egypt, on account of its superior abundance, was mulcted in two tenths of its annual harvests. But in other parts of the empire the publicani farmed the state revenues for a sum of money, which they raised in advance from the bankers and usurers of the capital. With the advance of civilization this annual payment of a tithe of the produce was found to be an obstacle to improvement, and a heavy burden upon industry. The provinces complained of the mode in which it was still generally levied, and were anxious to make their contributions in money. The policy of Augustus was steadily directed to effecting this arrangement. The construction of the great map of the empire by Agrippa was the basis of his financial operations. His surveyors measured and valued the soil of the provinces, and divided it into several classes, according to its capacity of bearing fiscal burdens.¹ The census which he instituted in Gaul and Palestine was in all probability connected with these new arrangements.² But while he still retained the payment in kind from some of the provinces, such as Africa and Egypt, for the special object of supplying the capital with corn, he changed the character of the impost from a tithe of the produce to a fixed rent-charge upon the estimated value of the soil.³ In the decline of the prosperity of the empire, when cultivation fell again into decay, it may be presumed that this change from a variable to a fixed contribution was felt to be oppressive to the cultivator.

¹ Hyginus, *de Limit. Constit.* (apud Goes, *Script. Rei Agr.* p. 198.): "Agri vectigales multas habent constitutiones. In quibusdam provinciis fructus partem constitutam præstant: alii quintas, alii septimas; nunc multi pecuniam, et hoc per soli æstimationem. Certa enim pretia agris constituta sunt, ut in Pannonia arvi primi, arvi secundi, sylvæ glandiferæ, sylvæ vulgaris, pascui."

² Dion, liii. 22.; St. Luke, *Evang.* ii. 1.

³ Hoeck, *R. G.* ii. 209. The completion of this new system may be fixed perhaps to the time of Augustus. Such is the opinion of Savigny, referred to by Dureau de la Malle, ii. 437. But allowances in kind to provincial governors, &c., are occasionally mentioned at a later period.

Over the treasures concealed beneath the soil, the state claimed the same paramount dominion as over the produce of its surface. The mines and quarries throughout Italy and the provinces were held in part by the Roman people, and farmed, like the land tax, by private speculators; in part conceded to individual proprietors, with the reserve of a fixed rent for the privilege of working them. The former class consisted principally of such works as were already at the time of the conquest either royal or public property. Thus it was found in Macedonia that the state had monopolised the gold and silver mines, and allowed its citizens to work those of iron and copper only, and accordingly the same distinction was maintained by the conquerors.¹ So likewise the rich gold mines of Spain, which the Carthaginians had worked for their own profit, fell to the domain of the Roman people.² The contractors paid largely for their bargains, and in return the state supplied them with the forced labour of condemned criminals. In some cases it employed in this ignominious service the reluctant hands of its legionary soldiers.³ Finally it bound the population in the mining countries to the soil itself, and while it allowed them to profit by their industry, forbade them to desert the works or migrate in search of other employment.⁴ But the contractors, not content with this premium on their undertakings, speedily exhausted the richest veins by their carelessness or rapacity. The state adopted a similar method in disposing of the salt works, the fisheries and the forests. The tolls and dues of cities, ports, roads and bridges, she grasped exclusively in her own hands, and enhanced them as she saw fit. In the year 694 the tribune Metellus Nepos carried the abolition of the customs' duties throughout Italy, but they had been restored by Julius Cæsar, and his successors in power

Revenue derived from mines and quarries.

From salt works, fisheries, and forests

¹ Liv. xlv. 29.

² Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 31.; Diodor. Sic. v. 38.

³ Tac. *Ann.* xii. 20.; Strabo, xiii. 3.

⁴ Cod. Theod. x. tit. 19. 15.: "Metallarii qui ea regione deserta in qua videntur oriundi ad externa migrarunt, indubitanter ad propriæ originis stirpem laremque revertentur."

never again dispensed with them. But their eyes were constantly directed towards them, with the view either of relieving their subjects by relaxing them, or increasing their revenues by additional impositions; and the attempt or even the wish to remit them was counted among the highest merits of the most beneficent of the emperors.¹ Besides these cus-

Customs and
excise duties.

toms' duties the Roman government was ingenious in devising modes of extracting a profit from the enjoyment of every kind of artificial luxury. Articles of dress and furniture were assessed according to their value; the use of fountains, aqueducts, and baths was subjected to an impost; taxes were levied upon the doors, windows, and even the columns of the citizen's mansion. It would be

Taxes on the
succession of
property and
enfranchisement of slaves.

tedious and even disgusting to specify all the objects and employments from which the state designed to draw a miserable income, and we may now terminate this review of the sources of the imperial revenue with noticing the comprehensive assessment of five per cent. on the succession of property, and on the sale and enfranchisement of slaves. In conclusion I must observe that if it would be futile to attempt an estimate of the sums required to meet the current expenditure of the state, it would be at least equally idle to enter into any calculation of the amount of its taxation. It may be taken for granted, however, that these two figures, if we could ascertain them, would be found by no means to correspond with each other. Many of the imperial taxes were collected in the rudest and most expensive manner, and considering the vast extent of the taxable area, the infinite variety of taxable objects, the ignorance and corruption of the fiscal agents, and the imperfection of methods and communications, it would not be unreasonable perhaps to assume that one third of the public dues was never collected, and one half of the remainder strayed far away from its proper destination.

¹ Nero, in the promising period of his career, Trajan, Pertinax, and Alexander Severus all distinguished themselves by their schemes for lightening the indirect taxation of the empire. See Dureau de la Malle, ii. 40.

The receipts from these various sources of taxation, as far as they found their way to the public treasury in the capital, fell under the management of certain officers responsible to the senate as the representative of the nation itself. The power which the emperor actually possessed over the sums thus collected was not perhaps the less substantial because it was disguised and indirect. But throughout the provinces which he governed by his lieutenants, the proceeds were paid into a separate chest, for the support of the imperial government therein. The treasury of the senate retained the old republican name of the *ærarium*; that of the emperor was denominated the *fiscus*, a term which ordinarily signified the private property of an individual. Hence the notion rapidly grew up, that the provincial resources constituted the emperor's private purse, and when in process of time the control of the senate over the taxes gave way to their direct administration by the emperor himself, the national treasury received the designation of *fiscus*, and the idea of the empire being nothing else than Cæsar's patrimony became fixed ineradicably in men's minds.—

The public
ærarium and
the emperor's
fiscus.

Such was the form of government constructed by the genius of Augustus from the ruins of ancient usage bequeathed to him by the expiring republic. On more than one account it merits attentive consideration even in our days. This indeed is not the place to enlarge upon the influence it has exerted upon the social and political institutions of much later times, though it would be hardly too much to assert that in some of its most important features modern history dates its commencement from the battle of Actium. At present we are more concerned with reviewing the past, and casting a final glance upon the tendencies of the period which terminated with this crowning revolution. The course of events for the last hundred years had indicated strongly and plainly the necessity of monarchical institutions to preserve society in Rome. The admission of the Italians to the franchise had opened a career to new ideas, and the traditions of class and

Retrospect.

General tendency of recent events toward monarchy.

family were rudely assailed by the interests of new men, and the influence of foreign manners. The old Roman rule became, even within the circuit of the seven hills, an anomaly and an injustice. The mass of the citizens, reinforced by fresh elements, demanded the overthrow of an oligarchical ascendancy, and chose itself champions from among the great captains, whom the unceasing warfare upon the frontiers produced in endless succession. At the same time the narrow basis of the municipal government proved inadequate to the control of colonies and provinces. The increasing extent of the Roman dominion required a firmer rule and a more definite system of government: nor could these be obtained except by imparting permanence and independence to the central authority. It was felt that the prolonged exercise of power could alone avail to effect the requisite reforms, and to superintend their development. From the time of Marius every political leader, with the sanction or rather at the instigation of his followers, aspired in turn to permanent or protracted authority. The successive consulships of Marius and Cinna on the one hand, and the perpetual dictatorship of Sulla on the other, show that both parties tacitly acknowledged the necessity of extending the term of the *imperium*, the annual resignation of which had been formerly prized as the safeguard of public freedom. The nobles hoped, by allowing a transient usurpation, such as that of Sulla, or a limited supremacy, like that of Pompeius, to consolidate their monopoly of power. The Marians, or popular faction, already regarded the creation of a popular sovereignty as the true solution of the state of chronic disease to which the body politic was subjected. The one party placed their reliance upon a series of *coups d'état*, while the other contemplated without dismay the deliberate establishment of a tyranny. It can hardly be doubted that both Lepidus and Sertorius aspired to supreme power through the triumph of their adherents. The champion of the Iberians affected a regal deportment amidst his spurious senate of Romans, provincials and allies. Cæsar himself was bred from his cradle among the traditions of the

great popular houses: from the first moment that his eyes opened on the political condition of his country he saw that his party wanted a leader, and that, whomsoever they made the object of their choice, they were resolved to carry him to the summit of power. What the precise nature of that power should be, what shape the coming monarchy should assume under the moulding hands of the fortunate conqueror, no sagacity perhaps could from such a distance divine: but there can be no doubt that this idea of monarchy, as the prize of success, was presented to the champion of the Marians from the first commencement of his public career. Cæsar's position differed materially in this respect from that of his great rival. Pompeius, at the head of a proud and powerful oligarchy, could only direct the vessel of the state under forms congenial to the peculiar spirit of his party. To have aspired to the tyranny would have been to cut himself off from the friends with whom he was connected, and to expose himself helpless and unarmed to the hostility of inveterate adversaries. Even the officers of his legions, who were for the most part nobles, would have drawn their swords against him. But Pompeius did not shrink from marching as far in the direction of autocracy as the sentiments of his own allies would suffer him. He accepted powers, more than once, which contravened the first principles of public liberty. The Manilian bill constituted him a king in the provinces. His sole consulship was a monarchical usurpation. He fretted within the narrow limits to which the necessities of his position restricted him, and he regretted perhaps that he had cast in his lot with a jealous aristocracy, which cramped on all sides his efforts to rise to sovereignty. At one time he sought, in combination with Cæsar and Crassus, to attain supremacy in its despite; at another he seems to have betrayed its cause, in order to bring matters to extremity, and extort from it in the camp an authority which it would not surrender to him in the city. It may be conceded that he was slow and languid in the prosecution of his schemes of self-aggrandisement; but it would

Contrast between the position of Cæsar and Pompeius.

be a mistake to ascribe to moderation or good faith his forced acquiescence in the restraints imposed upon him. The leader of an oligarchy can never rise to such an elevation as the champion of a popular party. He can never be more than *primus inter pares*, the first man of his order. He may be tempted indeed to desert his own allies, and unite with his opponents; and such was the course on the brink of which Pompeius more than once trembled. But the recollection of his early career, his family connexions, perhaps even his personal temper, rendered it impossible for the successor of Sulla to become the leader of the Marians. He drew back, though too late to recover the full confidence of his own friends; and he left the only path which could lead to monarchy to be trodden by his rival Cæsar.

The same causes which tended to smooth Cæsar's road to power operated still more strongly in favour of his successor in the next generation. The great vices of the ancient government had been tyranny in the provinces and aggression on the frontiers. To these was now added anarchy at home. The horrors which followed upon the overthrow of Cæsar's usurpation only proved that monarchy was indispensable. But Cæsar had trusted too magnanimously to the people as the basis of his sovereignty. However much they rejoiced in his supremacy, in which their own seemed to be reflected, the unarmed multitude were incapable of protecting it. Their hero discarded the defence of the legions, and a few months witnessed his assassination. Augustus learned circumspection from the failure of his predecessor's enterprise. He organized a military establishment of which he made himself the permanent head: to him every legionary swore personal fidelity; every officer depended upon his direct appointment. He enlisted under his banners the most vigorous and restless spirits of the aristocracy; he subdued their energies to his will by the restraints of discipline, the allurements of honour, and the ideas of military devotion. By engrossing the command of the national forces he disarmed all competitors for power. But

In the time of Octavius monarchy manifestly indispensable.

this was not enough to secure his position. To thwart the secret machinations of the disaffected it was requisite to content the people, and to employ the nobility. The elaborate system of civil administration devised or perfected by his astuteness preserved the show of republican government, while it amused the nobles with a shadow of authority. The last century of the commonwealth had witnessed the rule of an oligarchy under the forms of a democracy: the imperial constitution was the government of an autocrat under the forms of an aristocracy. The names of the ancient free-state threw a transparent veil over an actual despotism. The commander of the legions was really the master of the citizens, and the theory of a balance of effective powers was in fact merely illusory. But what balance of power has ever really existed in any government, whether ancient or modern? Tested by practice and experience all such pretended checks have been found equally unsubstantial. Wherever the several powers of the state have seemed thus to counterpoise each other, the effect has in reality been produced by no innate virtue of the mechanism, but by the operation of a force altogether extraneous to it. The consulate and tribunate of the Roman commonwealth were devised as checks upon each other; but they never worked in harmony together; the struggle between them was constantly on the point of overthrowing the whole machine; and it was only the good sense and loyal self-devotion of the citizens that delayed a catastrophe which could not ultimately be averted. The pretended balance of power in the estates of the British parliament is no more than the fiction of publicists, and only raises a smile in the practical statesman. The commons, he well knows, have long been the real masters of the state; the crown has never ventured to use its veto for a hundred and fifty years. But in this country the despotism of the popular will is both disguised and tempered by a certain prescriptive adherence to usage and precedents, and by respect for outward distinctions. The majesty of the crown and the dignity of the peerage engage from public opinion

Character of
his sovereignty.

the deference which they cannot enforce. The whole system has worked harmoniously through the mutual good sense and feeling of the members of the political body. And such was eminently the case with the working of the imperial constitution of Rome. Although there existed no substantial power which could counteract the mere will of the emperor himself, yet traditional observance and inbred respect for forms and usages, the old national habits of discipline, and the force of antique associations, all combined in practice to invest the senate and magistracies of Rome with a dignity to which the emperors themselves were wont obsequiously to bow. The constitution of Augustus, in which the senate was presumed to be the governing power of the state, may be said to have lasted to the death of Pertinax, in the year of the city 946 (A. U. 193). The military revolution by which that emperor was overthrown established the direct supremacy of the army for several succeeding generations. But during the long period of two hundred and twenty years, no emperor assumed the reins of government without at least commencing his career with an acknowledgment of the senate's paramount authority. Each despot in succession professed to be guided by the traditions and precedents of the republic. It is true that caprice, insanity, and personal fear impelled some of the Cæsars to the wanton violation not only of the rights of humanity, but of every political principle. But in all such cases the transgression was branded as a public crime. A Caligula, a Nero, a Domitian and a Commodus, were denounced as traitors to the commonwealth, and public opinion sympathised accordingly with their destruction. These instances however were exceptional. It would be difficult to point out any government, ancient or modern, in which the prescriptions of law and usage were on the whole so carefully observed by the ruling power as in the empire of Rome from Augustus to Pertinax. The emperors were, for the most part, deeply conscious of their moral subjection to the principles of an established order of things. The majesty of their senate, the body

Harmonious
action of the
elements of
power under
the imperial
regime.

which transferred to them the sceptre, which ratified their enactments, and which raised temples and altars to their honour, impressed them with a feeling of awe, such as the oaths and religious sanctions of Christian coronations have too frequently failed to command.

This is a circumstance which invests the history before us with a moral interest of no mean kind. It is a germ of civilization cast into the soil, certain to bear fruit in its appointed season. Accordingly the moral and so- Conclusion.
cial condition of the people among whom it abided will constitute a more attractive subject for our consideration than the mere external facts of civil and political history, or even than the personal characters of consulate generals or statesmen. As we cast our eyes along the vista which opens before us, we shall have the melancholy task of tracing a steady though a slow and silent decay, in many of the noblest qualities of the national intellect of Rome. Nevertheless some compensation will not be wanting to us in witnessing the extension of rights, the protection of property, the multiplication of enjoyments and expansion of the natural affections. While we remark the decline of the military spirit which rendered the republic illustrious, we may be led candidly to inquire whether respect for justice, gentleness and moderation, is compatible with the rude virtues of the old Roman warriors. While we lament the extinction of taste and invention in the torpor of two centuries of political inaction, we may console ourselves with reflecting that the ferocity and licentiousness of the last years of the republic must have degraded Rome to barbarism within a much shorter period. And finally, with the conviction that the career of the human race has been providentially guided for good, we may recognize in the wide-spread equality of men and races which prevailed under the empire a beneficent dispensation for the freer reception of Christianity, which has proved itself, in the lapse of so many ages, the friend of order, the guide of humanity, and the mistress of spiritual enlightenment.

HISTORY
OF
THE ROMANS
UNDER THE EMPIRE.

BY
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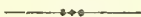
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HISTORY OF THE ROMANS

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

ANTICIPATIONS OF CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY.—INDIFFERENCE OF THE MASS OF THE CITIZENS ON POLITICAL QUESTIONS.—AUGUSTUS STUDIES TO REVIVE THE NATIONAL SENTIMENT.—HIS CONSERVATION OF THE PATRICIAN CASTE: OF THE RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL.—RESTORATION OF TEMPLES AND SPECIAL CULTS.—CONSERVATION OF THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY: OF MATRIMONY.—LEGISLATIVE MEASURES TO ENCOURAGE MARRIAGE.—REGULATIONS FOR THE DISTINCTION OF CLASSES.—JURISPRUDENCE OF AUGUSTUS.—COMPLETION OF HIS POLICY.—HIS PERSONAL POPULARITY NOT DISTURBED BY OCCASIONAL SEVERITY.—DISGRACE AND DEATH OF CORNELIUS GALLUS.—THE JUBILEE OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE.—CONSIDERATIONS ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE IMPERIAL HISTORY.

THE noble fragment we have lately recovered of Cicero's treatise on Commonwealths breaks off with a warm eulogium on a limited or constitutional monarchy, delivered in the person of the younger Africanus, but supposed, not unreasonably, to convey the genuine sentiments of the writer himself. There are certain points of similarity in the position of these illustrious statesmen which, it may be presumed, did not escape the observation of the political philosopher: both began their career in the interest of the people, and finished it as champions of the oligarchy; both were conspicuous in their opposition to demagogues; both denounced agrarian levellers; both pro-

The Roman conception of constitutional monarchy.

fessed to form themselves on the model of Roman antiquity, while they cherished the arts and literature of Greece, and boasted their insight into its national character. Accordingly we may readily believe that the experience of Scipio actually suggested to him the thoughts which are here ascribed to him by his later admirer. While the popular notion of monarchy among the Romans was simply that of a despotic autocracy, and the traditional colours in which they painted the tyrant Tarquin received a deeper shade from their actual acquaintance with an Antiochus or an Orodes, more reflecting minds speculated, we may conceive, from an early period, on the idea of a legal sovereignty, in which the prerogatives of the people should be delegated, on fixed principles, to a magistrate of its own choice. If their experience could discover no distinct examples of this happy polity, their imaginations at least were not idle; and such perhaps was the shadowy conception they formed to themselves of the original commonwealth of Rome, the free state of a Romulus, a Numa, a Tullus, and a Servius.¹ However this may be, the most perfect government, in the view, we may believe, of the wisest of the Romans, was a just combination of popular and aristocratic authority, subjected by mutual concession to the control of a single hand. It was the government by centuries and curies, by a senate and a king. We may easily imagine that many of the most earnest thinkers of the later republic,—when they saw every form and institution torn in pieces by the furious ambition of demagogues and nobles, when consuls vied with

¹ Cic. *de Republ.* iii. 35.: "Hic Scipio, Agnosco, inquit, tuum morem istum, Spuri, tam aversum a ratione populari. Sed quanquam potest id lenius ferri quam tu soles ferre, tamen assentior nullum esse de tribus his generibus quod sit probandum minus. Illud tamen non assentior tibi præstare regi optimates. Si enim sapientia est quæ gubernat rem publicam, quid tandem interest hæc in unone sit an in pluribus? Sed errore quodam fallimur in disputando. Cum enim optimates appellantur nihil potest videri præstabilius. Quid enim optimo melius cogitari potest? Cum autem regis est facta mentio occurrat animis rex etiam injustus: nos autem de injusto rege nihil loquimur nunc, cum de ipsa regali republica querimus. Quare cogitato Romulum aut Pompilius aut Tullum regem; forsitan non tam illius te rei publicæ pœnitebit."

tribunes in trampling upon the laws, and imperators and triumvirs divided the empire with their swords,—turned often with a sigh to that pleasing ideal of a political Utopia, where the king was moderate, the senate wise, the people devoted, and the subjects satisfied.

But in the eighth century of the city it was too late to realize any such dream as this. The most perfect system of checks and balances would have fallen to pieces in the hands of a corrupt and degenerate people. The time for a fair experiment on constitutional monarchy had passed for more than a hundred years. The younger Scipio, when he prophesied the downfall of his country, was not unaware that even in his own day the vices of the oligarchy had provoked the re-action of democracy, and that their differences had become too inveterate for equal arbitration. A few generations earlier, perhaps, Rome, free and victorious, was still pure and honest enough to yield obedience to authority, and might have offered to the world an illustrious example of submission to a self-imposed monarchy. But when once a Gracchus and a Drusus had given the reins to democratical agitation, no such change could transpire without exciting unappeasable ambitions, and plunging the state into the direst convulsions. When the republic, after a brief and restless interval, fell at last under the sway of an armed chief like Marius or Cinna, the character both of the men and of the times forbade the hope that monarchy might avert the overthrow of freedom. Nevertheless, as monarchy had now become inevitable, better that Marius should have been the first of the emperors than Cæsar, while the Roman mind was still vigorous, capable of receiving a new impulse and assimilating another polity. Such he undoubtedly would have been, and the history of the empire would have dated from the auspicious termination of the Social wars, but for the successful reprisals of Sulla, and his resolute reconstruction of the broken rule of the oligarchy. This counter-revolution stayed abruptly the natural progress of events, and delayed for fifty years the doom of the commonwealth. But the system of Sulla can

Too late to apply it in the time of Augustus.

only be considered as a political anachronism. It had no rightful claim to exist; it was the monstrous creation of the sword, repugnant to the views and aspirations of the great mass of Romans and Italians, as well as formidable to the provinces. It avowed its determination to control the development of society, and stop the political education of mankind. Hateful as it was, the victories of Pompeius availed to sustain it through one generation, while the current of men's thoughts was diverted from it by the conquest of Asia, the glare of foreign wealth, and the allurements of foreign luxury. But its foundations meanwhile were silently crumbling away in the decay of the old noble families, the decline of public virtue, and the scarce disguised treachery of some of its most conspicuous supporters. When Cæsar arose to strike the long-expected blow it fell in helpless impotence, and the violence of a rebel's hand anticipated by a brief period the struggles of its natural dissolution. We indeed can

Yet the best
Romans did
not despair of
it.

see that the Cæsarean revolution came too late to save the remains of national virtue; but to despair of the republic was a crime with the Romans, and by a Messala and a Pollio, and a few of the noblest spirits of their age, Octavius, we may feel assured, was fondly regarded as the deliverer for whom the best and wisest citizens had been looking for an hundred years. The mildness of his sway in Italy, the firmness with which he had opposed intestine commotion and foreign aggression, the respect he had evinced for certain traditions of public policy, on which the safety and good order of the state were supposed to rest, led them to indulge the hope that he would continue to preserve all that was good in the old consular government, while he held it together with the strong hand of the emperor. The reflections indeed of the mass of the citizens were far less deep or philosophical. The decrees of the senate and the public demonstrations of the populace have made us already familiar with the outward manifestation of joy and thankfulness which hailed the victories both of Julius Cæsar and of his successor. Yet such expressions of popular sentiment may

easily be feigned, and in these instances we may be disposed perhaps at first sight to call their genuineness in question. Can it be true, we ask, that the Roman people, so proud of their freedom, so jealous of their rulers, so confident in themselves, could have really rejoiced in the triumph of the sword over the guardians and pledges of their laws? Or did they indulge the vain imagination that the victors of Actium and Pharsalia, the men who had hunted to death a Cicero and a Cato, would restore the liberties they had wrested from the devoted champions of the republic? May we not rather suppose that the mass of the citizens were prepared in fact to surrender even more than was demanded of them, and that they received back with surprise the present made them by the usurpers of the names and forms of the commonwealth? In order to answer these questions we must take a wider survey of the state of public opinion at the time.

It is not a little remarkable how nearly passive the mass of the Roman people had long been under the sway of factions and political intriguers. Far distant was the period when the great body of the citizens was wont to rise at the bidding of some trusted leader, or at the dictates of a common sympathy, and express their will by a secession to the Sacred Mount, or a sullen refusal to enlist in the legions. Throughout the horrors of the Marian and Sullan revolutions, while Roman blood was flowing in torrents, and no man's throat was secure from the gripe of the assassin, they looked on with palsied apathy, and submitted to the reign of terror almost without a murmur. Habits of camp discipline and familiarity with the use of arms seem, from manifold experience, to be rather unfavourable than otherwise to the development of civil courage and self-reliance at home. During the struggles of Cæsar and Pompeius the same populace continued equally inert, though the success of either the one or the other might be the signal for a second series of proscriptions. And when those proscriptions were actually repeated at the bidding of the triumvirs, they were found not less patient of outrage and massacre than

Indifference of
the public mind
on political
questions.

ever. They seem to have utterly renounced the power of asserting any principle or any wish of their own; the love of life itself seems to have degenerated into a mere animal instinct. We have seen how, throughout the civil wars, it was never from the capital, nor even from Italy, that the impulse was given to the leading movements of parties: Cæsar armed himself in Gaul, Pompeius in the East, Cato in Africa, Cnæus in Spain. Antonius and his rivals depended solely upon their mercenary legions, until, in the final struggle, the aggression of a foreign power aroused the spirit of the conquering republic, and strengthened the hands of Octavius with a crowning manifestation of national sentiment. This was the last spontaneous levy of the Roman people; the effort was momentary and the victory immediate; but they had long resigned themselves to the tyranny of any ruler, provided only he were a Roman like themselves. Their only hope, at the crisis of each succeeding usurpation, was that the conqueror would be more merciful than Sulla; and when the last candidate for empire returned in triumph to their presence, the assurance that he had fought their own battle, that he was not merely the victor of a civil fray, but the vanquisher of a foreign foe, allowed them to hope that his success would be as bloodless as it was glorious. In considering the history of Rome we cannot lay too much stress on the impression made upon the national mind by the first proscriptions. To this frightful period its imaginations were constantly recurring; the undying recollection of these horrors survived every new phase of revolution, and taught the Romans to acquiesce in each successive act of violence as a relief from the recollections of the past.

To the mass of the Romans, then, it was enough to be spared from massacre and confiscation. They were ready to exalt to the skies the usurper who refrained from taking all their lives and properties. This, in their eyes, was the merit of Octavius, and for this they met him at the gates of the city and led him in triumph to the Capitol and the temples of the gods.

Degradation of
Roman senti-
ments by the
mixture of
races.

Though dignified with the name of Romans, the people, it must be remembered, who disgraced a title consecrated to freedom and self-reliance, had in fact little in common with the men who first rendered it illustrious. The result of the great struggle between the republic and her allies seventy years before, had mingled in one current the blood of the Romans and the Italians. Yet between these new compatriots there was at least a certain affinity in language, origin, and institutions.¹ Far more fatal to the homogeneity of the Roman race was the repeated enfranchisement of foreign slaves drawn from every quarter of the known world,—the supple Syrian, the sensual German, the moody and ungovernable Moor. Various methods, indeed, were devised to impede the progress of these despised aliens to the highest offices of the state; even the complete franchise of the city was doled out to them with jealous precaution: but the necessities of political chiefs overleaped every restraint, and Sulla himself, the champion of exclusion, admitted a host of foreign-born clients into his own Cornelian gens. Caesar took a bolder and more decisive step, but not before the times were ripe for it, in admitting foreigners into the senate itself; and the successors to his policy and power continued to replenish it, after every massacre, with members of the meanest extraction. The streets of Rome, which had witnessed the triumphs of the Scipios and Æmili, were thronged with the descendants of their captives; the villas of the conquerors of Samnium and Carthage had fallen into the hands of owners who a few years before could hardly have pronounced their names.

The long settled communities of modern civilization can scarcely appreciate perhaps the extent of this adulteration of race and blood. Political revolutions we have witnessed; social and economical changes, vast in extent and unprecedented in

Modern European communities afford no parallel to this debasement.

¹ The most conspicuous monuments of early Roman literature are in almost every case the work of Italians rather than of genuine Romans; yet the true Roman sentiment is not the less unmistakeably impressed upon them.

character, have occurred at our very doors ; but upon the physical elements of the population affected by them, no impression has been made. The people of modern Europe, therefore, can admit of no comparison in respect of physical change with the Romans of the age of Augustus. The case, however, is different in the opposite hemisphere, where the native race is overwhelmed from one generation to another by a constant stream of foreign immigration. The movement of the physical elements of Roman society may not inaptly be compared, however different the causes from which it arose, with that in the population of North America. And accordingly in America we observe a rapid change and disintegration of national sentiment constantly in progress : the ideas of one decade of years become obsolete in the next ; manners and fashions are ever fluctuating ; even the language partakes of the general instability, though retained on its foundations by the influence of its European sister ; a few fixed principles of polity, belonging perhaps to an exceptional state of social development, alone remain, like landmarks, overtopping the ceaseless flow of thoughts and prejudices around them. But the local fixity and isolation of the Roman people in its earlier stages had imparted a similar character to its institutions, and maintained them in their native forms for several ages before the era of movement had commenced. Its notions of religion and polity, interweaved and entangled together, had sunk, as it were, into the very soil ; its habits of thought on these matters, which constituted almost its whole life, were cast in a mould of iron. The Romans, as has been often said, were a nation of formalists ; not less so than the Jews themselves ; nor, as far as we know, were their prejudices shaken, or their minds recalled from the servitude of the letter, by any spiritual expositions of prophets or philosophers. Among the Romans, the men of higher light and deeper insight, who impugned the accredited faith of the people, carefully abstained from any attack upon their formulas. Scævola, Varro, and Cicero, avowed the principle, that the errors of the vulgar, and the knowledge of the wise, should be permitted to co-exist with

mutual toleration.¹ But the men who were most deeply imbued with these forms and prejudices, even the classes which were their acknowledged depositaries, were almost extinguished by war and proscription; their places became occupied by strangers, men for the most part who were prepared, on entering their adopted city, to renounce the ideas of that from which they came, without taking much interest in the acquisition of the new. They were proud indeed of inheriting the glorious name of Romans, and of claiming affinity with the remnant of the genuine citizens; but their claims were rejected perhaps not less contemptuously by the real descendants of Quirinus than those of the Samaritans by the tribes of Benjamin and Judah.

The Roman regarded himself in two very different lights, according as he reflected on his political or his social position. On the one hand, soaring on the wings of imagination, he vaunted himself as the favourite of the gods, the child of destiny, appointed to achieve a vast mission, no less than the reduction of the world to political unity; to beat down by force all opposition of arms, and constrain men to the simple routine of peaceful occupations.² On the other, he gloated with mere prosaic interest on the material gains of conquest. He regarded realms and empires as his domain, and worked out the resources of a province with the same zest as his ancestor had devoted to tilling his modest glebe. He remembered, on a wider theatre, how the master of the household had daily appeased the gods with corn and oil, with a prayer or a charm; how he had fed his slaves at his own board, and dispensed to them with equal care, both their tasks and their recreations; how he had kept the key of his wine-bin at his girdle, and chastised his con-

Expansion of
the primitive
ideal of Roman
life.

¹ Augustin. *Civ. Dei*, iv. 27. : "Hæc pontifex (Scævola) nosse populos non vult; nam falsa esse non putat. Expedire igitur existimat falli in religione civitates. Quod dicere etiam in libris rerum divinarum ipse Varro non dubitat." Comp. iv. 31. This is the principle put forth by Cicero throughout his treatises *de Divinatione* and *de Natura Deorum*.

² Virg. *Æn.* vi. : "Tu regere imperio populos," etc.

sort, even to the death, if she ventured to purloin it from his side. Such in the last age of the republic was still the ideal of Roman life, the life of a Curius or Cincinnatus expanded to the proportions of a Lentulus or a Lucullus. Such was the life, it was fondly proclaimed, of Remus and his brother, of the sturdy sons of Latium and Sabellia. Thus the valiant Etruscans had waxed in glory and power, second only to the Romans themselves; thus Rome had become of all created things the fairest and the strongest.¹

The drop of pious sentiment enshrined in either view served in some measure to purify the turbid elements of which at this period the mass of the Roman people was composed. Some moments there were in the existence of the contemporaries of the second triumvirate, when all the wealth of Asia and elegance of Greece seemed inadequate to compensate for the innocence and simplicity of the ancient republic. At such times the sense of lost freedom and forfeited self-esteem was aggravated by a consciousness of material decay. Throughout Italy the spoliation of so many estates and the insecurity of all had cast a blight upon agriculture; the harvests failed to support a population diminished by war and misery; the walls of cities were crumbling into ruin; the increase of brigandage cut off the communications between them, while it redoubled the anxiety of the masters for the safe custody of their sullen slaves. In Rome itself the invasion of barbarism was no less apparent. While the gratification of the multitude was consulted in the

Virg. *Georg.* ii. ult.: "Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini," &c. This ideal was of a singularly domestic character. The tutelary divinities of their country were styled by the Romans "gods of their fathers," and "home-born" (*di patrii indigetes*); their country itself was the "fatherland" (*patria*); their most cherished usages were the "custom of their elders" (*mos majorum*). They continued to the last to denominate the metropolis of their world-wide empire "the town" (*urbs*), while all foreign lands, far or near, were simply "beyond the gates" (*foris*). Much confusion is caused by our common translation of *urbs* by "city," a designation which ought in strictness to be confined to the political community (*civitas*). *Urbs*, whatever be its derivation, means the *town* or inhabited enclosure.

erection of gorgeous edifices for public entertainment, the temples of the gods were suffered to decay, their images were stained with smoke and damp, their worship was neglected, their services forgotten, the holy rites of wedlock were slighted, and a new race of citizens was springing into life whose will was their only law, and to whom the most venerable prescriptions of antiquity were no better than a dusty parchment.

But in the midst of this desolation, the legislator who sought to revive the pure sentiments of antiquity might appeal to a witness in their favour which no child of Quirinus could venture to impugn. To ascribe to mere chance the imperial career of the republic, or even to the virtues of the citizens

The fundamental principle of the Roman religion still surviving.

themselves, apart from the holy influence of their laws and institutions, was a blasphemy from which the feelings of every genuine Roman revolted. Deep and firm was his persuasion that his city owed its prosperity to the divine principle of its constitution. The empire of Rome was a standing evidence in his view to the truth of the Roman religion, in its widest sense, as the foundation of its laws and usages. Already men's minds were becoming weaned from positive belief in the concrete divinities of Olympus, and fixing themselves more and more upon the abstraction of the Roman majesty, which their imaginations were beginning to invest with the form and personality of an actual goddess.¹

It was the policy of the new master of the republic to throw himself upon this deep conservative feeling, to revive the usages of the ancient days, and assimilate the fresh elements of the population to the remnant of its original stock. The victories of Actium and Alexandria soon proved to be something more than the rout of a foreign foe or the defeat of a barbaric invasion. Not only was Isis overthrown, and Anubis driven howling to his native desert; the majesty of the gods of Rome was not

Augustus undertakes to preserve and invigorate it.

¹ The Smyrnæans boasted that they had been the first to erect a temple to *Jrbs Roma*. This was in the consulship of the elder Cato, A. U. 558. *Tac. Ann.* iv. 56.

only vindicated, but restored to honour and recommended with a powerful voice to the veneration of the citizens. The conqueror commenced his career of empire by the restoration of the ancient cult. Religious forms were entwined about all the public and private life of the primitive Roman. The acts of every popular assembly were hallowed by ceremonial observances; the conduct of war abroad and of government at home was alike dependent upon auspices and omens; each particular family partook of the rites of the gens to which it belonged, and cherished the domestic worship of some god or hero from whom it derived its name or lineage. Thus, after the extinction in the fifth century of the family of Potitius, its first founder, the cult of Hercules had been appropriated to the Pinarii, with whom Julius Cæsar was himself connected.¹ The Julii claimed the special ministry of Venus, the Nautii worshipped Minerva, the Aurelii Apollo, the Valerii Pluto, while Diana was honoured by the Calpurnii, Neptune by the Servilii.² Some families venerated certain heroes of their own race, as the Horatii, who performed religious rites in honour of the brave Horatius *who kept the bridge* against Porsena and the Tarquins; and the Julii, who adopted as their patron the greatest of their name, the deified dictator. On stated anniversaries the rites of these divinities were celebrated by the representatives of the gens in a private chapel; and though the presence of the members in general was not required at the ceremony, the favour of the guardian saint was supposed to be extended to all. It was extended, indeed, much farther. The welfare of the commonwealth itself was held to be closely connected with the due observance of these particular cults, and the law maintained a jealous watch over their perpetuation; the descent of property was burdened or illustrated with the obligation to preserve them

¹ Liv. i. 7. ix. 29.: "Saera penes Pinarios resedissee eosque mysteria fideliter eustodisse." From this passage compared with Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 270., it would seem probable that the Pinarii still retained this privilege, though Dionysius, i. 40., denies it.

² See Becker, *Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer*, ii. 1. 45.

in force. The annals of these patrician races were written for their especial honour, and the public traditions of the commonwealth itself were corrupted to glorify the most illustrious of its houses. The images or waxen busts of the deceased, ranged along the walls of the mansion in the city, were silent but expressive monuments of the family history; and whenever a chief of the house was carried forth to his sepulchre on the Flaminian or Latin Way, these effigies of his renowned ancestors, labelled for all to recognise them, were borne in procession before him, and reminded the admiring citizens of the proudest glories of their history.

Accordingly the patricians of the primitive republic constituted a dominant caste, jealous of its peculiar prerogatives, and admitting no access to its own divine inheritance of dignity and authority. These pretensions had been gradually abated by the encroachment of the plebeians; the loss of privilege had drawn down with it many august but impoverished houses; and not a few of the oldest families had fallen out of the ranks of public office, and sunk into insignificance among the herd of citizens. While they retained their legitimate place at the head of the legions, the constant wars of the republic had drained them of their best blood; and when the new nobility of the commons forced itself into command, the patricians perished not less rapidly, but more obscurely, in the ranks. It was about the period of the Gracchi that this subsidence of the old aristocracy of birth began first to be remarked. The increase of wealth and multiplication of offices had raised a number of new men into their places, while those that still remained on the arena of public life were forced to compete on equal terms with their upstart rivals, and, except in the possession of a few honorary distinctions, the patrician was only distinguished from the rest of the citizens by his exclusion from the tribuneship of the plebs. The wealthy competitors for the honours of the state became gradually fused into one common aristocracy, to which office alone gave a title of admission. The number of plebeian houses thus exalted by participation in

Conservation
of the patrician
caste.

the curule magistracies, and enrolled by the censors in the list of the senate, soon far surpassed the remnant of the patrician. This new aristocracy, under the title of the nobility, or the class ennobled by public service, drew a broad line between itself and the knights, the ignoble rich, whom it jealously excluded from the higher functions of the state. But this nobility again, rich, numerous, and powerful as it was, was decimated in its turn by massacres and proscriptions. Of the patrician houses which figure in the early history of Rome, the greater number disappear from her annals after the Punic wars, while many of those which we can still trace there have sunk into comparative obscurity. They are succeeded in the *Fasti* by a long series of plebeian names ; but of these, again, few survive the Civil Wars, and the establishment of the Empire. The houses which rose to distinction after this epoch were universally of plebeian origin, and generally little known to fame at an earlier period.

The custom, indeed, of adoption, invented perhaps from a religious motive, for the perpetuation of the gentile cults, might serve to maintain the existence of the house, and its name, long after its genuine blood had really ceased to flow. Nevertheless, it may be doubted whether this contrivance was actually of much avail ; for the facility thus given for preserving the legal continuity of family existence was in itself fatal to the real perpetuation of race. The pride of name might thus be satisfied without the propagation of lineal successors, or submission to the obligations of legitimate marriage. Thus while, on the one hand, the main stem of the Julian gens was prolonged, in default of natural heirs, by the adoption of an Octavius, its collateral branches, on the other, once widely extended, withered wholly away.¹ Besides adoption, however, the Romans invented

¹ Lord Mahon, near the beginning of his *History of England*, has given a table of the representatives of existing English houses about a century ago, which shows in a striking manner the vitality of our aristocratic families, maintained as they are solely by succession in blood either directly or collaterally. But the interval has been a period of unexampled tranquillity and prosperity to the class in question.

another method for the perpetuation of the gens through its clientele. The noble Roman was authorized to confer his name, together with its religious privileges, upon the enfranchised foreigners who ranged themselves under his patronage. Even the slaves whom he manumitted were allowed, with occasional restrictions, to enrol themselves in his clan. Thus, with the exception perhaps of the Cornelian, the Julian became under Cæsar and Augustus the most extensive of any Roman house. It had its offshoots not only in Rome and Italy, but wherever either of its most illustrious patrons had set his foot and established his personal influence. The Gauls, the Britons, and the Iberians more particularly, sought the honour of this distinguished connexion, which was liberally bestowed on chiefs and potentates, on philosophers and statesmen, on artists and grammarians. Though the dictator left no natural offspring, and only one son by adoption, the name of Julius continues frequently to recur in the history of the Romans as long as they retained the gentile name with its appropriate observances.¹

To the remnant of the patrician families, it has just been said, certain honorary functions were still, from ancient usage, attached. Among these was the exalted priesthood of the Flamens. For the perpetuation of such offices, which the people continued to regard with superstitious reverence, or from the vague desire so common to usurpers to surround himself with the ensigns of the polity he had overthrown, Julius Cæsar had introduced a measure for increasing the number of patrician houses. By the lex Cassia several plebeian gentes, among them perhaps the Octavia, to which his nephew belonged, and the Tullia, so recently illustrated by the genius of Cicero, were called up to the higher caste.² Augustus followed the example of the

Increase of the
patrician
houses.

¹ The kinsmen of the great Julius Cæsar, of whom there were one or two branches existing in his time, left as far as we know no successors.

² The elevation of the young Octavins to the patriciate has been already mentioned (ch. xxx.); that of Cicero is inferred from the passage of Dion, xli. 22.: ἐλεθελς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ σωθελς, ἔς τε τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ἐγγρα-

dictator ; but in this case, we may believe, with a more distinct and deliberate object. The political nullity of the patricians had in fact abated nothing from the charm which popularly surrounded them ; perhaps they had even gained in the affections of the people what they had lost in power. The manifest decay of those illustrious monuments of the past, the historical families of the republic, had excited an interest even in the contemplative spirit of an Atticus, who had devoted a portion of his abundant leisure to explore their antiquities and describe their genealogies. The archæologist Varro had written learnedly upon the same theme ; at a later period Valerius Messala, the intimate friend of Augustus, but a true republican at heart, followed in the same track.¹ A subject which occupied the thoughts of three men of such distinction we may well imagine to have been generally attractive.

The anxiety of Octavius to restore the due consideration of the patrician houses, as a principle of public conservation,

outstripped his own movements on his return homeward from the East at the close of 724.

While still absent in the provinces of Asia, he directed L. Sænius, the consul suffect, to lay a measure before the senate for raising several plebeian families to the honours of the patriciate. The law itself, to which the senate dutifully acceded, and which the tribes were content to register, was dated from the following year, when the emperor, resuming his place in the capital, accepted the powers of the censorship, and undertook to reconstitute by various stringent enactments the several orders of the state.² The Romans

phels. Such an elevation was not simply personal, but was extended to the whole gens. It seems probable that these two easements were comprehended along with others in the measure of the dictator which bore the name of the *lex Cassia*. This and the *lex Sænia* of Augustus are referred to by Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 25. Comp. Suet. *Jul.* 41. Dion, xlix. 43. lii. 42.

¹ The etymological writings of Atticus are referred to by Corn. Nepos, *Att.* 18. Varro wrote on the subject of families which claimed a Trojan descent. Servius on Virg. *Æn.* v. 117. 704. On the work of Messala and its origin, see Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 2.

² L. Sænius was consul suffect with M. Tullius Cicero, son of the orator, in the latter part of the year 724 : but the law which bore his name, and was

were highly gratified by the respect thus paid to their early associations. The national traditions, which still exercised, as we have seen, their full influence over the mass of the citizens, connected the majesty of the republic with the dignity of its highest caste, who mediated by their august functions between the state and the celestial hierarchy. It is a curious fact that the patrician houses had for the most part attached themselves to the cult, not of the original Italian divinities, but of gods of comparatively recent and foreign importation. But in so doing they had only followed the course of the religious revolution which had long been in progress at Rome. Apollo, Venus, Neptune, Hercules, Pluto, Diana, and at least as the goddess of war, Minerva also, had been unknown to the worship of the early Romans; it was only in the latter ages of the republic that these deities were honoured with temples and priesthoods at all.¹ The principal temples at Rome had been constructed by the piety of victorious imperators; and to the posterity they had ennobled they had bequeathed, as the most precious of heir-looms, the care of these sacred edifices. Few, however, of their descendants, in the latter days of anarchy and irreligion, had displayed the zeal of the noble Catulus in the restoration of Jove's temple in the Capitol. The shrines of the gods, as has been said, were falling on all sides into ruin, their images were blackened with smoke, or mouldering with damp. The sufferings of the commonwealth were willingly ascribed by the existing generation to the impiety of that which had gone before, and the admonitions of the poet were hailed with general acclamation when he reminded it that it was the lord of mankind only because it was the servant of the gods. This pious acknowledgment, said Horace, was the beginning and end of all its greatness.² Au-

introduced by him, is placed under the following year by Dion Cassius, lii. 42.; to which Augustus also himself refers it, *Monum. Ancyrae*. 2.: "Patriciorum numerum auxi consul v. jussu populi et senatus."

¹ See Zumpt in his little tract *Religion der Roemer*.

² Horace in the well known passage, *Od.* iii. 6.:

"Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris
Dis te minorem quod geris imperas."

gustus perceived, with unerring sagacity, the direction of the popular sentiment, and at once placed himself at its head. The duty of renovating the temples had lapsed, by the death or impoverishment of their appointed guardians, to the nation itself, and he, in his censorial capacity, was the keeper of the national conscience. Accordingly he restored himself the temple of Jupiter Feretrius in the Capitol, which was said to be the most ancient in Rome; he erected another to Jove the Thunderer, to Cybele, and other divinities. He encouraged the nobles to vie with him in the pious work, and instructed Livia to repair the shrines of Juno, the tutelary guardian of Roman womanhood.¹ Up to this period, the god Mars, the reputed father of the Roman race, had never, it is said, enjoyed the distinction of a temple within the walls. He was now introduced into the city, which he had saved from overthrow and ruin; and the aid he had lent in bringing the murderers of Cæsar to justice, was signalized by the title of Avenger, by which he was now specially addressed.² There still remained, however, another deity in whom the emperor retained a peculiar interest. Apollo was the patron of the spot which had given a name to his great victory of Actium; Apollo himself, it was proclaimed, had fought for Rome and for Octavius on that auspicious day; the same Apollo, the sun-god, had shuddered in his bright career at the murder of the dictator, and had terrified the nations by the eclipse of his divine countenance.³ The courtiers

Restoration of
temples.

¹ *Monum. Ancyrr.* 4. Comp. *Dion*, li. 22. *Ovid. Fast.* i. 649. v. 157. vi. 637. At ii. 63. of the same work he addresses the emperor as “templorum positor, templorum sancte repostor:” and *Livy* (iv. 20.) calls him, “templorum omniū conditor aut restitutor.”

² The temple of Mars Ultor, of gigantic proportions, “*Et deus est ingens et opus*,” was erected in the new forum of Augustus at the foot of the Capitoline and Quirinal hills. *Ovid* describes it, *Fast.* v. 550. foll.

³ *Virg. Georg.* i. 446.:

“Ille etiam extiueto miseratus Cæsare Romam,
Cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine tinxit,
Impiaque æternam timuerunt sæcula noctem.”

Comp. *Ovid, Metam.* xv. 786.

of Augustus insinuated that their patron was inspired by an effluence from this glorious being: to him they ventured to ascribe the real parentage of the restorer of the city, as its founder had sprung from the auspicious passion of Mars for Rhea.¹ When they came into his presence they could not flatter him more adroitly than by dropping their eyes to the ground, as if dazzled by the encounter with his celestial radiance.² Besides building a splendid temple to Apollo on the Palatine hill, the emperor sought to honour him by transplanting to the Circus Maximus, the sports of which were under his special protection, an obelisk from Heliopolis in Egypt. This flame-shaped column was a symbol of the sun, and originally bore a blazing orb upon its summit. It is interesting to trace an intelligible motive for the first introduction into Europe of these grotesque and unsightly monuments of eastern superstition.

Descending from the heights, and quitting the open spaces of the city, which afforded commanding eminences and ample room for his most august constructions, the restorer of antiquity next proceeded to revive the modest and retiring worship of the streets and lanes. The three hundred shrines, all of imposing magnitude, which Virgil assures us he dedicated throughout the city to the "gods of Italy," were in fact, not temples of the Olympian deities, such as have been mentioned above, but fanes or chapels of Stata Mater the Steadfast Earth, and the Lares, or domestic Genii, erected in every vicus or district, for the common worship of the locality. Notwithstanding the grandeur of their attributes and the attraction of their magnificent ceremonies, the greater divinities, imported from Greece and Asia, never fully acquired the sympathies of the genuine Ital-

Restoration of
the popular
worship of the
Lares

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 94.; Dion, xlv. 1.

² Suet. *Oct.* 79.: "Oculos habuit claros ac nitidos, quibus etiam existimari solebat incesse quoddam divini vigoris, gaudebatque si quis acrius contuenti, quasi ad fulgorem solis, vultum submitteret." Comp. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xi. 32. Aurel. Vict. *Epit.* 1. Virg. *Æn.* viii.: "Geminas cui tempora flammæ Leta remunt."

ians, who still clung with unabated interest to the simple service of their old household patrons, the symbols, in their view, of permanence and security. The Roman might carry his Penates with him to every quarter of the globe, but his Lares still remained at home, and continued to consecrate his domestic hearth, and assure the safety of the neighbourhood. While Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, had each their patrician Flamens, the Lares were served by freedmen and plebeians.¹ The masters of quarters (*magistri vicorum*), churchwardens, as we might call them, of parishes, were chosen from the local population itself, and constituted an integral part of the municipal government of the city. At a later period in his reign, the emperor seems to have so far yielded to the irresistible propensity of his people to make him an object of worship, as to have allowed his own name to be associated with these semi-divinities, and his image to be erected along with theirs, and that of the faithful dog who watched together with the Lares and himself over the domestic security of the citizens.² The festival of the Street-games,³ which from the time of the Sabine Tatius had been celebrated on the calends of May, was now repeated twice annually, on that day, and again in August,⁴ in honour of the imperial demi-god who had taken it under his special patronage, and who

¹ See Egger, *Historiens d'Auguste*, in his curious essay on the Augustales p. 369. foll. Porphyry and Acron, the scholiasts of Horace, ad *Serm.* ii. 3. 281. say, "Ab Augusto Lares, id est, Dii domestici positi sunt; ex libertini sacerdotes dati qui Augustales appellati." "Jusserat enim Augustus in comitis Deos Penates (Lares) constitui, ut studiosius colerentur. Erant autem libertini sacerdotes qui Augustales dicuntur."

² Ovid, *Fast.* v. 129. foll. :

"Et canis ante pedes saxo fabricatus eodem . . .
Mille Lares Geniumque Ducis qui tradidit illos
Urbs habet, et vici numina trina colunt."

Hence we have numerous votive inscriptions, *Laribus Augustis*.

³ Hence in Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 717. :

"Lætitia ludisque *viæ*, plausuque fremebant."

⁴ Suet. *Oct.* 31. : "Compitales Lares ornari his anno instituit, vernis floribus et æstivis "

gradually became the central object of this popular worship throughout Rome and Italy, and at least the western provinces of the empire.¹

During his long tenure of power, and especially after assuming the functions of the chief priesthood, Augustus extended his restoring care to every branch of religious service. He revived various solemn games, which combined the cultivation of religion with the amusement of the people; he increased the number of the special priesthoods and of their individual members, to advance the honour of the gods, and the dignity of the noble officials; ^{Temples rebuilt. Worship of the god Terminus.} nor did he renounce the principles of religious toleration, which were ordinarily extended by the Roman government to all rituals politically harmless, and not flagrantly immoral.² Besides erecting temples to Jupiter under the names of the Thunderer and the Spoilbearer, Augustus dedicated a large amount of bullion, together with gems and pearls, to the same god, as the tutelary divinity of the Capitol, the citadel of the empire. The sumptuous fane of the Capitoline Jupiter had peculiar claims on the veneration of the Roman citizens; for not only the great Lord of the earth was worshipped in it, but the conservative principle of property itself

¹ This worship of Augustus, or rather perhaps of the Lar of Augustus, as a demigod or genius, is to be distinguished from the later cult of the Cæsars as deities, which Augustus himself interdicted at least in Rome. Comp. Hor. *Od.* iv. 5. 34.:

“Et Laribus tuum
Miscet numen, uti Græcia Castoris,
Et magni memor Herculis.”

As regards the *tercentum delubra* of Virgil, we find in the *Regionarii* just 265 *ædiculæ* enumerated, in each of which were the figures of two Lares, and the genius of the emperor. Hence, Ovid, in round numbers, “*Mille Lares.*”

² Suet. *Oct.* 31.: “*Sacerdotum et numerum et dignitatem sed et commodis luxit, præcipue Vestalium virginum,*” &c.

³ Marcianus in *Dig.* xlvii. 22.: “*Sed religionis causa coire non prohibetur, dum tamen per hoc non fiat contra senatusconsultum quo illicita collegia reentur.*” Dionysius Hal. (*Antiq. Rom.* ii. 19.) distinguishes between the toleration and the reception, or as we should say, establishment, of a foreign cult.

found therein its appropriate symbol. While the statue of Jupiter occupied the usual place of the divinity in the furthest recess of the building, an image of the god Terminus was also placed in the centre of the nave, which was open to the heavens. A venerable legend affirmed that when, in the time of the kings, it was requisite to clear a space on the Capitoline to erect on it a temple to the great father of the gods, and the shrines of several lesser divinities were to be removed for the purpose, Terminus alone, the patron of boundaries, refused to quit his place, and demanded to be included within the walls of the new edifice.¹ Thus propitiated, he was under-

System of augural limitation, and the consecration of boundaries.

stood to declare that henceforth the bounds of the republic should never be narrowed; and the pledge was more than fulfilled by the ever-increasing circuit of her dominion. But the solicitude of this tutelary divinity was not confined to maintaining the frontier of the empire; as guardian of the public domain he presided over the measurement or limitation of every civic territory, and the private estates assigned out of it; his bound-stones were erected to mark out each separate division, consecrated with rustic offerings, and hallowed with solemn formularies.² Whenever a portion of a conquered district was to be allotted to a community or a citizen, the augur, with his staff in his hand, turning himself to the auspicious quarter of the heavens, first drew an imaginary line

¹ Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 667. :

“Terminus, ut veteres memorant, conventus in æde
Restitit, et magno cum Jove templa tenet.”

² The citizen who removed a landmark was devoted to the gods; the slave was thrown into chains or subjected to hard labour: but if he had acted under the authority of his master, he was put to death with all his family, by way as it would seem, of punishing his guilty owner. See the formula in the *Scriptores Rei Agrariæ*, p. 258. ed. Gæs. These penalties were commuted to a fine by a law of Caius Cæsar (lex Mamilia, &c.), which Mommsen ascribes to the Dictator. But this opinion is controverted by Rudorff, and I have little doubt that its real author was Caius Caligula. See Laehmann's *Römischer Feldmesser*, ii. 223. 244. The law in question is preserved in the Pandect. See *Digest.* xlvii. 21. de termino moto.

across it from end to end in a direction vertical to himself, then another at right angles to it from right to left, thus dividing it in his mind into four equal portions.¹ The portions thus designated were then separated by balks of certain width, and again subdivided into smaller parallelograms, according to the number of lots required. Each lot was marked by bound-stones at its corners and points of intersection, and along its edges trees of foreign origin were planted, as a standing witness to the artificial character of the limitation.² If the space thus allotted was not, as of course it seldom or never was, strictly rectangular, the remainder was excluded from this geometrical division, and reserved as the peculiar property of the state. When the appointed forms had been completed, the estate of the citizen or colonist was placed under the protection of the god Terminus; and the boundaries once assigned, marked out, and consecrated, could never again be changed, whatever change might occur in their ownership. If, for instance, one of these rectangles or *fundi* became divided between more than a single proprietor, the *fundus* still remained distinct, and for purposes of taxation was reckoned as an unit.³ This mode of land-measuring was a science derived from the Etruscans, and is perhaps first brought to our notice by a fragment of writing which dates from the fifth century of the city.⁴ It was, however, at least

¹ Originally the augur faced the west; afterwards he took a contrary position. This appears from Varro, cited by Frontinus, *de limitibus*. Hygius *de lim. const.* in Lachmann, i. 27. 166., compared with p. 169. See Rudorff's *Grömatische Instit.* p. 343. foll. of the second volume of Lachmann's collection.

² It is not surprising that these bound-stones, which undoubtedly were maintained in innumerable instances for a thousand years, should have utterly disappeared. They furnished the readiest materials for building and the repair of roads. Besides, they were usually placed over pieces of money, like the foundation-stones of our modern edifices, and were no doubt often torn up for the sake of the concealed treasure.

³ Though the territory of Italy, and the whole ager Romanus throughout the provinces, was exempted from the land-tax, it did not escape the succession tax imposed by Augustus.

⁴ See the fragment ascribed to the augur Vegoia in the *Script. Rei. Agr.* p. 258. ed. Gæs., i. 250. ed. Lachmann.

as ancient as the Etruscan kings of Rome. The divisions of land made by the Gracchi and Sulla, and by the kings themselves, continued to be known by their irremovable bound-stones down to a late period of the empire. Though the stones or termini themselves have long been uprooted from the soil, it is said that the names of the original fundi may still be traced both in Italy and Gaul in the modern appellations of certain well-known farms.¹

The writers on this abstruse subject contain numerous notices of the limitations effected by Augustus, and the stones set up by his authority are referred to by his name.² Some of them mark, we may suppose, the latest assignments of land he made to his veterans after Actium; but even in the turbulence of the triumvirate the formalities of ancient usage were not perhaps disregarded in this particular. The land-measurer or agrimensor preceded the veteran with his pole and chain to mark out the appointed allotment;³ but the rude soldier entered into possession sword in hand, and hardly sheathed it either to sow or reap the harvest. He paid perhaps little respect to the bound-stones set up for him, or even waited for the completion of augural forms. The emperor, however, was solicitous to repair whatever irregularities had occurred in the original appropriation, and studied to revive the honours of Terminus in conjunction with those of Jupiter himself.⁴

¹ Niebuhr (*Rom. Hist.*, ii. 629.) refers to two estates in the Campagna known by the name of la Roiana and la Cipollara, which he considers to be fundi Roianus and Ceponianus. A M. Bausset, cited by Dureau de la Malle, has discovered no less than twenty-five such names of Roman proprietors preserved in villages, hamlets, and farms, in the neighbourhood of Béziers in France. De la Malle, *Econ. pol. des Romains*, i. 183.

² We meet with mention not only of termini Gracchani and Sullani, but Augustei, Neroniani, Vespasiani, &c. They were inscribed with numbers or figures, plated with brass, and differed from one another in shape. Those of Augustus and Caligula were *rotundi*, perhaps rounded at the head; others were *quadrati*. In the *Script. Rei Agr.* are many rude figures of these termini, copied from the MSS.

³ Propert. iv. l. 130.: "Abstulit exultas pertica iristis opes."

⁴ "Terminos rotundos quos Augusteos vocamus, pro hac ratione quod

The restoration of the temples of Juno by Augustus and his consort indicated the interest the new government felt in the institution of marriage. Neither the history Principle of Roman marriage. nor literature of Rome can be understood without clear ideas upon this branch of her social economy. All nations have agreed in investing marriage with a religious sanction; but religion and policy were closely connected through every phase of the social life of the Romans, and in none more closely than in this.¹ Marriage they regarded as an institution hallowed by the national divinities for the propagation of the Roman race, the special favourite of the gods. Its object was not to chasten the affections and purify the appetites of man, but to replenish the curies and centuries, to maintain the service of the national temples, to recruit the legions and establish Roman garrisons in conquered lands. The marriage therefore of Caius and Caia, of a Roman with a Roman, was a far higher and holier matter, in the view of their priests and legislators, than the union of a Roman with a foreigner, of aliens with aliens, or of slaves with slaves. Even the legitimate union of the sexes among the citizens was regulated by the descending scale of confarreation, coemption, and mere cohabitation; and the offspring of the former only were qualified for the highest religious functions, such as those of the Flamen of Jupiter, and apparently of the Vestal Virgins, on which the safety of the state was deemed most strictly to depend.²

These jealous regulations were fostered in the first instance by a grave political necessity; but the increase of the power

Augustus eos recensuit, et ubi defuerunt lapides alios constituit."—*Scr. Rei Agr.* p. 255. ed. Goes. The two appendices on the subject of Roman limitation at the end of the second volume of the English translation of Niebuhr's history should be read in conjunction with De la Malle's chapter on the same subject, and Rudorff's *Gromatische Institutionen*, in Lachmann's edition of the *Scr. Rei Agrariæ*.

¹ Modestinus in the *Digest*, xxiii. 2. 1., has a fine definition of marriage: "Nuptiæ sunt conjunctio maris et fœminæ, consortium omnis vitæ, divini et humani juris communicatio."

² See Dezobry, *Rome au Siècle d'Auguste*, ii. 436.

Fallen into dis-
favour and
desuetude.

of Rome, the enlargement of her resources, the multiplication of her allies, her clients and dependents, had long relaxed her vigilance in maintaining the purity of her children's descent.¹ The dictates of nature, reinforced by the observation of foreign examples, had long rebelled in this matter against the tyrannical prescriptions of a barbarous antiquity. After the eastern conquests of the Republic it became impossible to maintain the race in its state of social isolation. In his winter quarters at Athens, Samos, or Ephesus, the rude husbandman of Alba or the Volscian hills was dazzled by the fascinations of women, whose accomplishments fatally eclipsed the homely virtues of the Latin and Sabine matrons. To form legitimate connexions with these foreign charmers was forbidden him by the harsh institutions of a Servius or Numa; while his ideas were so narrowed and debased by bad laws, that he never dreamt of raising his own countrywomen by education to the level of their superior attractions. Gravely impressing upon his wife and daughters that to sing and dance, to cultivate the knowledge of languages, to exercise the taste and understanding, was the business of the hired courtesan,² it was to the courtesan that he repaired himself for the solace of his own lighter hours. The Hetæræ of Greece had been driven to the voluptuous courts of Asia by the impoverishment, and perhaps the declining refinement, of their native entertainers. They were now invited to the great western capital of wealth and luxury, where they shared with viler objects the admiration of the Roman nobles, and imparted perhaps a

¹ Horace, *Od.* iii. 6. 17. :

“Fœcunda culpæ sæcula nuptias

Primum inquinavere, et genus, et domos :

Hoc fonte derivata clades

In patriam populumque fluxit.”

² See the well known description of the accomplishments of the matron Sempronia, Sallust, *Catil.* 25. : “Hæc mulier genere atque forma, præterea viro, liberis, satis fortunata fuit : literis Græcis atque Latinis docta ; psallere, saltare, *elegantius quam necesse est probæ* ; multa alia quæ instrumenta luxuriæ sunt.” Comp. Plautus, *Rudens*, prol. 43., and Terence, *Phorm.* i. 2. 26.

shade of sentiment and delicacy to their most sensual carouses. The unnatural restrictions of the law formed a decent excuse for this class of unions, which were often productive of mutual regard, and were hallowed at least at the shrine of public opinion.

Such fortunate cases were, however, at the best, only exceptional. For the most part, the Grecian mistress of the proconsul or imperator, the object of a transient appetite, sought to indemnify herself by venal rapacity for actual contempt and anticipated desertion. The influence of these seductive intriguers poisoned the springs of justice before the provincial tribunals. At an earlier period a brutal general could order a criminal to be beheaded at his supper table, to exhibit to his paramour the spectacle of death:¹ at a later, the luxurious governor of a province allowed his freedwoman to negotiate with his subjects for the price of their rights and privileges, or carried her at his side in his progress through Italy itself.² The frantic declama-

*Influence of the
freed women.*

¹ This is the story told of L. Flaminus by Valerius Maximus, ii. 9. 3. Cicero alludes to it, *de Senect.* 12.: "Invitus quidem feci ut L. Flaminium . . . e Senatu ejicerem, octo annis postquam consul fuisset; sed notandam putavi libidinem." Livy's version of the same story is still more atrocious. It may be amusing to compare with it the ingenuous confession of Napoleon I. to Las Cases, in speaking of a connexion he had formed in his first Italian campaign. "J'étais bien jeune alors, j'étais heureux, et fier de mon petit succès; aussi cherchai je à le reconnaître par toutes les attentions en mon pouvoir; et vous allez voir quel peut être l'abus de l'autorité, à quoi peut tenir le sort des hommes; car je ne suis pas pire qu'un autre. La promenant un jour au milieu de nos positions, dans les environs, au Col de Tende, il me vint subitement l'idée de lui donner le spectacle d'une petite guerre, et j'ordonnai une attaque d'avant-poste. Nous fûmes vainqueurs, il est vrai, mais évidemment il ne pouvait y avoir de résultat; l'attaque était une pure fantaisie, et pourtant quelques hommes y restèrent. Aussi, plus tard, toutes les fois que le souvenir m'en est revenu à l'esprit, je me le suis fort reproché." Las Cases, *Mem. de S. Hélène*, i. 169.

² See the account of Chelidon, the mistress of Verres, Cic. *in Verr.* i. 40., ii. 47., iv. 32., v. 13., and of Cytheris, *Philipp.* ii. We can hardly wonder that the Romans, with their formal notions of the institution of marriage, should have entertained no moral disapprobation of these connections. It was only in a political point of view that the *concubinatus* of a citizen with a foreign *pellex* was regarded as a *mésalliance*. But the *pellex* must be a free

tions of Cicero against the licentiousness of Verres and Antonius in this respect were a fruitless and, it must be admitted, a hollow attempt to play upon an extinct religious sentiment.

The results of this vicious indulgence were more depraving than the vice itself. The unmarried Roman, thus cohabiting with a freedwoman or slave, became the father of a bastard brood, against whom the gates of the city were shut. His pride was wounded in the tenderest part; his loyalty to the commonwealth was shaken. He chose rather to abandon the wretched offspring of his amours, than to breed them up as a reproach to himself, and see them sink below the rank in which their father was born. In the absence of all true religious feeling, the possession of children was the surest pledge to the state of the public morality of her citizens. By the renunciation of marriage, which it became the fashion to avow and boast, public confidence was shaken to its centre.¹ On the other hand, the women themselves, insulted by the neglect of the other sex, and exasperated at the inferiority of their position, revenged themselves by holding the institution of legitimate marriage with almost equal aversion. They were indignant at the servitude to which it bound them, the state of dependence and legal incapacity in which it kept them; for it left them without rights, and without the enjoyment of their own property: it reduced them to the status of mere children, or rather transferred them from the power of their parent to that of

woman: commerce with a slave, where the choice was not free on both sides, was esteemed dishonourable, and the high-minded Roman generally enfranchised the object of his desire. Walckenacr has put this subject in its true light in his *Histoire d'Horace*, i. 110. fol.

¹ See the praises of celibacy in Plautus, *Mil. Glor.* iii. 1. 111. fol.: "Quando habeo multos cognatos quid opus sit mihi liberis?" etc. Comp. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xiv. proœm.: "Cœpisse orbitatem in auctoritate summa et potentia esse, captationem in quæstu maximo." Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 52. Senec. *Cons. ad Marc.* 19. Augustus says, in Dion, lvi. 7.: οὐ γὰρ δὴ πού μοναυλίῳ χαίρετε, ἢν' ἄνευ γυναικῶν διάνητε, οὐδέ ἐστίν ὅστις ὑμῶν ἢ σιτεῖται μῆνος ἢ καθεύδει μῆνος • ἀλλ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἀσελγαίνειν ἔχειν ἐθέλετε.

their husband. They continued through life, in spite of the mockery of respect with which the laws surrounded them,¹ things rather than persons; things that could be sold, transferred backwards and forwards, from one master to another, for the sake of their dowry or even their powers of child-bearing.² For the smallest fault the wife might be placed on trial before her husband, or if he were more than usually considerate in judging upon his own case, before a council of her relations. She might be beaten with rods, even to death itself, for adultery or any other heinous crime; while she might suffer divorce from the merest caprice, and simply for the loss of her youth or beauty.³

The latter centuries of the Roman commonwealth are filled with the domestic struggles occasioned by the obstinacy with which political restrictions were maintained upon the most sensitive of the social relations. Beginning with wild and romantic legends, the account of these troubles becomes in the end an important feature in history. As early as the year 423, it is said, a great number of Roman matrons attempted the lives of their husbands by poison. They were dragged before the tribunals, probably domestic, and adjudged to death. As many as a hundred and seventy are said to have suffered.⁴ In the following century, after the promulgation of the Oppian law, which forbade

Struggles of the
women against
it.

¹ For these outward signs of respect, see particularly Ovid, *Art. Amand.* i. 32. Festus, in voc. *Matronæ*.

² The well-known story of Cato and his wife Marcia has been related in an early chapter of this history. Plut. *Cat. Min.* 36. 68. Comp. Plaut. *Menæchm.* in fin.:

“Venibunt servi, subpellex, fundi, ædes, omnia

Venibit uxor quoque etiam, si quis emptor venerit.”

The *uxor* is the legitimate wife who has contracted *nuptiæ*, a Roman marriage. *Conjux* is a term of much wider application.

³ Valerius Maximus (vi. 3.) tells of Egnatius Metellus, who flogged his wife to death for drinking wine. Comp. Plin. *H. N.* xiv. 13.; Gell. x. 23., and the passage in Plautus, *Mercator*, iv. 6.:

“Ecce ego iuge dura vivunt mulieres,
Multoque iniquiore miseræ quam viri,” etc.

⁴ Liv. viii. 18. Val. Max. ii. 5. 3.

women to keep more than half an ounce of gold, to wear robes of various colours, and to ride in the carpentum, they formed a new conspiracy—such at least was the story—not to destroy their husbands, but to refuse conversation with them and frustrate their hopes of progeny.¹ This was followed at the distance of half a century by the Lex Voconia, *the most unjust of laws*, in the judgment of the Christian Augustine, which excluded women from the right of inheriting.² Of these laws, however, the first was speedily abrogated,³ the other was evaded, and, by underhand and circuitous means, women came to receive inheritances, to the great scandal, as we shall hereafter see, of the reformers under the empire.⁴ But the continued quarrel of the sexes was exaggerated by mutual jealousy, and at the outbreak of the Catilinarian conspiracy, it was currently reported among the men, that the traitors obtained money for their enterprise from a multitude of matrons, who longed for a bloody revolution to exterminate their husbands.⁵

In the primitive ages the state had not only regulated the forms of marriage, but had undertaken to enforce it. Among the duties of the censors was that of levying fines upon the citizen who persisted in remaining single to the detriment of the public weal. The censure of Camillus and Postumius, A. U. 351, was celebrated for the patriotic vigour with which this inquisition was made.⁶ In

Legislation of
the Republic
for enforcing
marriage.

¹ Ovid, *Fast.* i. 620. foll.

² Augustin. *de Civ. Dei*, iii. 21. The severity of this law is also stigmatized in the Institutions of Justinian (iii. 2.), and the modifications explained which were introduced by the imperial legislation.

³ The Lex Oppia was abrogated A. U. 557, under the consulship of M. Porcius Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus. The abrogation was proposed by the tribunes Fundanius and Valerius, and carried with the help of clamour and agitation on the part of the women, against the resistance of Cato and some of their own colleagues. Liv. xxxiv. 1. foll.

⁴ Tac. *Ann.* iii. 23.: “Quæ Oppiis quondam aliisque legibus constrictæ, nunc vinclis exsolutis domos jam et exercitus regerent.”

⁵ Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 2.: χρήματα δὲ ἀγείρων πολλὰ παρὰ πολλῶν γυναικῶν, αἱ τοὺς ἀνδρας ἡλπίζον ἐν τῇ ἐπαναστάσει διαφθερεῖν.

⁶ Val. Max. ii. 9. 1. Plut. *Camill.* 2.

process of time the milder method of encouraging marriage by rewards was introduced, the earliest mention of which, perhaps, is in a speech of Scipio, censor in the year 554. At this time, it appears, certain immunities were already granted to the fathers of legitimate, and even of adopted, children, which last the censor denounced as an abuse.¹ But neither rewards nor penalties proved effectual to check the increasing tendency to celibacy, and at the period of the Gracchi an alarm was sounded that the old Roman race was becoming rapidly extinguished. The censor of the year 623, Metellus Macedonicus, expounded the evil to the senate in a speech which seems to have been among the most curious productions of antiquity. *Could we exist without wives at all, it began, doubtless we should all rid ourselves of the plague they are to us: since, however, nature has decreed that we cannot dispense with the infliction, it is best to bear it manfully, and rather look to the permanent conservation of the state than to our own transient satisfaction.*² It is still more curious, perhaps, that above a hundred years afterwards Augustus should have ventured to recite in the polished senate of his own generation the cynical invective of a ruder age. But, so it was, that when the legislation of Julius Cæsar was found ineffectual for controlling the still growing evil, it was reinforced by his successor with fresh penalties and rewards, and the bitter measure recommended by the arguments and even the language of the ancient censor.³

¹ Gell. v. 19. Compare Liv. xlv. 15. Heinecc. *Antiq. Roman.* i. 25. 3. Cicero approves of this kind of legislation. See *de Legg.* iii.: "Cælibes esse prohibento."

² Gell. i. 6.: "Si sine uxore, Quirites, possemus esse, omnes ea molestia careremus: sed quoniam ita natura tradidit, ut nec cum illis satis commode, nec sine illis ullo modo vivi possit, salutis perpetuæ potius quam brevi voluptati consulendum." That the censor was Metellus Macedonicus, not Numidius, appears from Liv. *Epit.* lix. Gellius quotes a very noble sentiment from another part of the same speech.

³ Suet. *Oct.* 89.: "Etiam libros totos et senatui recitavit et populo notos per edictum sæpe fecit: ut orationes Q. Metelli *de augenda prole*, et Rutilli *de modo ædificiorum*: quo magis persuaderet utramque rem non a se primo animadversam, sed antiquis jam tunc curæ fuisse."

The importance attached by the emperor to this fruitless legislation appears from his turning his efforts in this direction from the first year of his return to Rome. When he took the census with Agrippa, in 725, he insisted on carrying into execution the regulations of the dictator, which had been neglected during the interval of anarchy, and were destined speedily to fall into similar neglect again. Upon this one point the master of the Romans could make no impression upon the dogged disobedience of his subjects. Both the men and the women preferred the loose terms of union upon which they had consented to cohabit to the harsh provisions of antiquity. They despised rewards, and penalties they audaciously defied. Eleven years later Augustus caused the senate to pass a new law of increased stringency, by which the marriage of citizens of competent age was positively required. Three years' grace was allowed for making a choice and settling preliminaries; but when the allotted interval was expired, it was found expedient to prolong it for two years more: from time to time a further respite seems to have been conceded, and we shall find the emperor still struggling almost to the close of his life, to impose this intolerable restraint upon the liberty or licence of the times. The consent of the senators themselves, subservient as they generally were, was given with murmurs of reluctance, the more so, perhaps, as they alone were excepted from the indulgence, which was now prudently extended to every lower order of citizens, of permission to form a legitimate marriage with a freedwoman.¹ The measure was received indeed with outward deference, but an inward determination to evade or overthrow it. Even the poets, who were instructed to sing its praises, renounced the obligation to fulfil its conditions; while others, whose voices

¹ Dion, liv. 16.; who gives as the reason for the relaxation the disproportion of freeborn males to females, lvi. 7. Comp. *Dig.* xliii. 2. 44. Suet. *Oct.* 34.: "Præ tumultu recusantium perferre non potuit nisi adempta demum lenitate parte poenarum, et vacatione triennii data, auctisque præmiis."

were generally tuned to accents of adulation, exulted openly in its relaxation or postponement.¹

The nature of the penalties and rewards assigned by this law shows that the views of Augustus were for the most part confined to the rehabilitation of marriage in the higher classes, and the restoration of the purest blood of Rome. On the one hand, celibacy was punished by incapacity to receive bequests, and even the married man who happened to be childless, was regarded with suspicion, and mulcted of one half of every legacy.² On the other, the father of a family enjoyed a place of distinction in the theatres, and preference in competition for public office. He was relieved from the responsibilities of a tutor or a judex, and, as by the earlier measure of the dictator, was excused from a portion of the public burdens, if father of three children at Rome, of four in Italy, or of five in the provinces. Of the two consuls, precedence was given, not to the senior in age, according to ancient usage, but to the husband and the father of the most numerous offspring.³ It

Penalties of
celibacy and
rewards of
marriage.

¹ Horace and Propertius were both unmarried. The former muttered, in language which seems even by its languor and prosaic structure to betray its insincerity (*Carm. Sæc.*),—

“Diva, producas subolem, Patrumque
Prosperes decreta super jugandis
Fœminis, prolisque novæ feraci
Lege marita.”

The latter exclaimed, with all the fervour of genuine triumph (ii. 6. 2.),—

“Gavisa es certes sublatam Cynthia legem,
Qua quondam edicta flemus uterque diu,
Ne nos divideret: quamvis diducere amantes
Non queat invitos Jupiter ipse duos!”

² Tac. *Ann.* xv. 19. Dion, liii. 13. Gaii *Instit.* ii. 111. 286. Comp. Juvenal, ix. 87.:

“Jura parentis habes; propter me scriberis hæres;
Legatum omne capis, necnon et dulce caducum.”

³ Gell. ii. 15. Besides the classical authorities here cited the reader may refer to the fragments of Ulpian, published in Böcking's *Corpus Juris Antejustiniani*, and the modern writers on jurisprudence, such as Heineccius, Gothofred, Schulting, Brisson, and others who have written treatises upon the

is clear that such provisions as these could have had little application to the great mass of the citizens, who lived on the favour of their noble patrons or the bounty of the treasury, and bred up a horde of paupers to eat into the vitals of the state.

The perverse subjects of this domestic legislation seem at first to have sought to evade it by entering into contracts of marriage which they afterwards omitted to fulfil. Penalties of unchastity. It was necessary to enact new provisions to meet this subterfuge. The facility allowed by the ancient usage to divorce formed another obvious means of escape: but again did the vigilant reformer interfere by appointing the observation of onerous forms for the legal separation of married persons.¹ When a divorce had actually taken place, the parties fell again under the provisions of the marriage law, and were required to find themselves fresh consorts within a specified interval.² Another mode of driving the reluctant citizens within the marriage pale was the infliction of penalties and disgrace upon unchastity beyond it: while now, for the first time, adultery, which had been left to be punished by the domestic tribunal as a private injury, was branded as a crime against the general well being, and subjected to the animadversion of the state.³ But Augustus was not satisfied with directing his thunders against the guilty; he sought to anticipate criminality by imposing fresh restraints upon the licentious manners of the age. After the example of his predecessors in the censorship,

Lex Papia Poppæa, or reconstructed it from the notices of antiquity. The particulars here given may be found in all compilations on Roman law.

¹ Paulus in *Dig.* xxiv. 2. 9.: "Nullum divortium ratum est, nisi septem civibus Rom. puberibus adhibitis, præter libertum ejus qui divortium faciet."

² Ulpian, fr. xiv.: "Fœminis lex Julia a morte viri anni tribuit vacationem, a divortio sex mensium: lex autem Papia a morte viri biennii, a repudio anni et sex mensium." The fragment seems to be incomplete, and probably went on to specify the interval allowed to the male sex.

³ Suetonius, *Oct.* 34., calls this law, "*Lex de adulteriis et pudicitia.*" For the particulars see *Dig.* xlviii. 5.

Horace, *Od.* iv. 5.: "Mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas."

The punishment of adultery consisted in heavy pecuniary fines, and banishment to an island, and seems therefore applicable only to the higher classes

he fixed a scale of expense for the luxuries of the table, and pretended to regulate the taste of the women for personal ornaments. At the gladiatorial shows, from which they could no longer be excluded, he assigned different places for the two sexes, removing the women to the hinder rows, the least favourable either for seeing or being seen, and altogether forbade them to assist at the exhibitions of wrestling and boxing.

The main principles of the old Roman polity were founded upon the distinction of classes, and in order to revive or reinforce them, the conservative legislator determined

to mark the distinction by outward tokens. The word of command went forth, let every Roman

*Regulations for
the distinction
of classes.*

know his own place and keep it. The law of Roscius Otho had separated the knights from the body of the people, and assigned them the first fourteen rows in the theatre. But this ordinance had been invaded, in the confusion of the times, by the rampant democracy of Cæsar and Antonius: a plain soldier had been known to intrude himself into the places thus set apart for the privileged order; and Augustus himself had beheld a senator enter the theatre, where every seat was already occupied, and no man rise to make room for him. Freedmen, under pretence of being attached to the service of foreign potentates, had penetrated the orchestra itself, which was strictly appropriated to the senators. These irregularities were regarded as the symptom of a dislocation of all social principles. Henceforth they were corrected, and with the correction it was hoped that the spirit of antiquity would revive. The soldiers were kept separate from the people, the young from the old, the children's tutors had their proper places assigned them by the side of their charges, the married men were promoted in front of the bachelors, and a sumptuary ordinance relegated to the most distant corners those who ventured to obtrude themselves in unseemly raiments.¹

¹ Suet. *Ocl.* 44. : "Sanxitque ne pullatorum quisquam media cæva sederet." Compare Calpurnius, at a much later period, *Ecl.* vii. 26. :

"Venimus ad sedes ubi pulla sordida veste
Inter fœmineas spectabat turba cathedras."

We have already seen how the proprieties of dress and demeanour were again rigidly enforced. The public entertainments presented an image of the Roman state, and there at least the citizen was required to appear in full dress, in the costume of the ancient Quirites. He was forbidden to reject the warm and cumbersome toga for the light habiliments of slaves and foreigners. The practice in which knights and even senators had sometimes indulged, of showing their skill in dancing and acting upon the public stage, was now sternly prohibited. The Roman must give way neither to ease nor vanity. But the primitive sense of personal dignity could scarcely be retained by men who had lost the support of conscious freedom, and the irregularities thus denounced were ready at every moment to break out again, upon the slightest relaxation of vigilance in the government. By imposing a tax upon the manumission of slaves Augustus might hope to limit in some degree the infusion of new and base blood into the veins of the body politic, and no considerations of humanity withheld him from a measure which must have tended to worsen the condition of that unfortunate class. The mild influence of social tranquillity had not yet succeeded in softening, as was certainly the case in some respects at a later period, the callous indifference to human suffering engendered by the habits and institutions of a race of conquerors. The horrible punishment Augustus inflicted on the slaves who had enlisted under Sextus Pompeius, consigning them by thousands to the cross as fugitives, was a punctilious recurrence to the prescriptions of ancient law, and was no doubt applauded by the mass of the citizens as a wholesome exercise of authority for the safety of the state. But unfortunately we can discover no certain trace of any later measures of the same emperor for ameliorating the condition of servitude, though one anecdote at least is told of his interfering to save a slave's life, and another of his refusing to punish the murder of an odious master.¹

¹ Dion, liv. 23. Senee. *Nat. Quæst.* i. 16. The lex Petronia, by which masters were forbidden to sell their slaves to the exhibitors of combats with

The discreet usurper, who shrinks from the name of a revolutionist, will seek, by controlling the interpretation of existing laws, to avoid the necessity of enacting new. Such was eminently the policy of Augustus. The legislation of the Triumvirate, if to its arbitrary decrees such a title may be applied, consisted chiefly in indulgences accorded to certain classes or interests; and these the new ruler, after faintly excusing them on the plea of momentary necessity, surrendered to be absolutely annulled.¹ His own special enactments were directed, as we have seen, to the permanent reconstruction of society upon the basis of at least a pretended antiquity. Every deviation from ancient forms was carefully disguised or plausibly palliated. The great body of the Roman law existed for the most part in a mass of traditional precedents, upon which the judicial magistrates formed their own system of procedure. Their arbitrary conclusions were controlled however by the general interpretation of the learned, the patrician juriconsults, who still claimed, with more or less success, to be the privileged expounders of the sense of antiquity in these matters, and were still consulted, if not strictly obeyed, by the advocates of their own class. Thus when Servius Sulpicius, the greatest or at least the second, as a learned jurist calls him, of Roman pleaders, was in doubt on a point of law involved in a cause with which he was concerned, he asked the opinion of Mucius Scaevola. Not perfectly understanding the reply vouchsafed to him, he laid his difficulty a second, and again a third time, before the oracle; and at last submitted to the severe rebuke, that it was shameful for a patrician, a noble and an advocate, to be ignorant of the law which he had to administer. Thereupon he applied himself so dili-

Jurisprudence of Augustus.

wild beasts, has been referred by many commentators to Augustus. But the term *lex*, on which they mainly depend, continued to be sometimes used after the abolition of the ancient forms of legislation, and other critics ascribe this law with more probability to the time of Nero. Troplong, *Influence du Christianisme sur le droit Romain*, part ii. chap. ii.

¹ A. U. 726. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 28.; Dion, liii. 2.

gently to the abstruse study, as to acquire the highest reputation therein of any of his countrymen, and to leave them no less than a hundred and eighty volumes of commentaries on the subject, to become a standard authority with succeeding generations.¹ Such influence as a Scævola or a Sulpicius could thus exert Augustus sought to gain to his own side. His appointment indeed of the prætors secured him the interpretation of the law in all matters affecting his interests, as far as the edict of these magistrates could go; but he shrank from suffering the law to issue solely from the mouth of his own officers. The middle course which he devised was to suppress the right of giving opinions hitherto possessed in theory by all patricians indiscriminately, and restrict it to such among them as he chose himself to licence, ostensibly at least for their eminent knowledge and character. This change was not perhaps in fact so startling as it appears; for the practice of the jurisconsult's prerogative had fallen into general disuse, and was actually confined to a small number of devoted professors of the science. Such however as it was, it led the way to the systematic development of legal principles, which, as it was the greatest creation of the imperial system, became also the firmest bulwark of its authority, cementing in one massive structure the work of a series of revolutions, and throwing a legitimate sanction over mere military force.²

This review of the legislation of Augustus must be closed with some general remarks upon the policy which directed it.

¹ Pomponius in *Digest.* i. 2. 42.

² Pomponius (*Dig.* i. 2. 47.) gives a curious account of the two schools of juridical authorities which sprang from the teaching of Ateius Capito and Antistius Labeo respectively. The first of these learned men had yielded to the imperial blandishments, and accepted the consulship as the price of his subserviency; the other maintained a sturdy independence, devoting himself entirely to the business of his profession. The followers of Capito were attached to the old traditions; those of Labeo were innovators and original speculators; the one was succeeded by Masurius Sabinus, Cassius Longinus, Cælius Sabinus, Priscus Javolenus, Valens, Tuscianus, and Julianus; the other by Cocceius Nerva, Proculus, Pegasus, Celsus father and son, and Priscus Neratius. For the characters of Capito and Labeo see Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 75.

The name of Julius Cæsar was the watchword which had cheered the legions of Octavius on to victory, and it continued dear to the mass of the Roman citizens, by whom the conqueror of the oligarchs was still regarded as the legitimate descendant of Marius and the avenger of the Sullan massacres. But the popular writers of the Augustan era, who reflected the sentiments of the court rather than of the people, seem to have shared in a very trifling degree this general enthusiasm. Their almost total silence on Cæsar's merits,—for Virgil rarely and Horace never once celebrates his praises,—must be taken as significant of the peculiar views and policy of their patron.¹ The merits of the father and the son were so distinct that, had such been the pleasure of Augustus, he could have afforded to lavish the highest honours on the memory of his predecessor, without subjecting his own well-earned fame to any disparagement. The genial tributes of the Latin muse would have warmed the feelings of the Romans towards their benefactor more effectually, had such been his desire, than the frigid compliments of a temple and a priesthood. But Augustus, who affected to be the Cæsar of Peace, had a political motive for throwing into the shade the glories of the hero of Pharsalia. The death of his last rival Antonius operated a complete change both in his temper and his aspirations. Henceforth the princeps, or leader of the senate, succeeds to the triumvir, as the triumvir had succeeded to the dictator. He now approaches more and more closely to the aristocracy, against which in his early years he had waged a war of extermination. He opens his arms to it, he devotes to its interests without reserve all the powers he has received from the triumphant democracy.

Review of the
policy of Au-
gustus.

¹ The name of the first Cæsar is only once introduced by Horace, to compliment Augustus as "Cæsaris ultor." The allusion to the "Julium sidus" applies, perhaps, to the Julian family generally. When Tydides is said to be "melior patre," it is meant to remind us that Augustus was more illustrious than his father. Ovid has a similar comparison, *Metam.* xv. 750.: "Neque enim de Cæsaris aetis Ullum majus opus quam quod pater exstitit hujus." Virgil mentions Cæsar only three times; *Ecl.* ix. 127., *Geo.* i. 466., *Æn.* vi 526.; and Propertius never. See Orelli's note on Horace, *Od.* i. 12. 47.

Towards so generous a conqueror the nobles could not long retain their feelings of rancour, nor persist in refusing him their support, when they found him full of the most amiable dispositions towards them, when he promised and strove with energy and discretion to revive their ancient consideration, and more than compensate them for their losses, when he promoted to the highest offices the son of the murdered Cicero and a friend of the persecuted Brutus,¹ when, in short, by flattery and condescension he sought to efface the crime of his origin, and the revolutionary recollections of Mutina and Munda. They listened with admiration to his accustomed theses on *Resistance and Conservation, Reaction and Restitution*; on a projected system of government which he propounded as the best, the best at least which the times admitted, the only system, in fact, by which the illustrious republic of Rome could be preserved; a system which he is proud to call his own, though built on the old foundations and constructed of the old materials overthrown by the earthquake of civil strife; with no other ambition, as he fervently asseverated, than to be called the restorer of the commonwealth, and bear away in dying the conviction that his work will survive him.²

How carefully this system was contrived to interest the higher class, while it tranquillized the restless spirits of the lower, has been seen in the details of this and former chapters. To the one it held out the prospect of honourable employment, while it checked

Augustus congratulates himself on the accomplishment-

¹ M. Tullius Cicero was consul suffect in the year 724: Dion, li. 19. A son of Crassus the triumvir held the same office in that year also. Sestius, the friend of Brutus, was promoted to the consulship in 731. The family of the great orator ended in the second generation in a contemptible drunkard. See the stories of this Cicero's excesses in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxii. 3., xiv. 28. Senec. *de Benef.* iv. 30. We may suppose that he had forfeited his self-respect after accepting the consulship from the slayer of his father.

² Suet. *Oct.* 28.: "Quam voluntatem (retinendi Imp.) quum præ se identidem ferret, quodam etiam edicto his verbis testatus est: Ita mihi salvam ac sospitam rempublicam sistere in sua sede liceat, atque ejus rei fructum percipere quem peto, ut optimi status auctor dicar, et moriens ut feram mecum spem mansura in vestigio suo fundamenta reipublicæ quæ jecero. Fecitque ipse se omnipotem voti, nisus omni modo ne quem novi status pœniteret."

every prompting of ambition ; to the other it substituted amusement for occupation, shows and largesses for military service : and such a system, while it can be maintained, affords no doubt great facilities to the march of administration. To the nobles Augustus could boast that the dictator had refused to be crowned a king, but had himself offered to restore the sword of the emperor. He vaunted the victories he had gained over the national foes, and the glory the state had acquired under his direction of its foreign relations. He pointed to the sacrifices he had made for the general weal, and compared himself to a Mucius, a Curtius, or a Decius. *Think not*, he exclaimed, *that the ancients alone were true patriots ; behold in me a living proof that the love of Rome burns still bright in her children. Such was the spirit of the old patricians, and such still exists in the bosom of the high-born offspring of Quirinus. They are the true rulers and fathers of the commonwealth : fear not that I will ever abandon it to the sway of an unprincipled democracy : no !—sooner will I perish, sooner* REIGN ! He thus held out to them the dire figure of royalty in the furthest distance, as a monster to be invoked only in the last necessity to save the world from chaos. So far from taking away the life of a single citizen to obtain the crown, he would sooner lose his own life than wear one ! a life, he it remarked, which the gods will surely protect, as they have avenged the death of Cæsar.¹ To the people he affirmed that the sway of Rome over the nations was now completed and assured. All nations should bring their tribute to the Capitol ; the Roman, proud and untaxed, should enjoy the fruits of every zone and climate. Every gale should waft corn to Italy, to be lavished on the citizens by the hand of their friend and benefactor. The Roman should fold his arms in indolence and satiety, while his subjects should labour and his rulers think for him. To his countrymen, one and all, Augustus could allege that he had secured the stability of their institutions by his piety to the gods. He had bribed Olympus by gifts in which the im-

ment of his patriotic schemes.

¹ See the supposed harangue of Augustus in Dion, liii. 6. foll.

mortals delighted. He had set up their fallen altars, repaired their temples, revived their services, and rekindled the flame of devotion in the heart of the nation. To his own fortunes and to the fortunes of the state he had attached the powers of heaven for ever.¹ From the gods he had descended to rehabilitate the ancient heroes of his country, restoring their monuments, re-erecting their images, surrounded with triumphal ornaments, and placing them under the colonnades of his own spacious forum, as the witnesses and patrons of the glory he had achieved. The city itself had participated in his pious solicitude. He honours her as a mother and a tutelary influence, almost as a goddess herself. For her embellishment he constructs many magnificent works, and requires the wealthy and the noble to follow his example; for he is not an Oriental potentate, but only the first of his own rank of citizens. Indignant at the inundations which periodically overwhelm, and the conflagrations which so frequently devastate her, he projects her restoration upon a scale of greater security and splendour, and boasts at last, as the crowning merit of his administration, that he found her of brick and has left her of marble.²

In reflecting upon the easy acquiescence of the Romans in a regal tyranny, disguised under such transparent pretensions, we must not forget that they were not in a position to anticipate the rapid decline in public spirit which from this time actually took place among them. Apart from an antique prejudice, of which the wisest statesmen may have well been ashamed, royal rule could not imply, to their minds, degeneracy and decay. Under the sceptre of Philip the Macedonians had conquered Greece; under Alexander they had subjugated Asia. The Spartans had flourished under a dynasty of kings; even the

Prospect of
monarchy not
discouraging to
the Romans.

¹ Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 62.: "Nec satis est homines, obligat ille deos."

² Suet. *Oct.* 29.: "Urbem, neque pro majestate imperii ornatam, et inundationibus ineendiisque obnoxiam, excoluit adeo ut jure sit gloriatus, marmoream se relinquere quam latericiam accepisset." Comp. Dion, lvi. 30., who puts the same expression in Greek, and adds the moral interpretation: τοῦτο οὐ πρὸς τὸ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων αὐτῆς ἀκριβές, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἰσχυρὰν ἐνεδείξατο.

Romans themselves, it might be remembered, had first proved their youthful energies under the auspices of a Romulus and a Tullus. They were far, therefore, from anticipating that the greatness and glory of their country would decline under a prince's sway; it was only in the last agonies of an impracticable republic that their valour had earned them no triumphs.¹ For the maintenance of the living powers of the state they looked, not so much to the effect of free action and discussion, as to certain established principles of social organization. They put their trust, not in a free press and public opinion, but in the subordination of classes, the hierarchy of families, the customs of antiquity, and the traditions of religion. Generally speaking, law, in the view of the ancients, was something divine and permanent, the exponent of certain eternal necessities; whereas we allow ourselves to regard it as little else than the fleeting expression of every mood of the national existence. Hence the undoubting faith of the Romans in sumptuary legislation; that is, in the attempt to restore, without regard to outward change in the circumstances of society, the prescriptions of a normal antiquity. Hence the conviction of Augustus and his contemporaries, that in merely reviving ancient traditions, he was raising to life the dead bones of the past, and launching his country upon a new career of growth and development.

In his personal habits and demeanour Augustus carefully distinguished between the Imperator and the Princeps. He

¹ Lucan, i. 12.: "Bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos." The opening lines of the *Pharsalia* deserve to be studied from this point of view; as for instance:

"Heu quantum terræ potuit pelagique parari,
Hoc quem civiles hauserunt sanguine dextræ
Sub juga jam Seres, jam barbarus isset Araxes"

When after a century's experience the empire was declared to be barren of aurels, Lucan expresses the mortification of his class in bitter language:

"Sed retro tua fata tulit, par omnibus annis,
Æmathiæ funesta dies: hac luce cruenta
Effectum, ut Latios non horreat India fasces;
Nec vetitos errare Dahas in mœnia ducat,
Sarmaticumque premat succinctus consul aratrum."

Moderation in
the personal
habits of Au-
gustus.

protected his personal dignity by withdrawing from the indecent familiarity with which Julius Cæsar had allowed himself to address his legions. The conqueror of the Gauls had deigned to call the instruments of his victories by the name of *fellow-soldiers*; but Augustus, whether in his edicts or his harangues, never spoke of them but as his "*soldiers*" only. At a later period he forbade the princes of his family to employ any other term than this in communication with them; a prohibition in which there was a little pride, and perhaps also a little jealousy.¹ At the same time, however, as the prince of the senate and the people, he did not fail studiously to disguise all consciousness of his deserts, and shrank from the appearance of claiming the honours due to him. Amidst the magnificence displayed around him, which he chose to encourage in his nobles, his own manners were remarkable for their simplicity, and were regulated, not by his actual pre-eminence, but by the position he affected to occupy, of a modest patrician. His mansion on the Palatine hill was moderate in size and decoration, and he showed his contempt for the voluptuous appliances of patrician luxury by retaining the same bedchamber both in winter and summer.² His dress was that of a plain senator, and he let it be known that his robe was woven by the hands of Livia herself and the maidens of her apartment. He was seen to traverse the streets as a private citizen, with no more than the ordinary retinue of slaves and clients, addressing familiarly the acquaintances he met, taking them courteously by the hand, or leaning on their shoulders, allowing himself to be summoned as a witness in their suits, and often attending in their houses

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 67.: "Nec milites eos pro concione, sed blandiori nomine commilitones appellabat." *Oct.* 25.: "Ambitosius id existimans."

² Suet. *Oct.* 72. There is something interesting in the care with which the Romans traced their honoured emperor from one of his residences to another, and probably rising a little above the last in the scale of sumptuousness: "Habitavit primo juxta Romanum forum, supra scalas annularias, in domo quæ Calvi oratoris fuerat; postea in palatio; sed nihilominus ædibus modicis Hortensianis; et neque laxitate neque cultu conspicuus," &c. *Comp.* Dion, liii. 16., lv. 12.

on occasions of domestic interest.¹ At table his habits were sober and decorous, and his mode of living abstemious: he was generally the last to approach and the earliest to quit the board.² His guests were few in number, and chosen, for the most part, for their social qualities: Virgil and Horace, the plebeian poets, were as welcome to his hours of recreation as Pollio or Messala. His conversation turned on subjects of intellectual interest; he disdained the amusement which the vulgar rich derived from dwarfs, idiots, and monsters.³ Some ribald stories were current respecting his private habits, which the citizens gratified themselves with repeating, though attaching, perhaps, little credit to them. The future restorer of religion, and patron of the Olympian hierarchy, had amused himself, it was said, while yet triumvir, amidst a crew of boon companions, with assuming at a banquet the names and attributes of the twelve greater gods.⁴ The guardian of manners and reviver of the ancient purity was affirmed, in a similar spirit of detraction and pasquinade, to have courted, sometimes in the rudest and most open manner, the wives of the noblest Romans; not from unbridled appetite, for his power of self-control was unquestioned;⁵ but in order, as his apologists averred, to extract from his paramours the political secrets of their consorts.⁶ Such stories, however, if actually current at the time, made little impression upon the public;

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 53.; Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* vi. 3. 59.; Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 4.

² Suet. *Oct.* 74. 76, 77.

³ Suet. *Oct.* 83.: "Nam pumilos et distortos et omnes generis ejusdem ut ludibria quædam naturæ malique ominis abhorrebat."

⁴ Suet. *Oct.* 70.: "Cæna quoque secretior in fabulis fuit quæ δωδεκάθεος vocabatur." This and many other stories against Octavius might be traced to the invention of Antonius. It had been generally forgotten, we may presume, when Horace could venture to sing:

"Quos inter Augustus recumbens
Purpureo bibit ore nectar."

⁵ See an anecdote of the continence of the young Octavius in Nicolaus Damascenus, *Vit. August.* 5. 15.

⁶ Suet. *Oct.* 69.: "Adulteria quædam exercuisse ne amici quidem negant; excusantes sane non libidine sed ratione commissa, quo facilius consilia adversariorum per cujusque mulieres exquireret."

they were too commonly reported of all conspicuous characters to take hold of the convictions of the multitude ; nor did the great man himself think it always necessary to reply to them. Augustus refrained, with remarkable firmness, from checking the licentiousness of his personal detractors by legal procedure.¹

But if Augustus had the good sense to bear with temper the virulence of clandestine lampooners, which he knew would evaporate as soon as it reached the air, he was not the less vigilant in marking, and stern in repressing, all acts of defiance or presumption on the part of his subjects. The mild and affable patrician, whose whole heart seemed to be wrapped up in schemes for the promotion of general prosperity and individual comfort, was changed at once into a jealous tyrant at the first sign of political rivalry. Painful was the impression made upon the public mind when it appeared, from one melancholy instance, that the mere frown of so kind a master was felt as a disgrace at his court, and that disgrace at court was regarded as no other than a sentence of death. Cornelius Gallus, a Roman knight, a man of fashion and accomplishments, a poet himself of considerable mark, and the companion of poets and statesmen, had been entrusted, by the favour of Augustus, with the government of Egypt, where, as we have seen, he had done him faithful service in repelling the solicitations of Antonius.² But the splendour of his position, as the first Roman who had sate on the throne of the Ptolemies, and the flattery of the cringing Orientals, who, in the vicegerent and servant of the emperor, beheld the successor of their own absolute sovereigns, intoxicated his weak and vain mind, and he suffered his subjects to erect statues in his honour, and inscribe his name and exploits on the walls of the pyramids.

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 55.: "Etiam sparsos de se in curia famosos libellos nec expavit, nec magna cura redarguit." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 72.

² Gallus was in the zenith of his fame as an amatory poet before the reputation of any of his contemporaries was established. Even at a later period Ovid speaks of him as inferior to none of them. *Amor.* i. 15. 29.

In a senator and a proconsul such conduct might have given no pretext for complaint; but the case of the government of Egypt was exceptional: the jealousy of the emperor was peculiarly sensitive in regard to every act and word of his factor at Alexandria; and the indiscretions of Gallus were magnified into a charge of treason against the interests of the republic. The senators, before whose tribunal the culprit was arraigned on the motion of one of their own order, hastened with ready adulation to declare him guilty, and desired his removal from his command. Augustus appointed an officer to supersede him, and required his presence in Rome. On his return the loss of his master's favour, the cold reception he encountered from the courtiers, the sense of disgrace and the apprehension of severer punishment so worked upon his weak mind, that he threw himself upon his own sword. Augustus was himself shocked at this unexpected catastrophe; it impressed, no doubt, upon him a painful conviction of his own isolation: he was sincere, we may believe, in rebuking the excessive zeal of the officious and selfish accusers, and complained that he was the only citizen who could not be angry with a friend without making him an enemy.¹ Nevertheless the dependents of the court seemed to have distrusted the sincerity of these regrets. They hastened to abjure their connexion with the fallen favourite. Virgil, at the instigation, it is said, of Augustus himself, suppressed a poetical compliment to the prince of Roman elegy, and replaced a genuine tribute of regard and admiration with a very pretty but a very foolish fable.²

The senators, yet unconscious of the peril in which their own order stood, had perhaps little concern for the fate of an upstart knight, while the murmurs of fear and discon-

Suet. *Oct.* 66.; Dion, liii. 23.; Ammian. Marcell. xvii. 4.

² Donatus in *Vit. Virgil.* 10. It was believed that the story of Aristæus, at the end of the fourth Georgic, was written to occupy the room of an address to Gallus, which the poet was commanded to expunge. This account is very reasonably questioned by Heyne: it is not easy to see what place the praises of Gallus can have had in this connexion, whereas the fable of Aristæus is not inappropriate, and may be thought perhaps to elevate by its fantastic supernaturalism the extreme humility of the general subject.

"Civil" do
meanour of
Augustus at
the theatres
and circus.

tent which may have issued from the associates of the victim himself were speedily drowned in the strains of praise and flattery with which the theatre and circus, and every other public place, resounded. The admiration of the citizens was divided between the splendour, the variety, and the frequency of the shows their munificent patron exhibited. The attractions of these were so irresistible, that almost every house in Rome was deserted to attend them, and it was necessary to patrol the streets with guards on the days of spectacle to protect the property of their truant inhabitants.¹ It is said that Augustus himself partook of the popular taste for the excitement and vulgar pomp of these shows, and acknowledged an interest in them which was not generally felt by the more refined and intelligent.² At all events he justly regarded them as one of his instruments of government: it was *civil*, in the Roman sense, to mingle in the amusements of the citizens; accordingly, if business prevented him from attending, he always affected to ask pardon of his good countrymen, and when present he was careful to avoid the fault of Julius Cæsar, who allowed himself to read and write letters and transact affairs in the hours devoted to general relaxation.³

The people
felicitate them-
selves on the
signs of general
peace and pros-
perity.

the precious metals, and the impetus it gave to the transactions of trade and commerce, the cessation of the detested recruiting for the legions, which was now relegated to the provinces, all combined to fulfil the warmest anticipations of the blessings

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 43.

² Aurel. Victor, *Epit.* i.: "Quodque est læti animi vel amœni, oblectatum omni genere spectaeulorum."

³ Suet. *Oct.* 45.: "Quoties adesset nihil præterea agebat: seu vitandi rumoris causa, quo patrem Cæsarem vulgo reprehensum commemorabat, quod inter spectandum epistolis libellisque legendis ac rescribendis vacaret; seu studio spectandi ac voluptate, qua teneri se neque dissimulavit unquam, et sæpe ingenue professus est." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 54.: "Neque ipse abhorrebat a talibus studiis, et civile rebatur, misceri voluptatibus vulgi."

of peace, and reduced to a happy reality the fervent aspirations of the poets.¹ Mildew corroded blade and spear-head, but spared the growing crops; the sword was turned into a pruning-hook, the corslet into a ploughshare; the altar of Peace was erected solemnly in the Roman curia, and her festival was celebrated on the same day with those of Janus, of Safety, and of Concord.² On such occasions the praises of Augustus, as the author of so much happiness, held always the foremost place. Even the calamities of the city were turned into occasions of congratulation. Once when the Tiber overflowing its banks caused more than usual devastation, the augurs interpreted the event as a token of the swelling greatness of the emperor. Thereupon a senator named Pacuvius invited the citizens to devote their lives in company with himself to the life of Augustus, that is, to swear not to survive him.³ In vain did the emperor interfere to prevent them from rushing tumultuously to offer sacrifices to his divinity. Whenever he returned to Rome from the provinces the people accompanied him home with hymns and acclamations, and care was taken that on such auspicious occasions no criminal should be capitally punished.⁴ The poets urged their countrymen to remember, in every prayer and thanksgiving, the restorer of order, the creator of universal felicity. In the temples on days of public service, around their own hearths on every ordinary day, they were invited to thank the gods for all their prosperity, and with the gods themselves to join

A. U. 741.
B. C. 13.

A. U. 727.
B. C. 27.

¹ Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 925.: "Aspera Robigo pareas Cerealibus herbis," &c. *Comp. Fast.* i. 701. 711.; Tibull. i. 2. 49.

² Ovid, *Fast.* i. 881. (March 28.):

"Janus adorandus, cumque hoc Concordia mitis,
Et Romana Salus, araue Pacis erit."

Comp. Zonaras, x. 34.

³ Dion, liii. 20. This devotion he characterises as after the manner of the Spaniards, τὸν τῶν Ἰβήρων τρόπον. Cæsar has told us that it was a custom of the Aquitanians, and it may have been in vogue among the kindred tribes on both sides of the Pyrenees.

⁴ Suet. *Oct.* 57. Dion, li. 20.

the hallowed names of Troy, of Anchises, and of Æneas, the patrons of the Julian race.¹ And when they rose from the evening meal to retire to rest, the last duty of the day, they were reminded, was to call with a modest libation for a blessing on themselves, and on Cæsar, the Father of his country.²

The title of *father of his country* was indeed the proudest any Roman could obtain, and this the citizens had long been accustomed to lavish, privately and irregularly, on their hero and patron, when at last the senate took up the voice of the nation and conferred it upon him with due solemnity.³ This act, however, was not sanctioned by a formal decree; it seemed perhaps more flattering to give it the appearance of spontaneous acclamation. Valerius Messala, one of the noblest of the order, was deputed by his colleagues to offer the title to the emperor in the name of the senate and people. "*Conscript Fathers*," replied Augustus with tears, "*my wishes are now fulfilled, my vows are accomplished. I have nothing more to ask of the immortal gods, but that I may retain to my dying day the unanimous approbation you now bestow upon me.*"⁴ The poet Ovid could declare that the emperor was justly designated the father of his country, for he had long been in fact the father of the world. To him, as the pacifier of the nations, the sovereigns in alliance with Rome paid homage not less zealously than his own compatriots. In various kingdoms

The title of
Pater Patriæ
conferred on
Augustus.

¹ Horace, *Od.* iv. 15.:

"Nos et profestis lucibus et sacris," etc.

² Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 635.:

"Et bene nos, patriæ bene te pater, optime Cæsar,
Dicite, suffuso per sacra verba mero."

³ Suet. *Oct.* 58. Horace, at an early period of his power: "Ilic ames dici Pater atque Princeps." But the title was not formally conferred before 752, on the nones of February, in the 13th consulship of Augustus. See Spanheim, *de Usu Num.* 446. Comp. Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 127.:

"Sancte Pater patriæ, tibi Plebs, tibi Curia nomen
Hoc dedit, hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen Eques.
Res tamen ante dedit: sero quoque vera tulisti
Nomina: jam pridem tu Pater Orbis eras."

⁴ Suet. *Oct.* l. c.

of the East they founded cities which they dignified with the name of Cæsarea. They combined for the completion of the great temple, long before commenced, of Jupiter Olympus at Athens, and finally dedicated it to the genius of Augustus. They descended from their thrones to seek him in his capital, or wherever they might overtake him in his progress through the provinces; divesting themselves in his presence of the diadem and the purple, and donning the toga of plain Roman citizenship, as clients attending on a noble patron.¹

The estimation in which the founder of the empire was held by the citizens and by foreigners is thus established, not from the colours in which historians have portrayed his career, but from the unsuspected testimony of many collateral authorities. We may now proceed to examine in detail, as far as our means allow, the incidents of an administration which has left on the whole such a solemn impression of respect. These incidents are related in a consecutive narrative by only one writer of antiquity, nor till after an interval of nearly 200 years. And even this writer admits in striking language the imperfection of his materials, and explains the cause of the uncertainty which pervades all Roman history from the establishment of the empire. “*Thus,*” says Dion, “*was the Roman commonwealth reduced to a better and securer form: and indeed it was no longer possible for it to exist under popular rule. Henceforth, however, its affairs can no longer be written as heretofore. For hitherto every transaction, whether at home or abroad, was referred to the cognisance of the senate and people, and accordingly all public affairs were generally known, and many related them in writing. Although, therefore, many authors were swayed by fear or favour, by love or hatred, yet the truth might generally be discovered by the comparison of one with another, combined with the examination of public records. But from henceforth affairs began to be*

Considerations
on the source
of Roman his-
tory at this
period.

¹ Suet. Oct. 60.: Comp. Eutrop. vii. 5. Cities of the name of Cæsarea were founded in Palestine, Galatia, Pisidia, Bithynia, Cilicia, Armenia, and Mauretania. See Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. vi.

*transacted privily and in silence, and if any were divulged they were not sufficiently attested to command implicit credence. For everything, it was suspected, was said and done in accordance with the views of the men in power. From henceforth we find many things commonly stated which never occurred, while others which really took place are not mentioned at all; and almost every incident is distorted from the truth of facts. Besides, the vastness of the empire itself, and the multitude of occurrences, makes it doubly difficult to relate all things accurately. For events occurred in Rome, in the provinces, and on the frontiers, of which none but the actors themselves could ascertain the real circumstances, while the people generally knew not that they occurred at all. Henceforth therefore I propose to relate affairs as far as I think requisite, in accordance with the narrations of others, whether they be true or false, only occasionally introducing conjectures of my own, where I am induced to dissent from the ordinary account by some special information."*¹ Dion, it will be remembered, was possessed of all our authorities, of Pliny and Seneca, of Suetonius and Tacitus, as well as of many others; and though, as a Greek himself, he applied probably, for the most part, to the Greeks for instruction, he cannot have been unaware of the pretensions of Tacitus especially to industry and impartiality, and of the character of a consummate historian which that writer bore among his own countrymen accordingly. When this illustrious Roman remarks, at the outset of his *Annals*, that men of excellent talents were not wanting to relate the times of Augustus, till deterred by the increasing necessity of adulation, but that the histories of later principates were falsified either by fear during the lifetime of the princes themselves, or by hatred after their death, we may question whether Dion considered even Tacitus so free both from anger and affection as he confidently asserts.²

¹ Dion, liii. 19.

² Tacitus, *Annal.* i. 1.: "Temporibus Augusti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia, donec gliscente adulatione deterrentur. Tiberii Caiique et Claudii ac Neronis res, florentibus ipsis, ob metum falsæ; postquam occiderant, recentibus odiis composita sunt. Inde consilium mihi, pauca de Augusto et ex

To explain here my own view of the worth of Tacitus as an historian, far the most important undoubtedly of all our authorities on the subject before us, would be to anticipate the history itself: the judgment I have formed of him will be explained, and I hope justified, as I proceed in the arduous task of comparing him with himself and with others; but the reader will not be in a position fully to appreciate it till he has studied the reign of Trajan as well as those of Tiberius and Nero.

trema tradere, mox Tiberii principatum et cetera; sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo." I cannot pause to give an account here of the various authorities for our history, but it is a satisfaction to be able to refer the reader to the well-written criticisms in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Biography*. Egger's *Historiens d'Auguste* is also a valuable work for appreciating the sources of imperial history.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PROVINCES BY AUGUSTUS.—1. SPAIN: FINAL PACIFICATION OF THE MOUNTAIN TRIBES.—2. GAUL: TRIBUTE PROMISED BY THE BRITONS; REDUCTION OF THE ALPINE TRIBES.—3. MÆSIA AND THRACE.—4. KINGDOM OF MAURETANIA.—5. PROVINCE OF AFRICA.—6. THE CYRENAICA.—7. EGYPT: EXPEDITION OF ÆLIUS GALLUS INTO ARABIA.—8. EGYPT: REPULSE OF THE ETHIOPIANS.—9. ASIA MINOR: BITHYNIA, ASIA, AND THE DEPENDENT KINGDOMS.—10. SYRIA AND PALESTINE: PARTHIA AND ARMENIA.—11. ACHAIA.—12. ILLYRICUM.—13. ITALY, SARDINIA, AND CORSICA.

HARASSED by a century of civil dissensions, and by twenty years of civil war, during which even the traditions of their aggressive policy had been almost forgotten, the Romans regarded the overthrow of Antonius as a pledge of universal tranquillity.

Continuation
of irregular
warfare in the
north of
Spain.

The solemn ceremony with which their victorious hero had closed the gates of Janus had invested him with extraordinary popularity; when he proclaimed the establishment of peace throughout the world, the citizens accepted the announcement joyfully, without minutely inquiring into its correctness. They were satisfied perhaps with remarking that the conflict their legions still continued to maintain with the unsubdued hordes of a few obscure districts, whether within or beyond their frontiers, could not fairly be classed under the title of legitimate warfare. In the north of Spain the Cantabrians, the Vaccæi, and the Asturians were still, as they had ever been, in arms. These savage tribes, protected by the inaccessible character of their country as much as by their bravery, had never yet been brought under the provincial

yoke. The capture and sack of the Iberian cities, three hundred of which, it is asserted, had been stormed by an ancient emperor, had had little effect in coercing the liberties of a people whose fortresses were mountains, and whose resources were buried in the depths of caves and forests. The mountains indeed of Spain, especially of its northern regions, abounded in gold: the ancient battlefield of the Romans and Carthaginians was reputed to possess the greatest natural riches of any country of the world. It had often pretended to submit to the proconsuls of the republic, and had promised tribute: the Iberians had willingly taken service by the side of the Roman armies; but when they found themselves seized by their new masters and compelled to toil for them in the bowels of the earth, they revolted again and again under a yoke which imposed upon them not subjection only, but personal servitude.¹ The republic had controlled them with large forces and a complete civil organization; but when the theatre of civil war was transferred from the west to the east, and a portion of this pressure was withdrawn, the natives of the wildest districts had renewed with ardour their implacable hostilities. The triumvirs, in the midst of their common dangers and mutual jealousies, had commissioned their ablest lieutenants to lead large armies against them. The real or pretended victories successively gained over them had been thought not unworthy of the highest military rewards. Cæsar had allowed his legates, Fabius and Pedius, to triumph over Spain in the year 709. Domitius Calvinus gained a similar distinction in 718, Norbanus Flaccus in 720, Marcus

¹ The wealth especially of the region called Turdetania in the south of Spain, not in gold only but other precious metals, which are not commonly found near together,—not only in mineral but in vegetable riches, which are still more rarely combined in the same locality,—excites the warmest admiration of Strabo, iii. 2. p. 146. Lucan, in his account of Cæsar's campaign on the Sicoris, introduces an illustration from the working of gold mines (iv. 298.):

“Non se tam penitus, tam longe luce relictâ,
Merserit Assyrii scrutator pallidus auri.”

For *Assyrii*, Oudendorp would read *Asturii*, an emendation in which I fully concur.

Philippus and Appius Claudius two years later. Nevertheless, after so many overthrows, the Iberians were still in arms, and in the very year which witnessed the general pacification of Augustus, his officers, Statilius Taurus and Nonius Gallus, were still contending against them.¹

In the year 727, the emperor undertook to bring the struggle to a close in person. On quitting Rome, indeed, he had allowed it to be understood that he was going to complete the conquest of Britain, which his illustrious father had twice commenced and twice prematurely suspended. The barbarians had long since neglected to transmit the tribute imposed upon them. Arts and commerce were increasing among them, and they were proud of the rising importance of their ports and cities. The announcement that the emperor meditated such an expedition might serve to raise some enthusiasm among the citizens, but it is not likely that he ever really intended to engage in so remote and hazardous an enterprise while he was conscious what a mass of occupation lay before him nearer home.² Already, however, the great northern road of the consul Flaminius had been repaired by his orders to expedite the march of his legions into Gaul.³ After crossing the Rubicon and traversing the Cisalpine province, he found

Augustus
quits Rome to
pacify the
province in
person.
A. U. 727.
B. C. 27.

¹ Fischer's *Zeittafeln*. The Spanish era dates from 38 B. C. (A. U. 716), and is supposed to mark some important epoch in the organization of the province by the Romans. It may coincide with the campaign of Calvinus, which is only known to us from a notice in the *Fasti Triumphales*. The word is derived by Isidorus from *æs, æra*, (*de Rer. Nat.* 6.): "*Æra quoque Cæsaris Augusti tempore posita est. Dicta autem est æra, ex quo orbis æs reddere professus est populo Romano.*" This may refer to a local census, but the writer confounds it apparently with the general census of the empire alluded to in St. Luke's Gospel. See Egger, *Historiens d'Auguste*, p. 46. The Spanish era was preserved in Aragon till 1358, in Castile till 1383, and in Portugal till 1415. See *Mem. Soc. Antiq. de France*, v. 28. in an essay upon the site of Emporiæ.

² Dion, liii. 22. 25. The ode of Horace (i. 35.), in which he prays "*Serve ætæ ætæ Cæsarem in ultimos orbis Britannos*," is referred to the year 727.

³ The repair of this road was commemorated by an arch at either end, at the gates of Rome and of Ariminum. (Dion, liii. 22.) The last of these is still extant, as is also the bridge thrown by Augustus over the Ariminus, at the exit from the town on the north.

his progress impeded by the audacious attacks of the Alpine mountaineers. Leaving Terentius Varro to chastise these marauders, he continued his route to Narbo, where envoys from Britain hastened, it was said, into his presence, with such assurances of respect and submission as might allow him to abandon without dishonour the intention he had avowed. At Narbo he held a *conventus*, or general meeting of the representatives of the Gaulish states, those of the south at least, and commenced his elaborate organization of the great province beyond the Rhone.¹ But while thus engaged, the pertinacious insubordination of the tribes of northern Spain demanded his presence in the camp. Augustus had already devoted himself to the service of the commonwealth on fields where little glory was to be obtained, and where the perils and fatigues of warfare might seem scarcely compensated by the dispersion of a few barbarian hordes. Nor could he expect to emulate in the mountains of Asturia the exploits of his father on the plains of Gaul, or of Pompeius among the wealthy cities of the eastern world. The campaign he now meditated was obscure; yet he knew that solid advantages were to be gained from victory in the last stronghold of provincial independence, and besides, his title of imperator required to be justified by occasional service in the field. Gaul and Illyricum, Britain and Spain, had all furnished the first Cæsar with imperial laurels, and Augustus thus turned his arms from the one to the other to emulate the career of his great predecessor.

Accordingly, entering Spain from the Pyrenees in the autumn of 727, he advanced into the heart of the disturbed districts, and pitched his camp at Segisama, near the head-waters of the Pisuerga, while a naval squadron from the Garonne or Adour watched the coast and harassed the enemy in the rear.² As long, however, as he kept his troops together in the centre of the enemy's position, the barbarians abstained from meeting him in battle, and confined themselves to the harassing warfare for

Military operations, and sickness of Augustus.

¹ Dion, l. c.

² Oros. vi. 21.; Flor. iv. 12.

which their country has been ever famous.¹ The emperor's flatterers might assure him that the foe was terrified by his presence, and would refuse to be drawn from their fastnesses as long as he remained before them. At the same time his fatigues, and perhaps his mortification at the repeated failure of his military enterprises, prostrated his feeble frame with sickness of unusual severity. He was soon compelled to quit the scene of operations, and repair to Tarraco, the head-quarters of the province to which it gave its name.² While Augustus lay stretched upon his couch the barbarians ventured to issue from their fastnesses, and assailed the legions. The Cantabrians were overthrown in a great battle at Vellica, among the sources of the Ebro, and were driven from thence, step by step, to the recesses of the Mons Vinnius, a lofty and sterile tract in the north of Gallicia, the summits of which rise more than nine thousand feet above the sea. Secure as they deemed themselves, in these inaccessible strongholds, the mountaineers asserted that the waters of the Atlantic should overflow these eminences sooner than the arms of the republic succeed in scaling them.

Nevertheless the skill and perseverance of the Romans were at last triumphant, and Spain, it was declared, was once more *pacified*. At the last moment, when the success of his lieutenants had become fully assured, Augustus was able to rise from his bed, and hasten to the scene of their exploits, where he devoted himself in person to the task of consolidating their conquests. The natives were required to descend from

Reduction of
the mountain
tribes, and
foundation of
military colo-
nies.

¹ The "unchangeable character of Spanish warfare" is marked by a single word in Virgil: "Aut impacatos *a tergo* horrebis Iberos." How important this contest was felt to be even at Rome is attested by the frequent allusions to it in Horace. See *Od.* ii. 6. 11., iii. 8., iv. 14.; *Epist.* i. 12. 26. The foe is mentioned with respect even as late as the time of Lucan, *Phars.* vi. 253.:

"Si tibi durus Iber, aut si tibi terga dedisset
Cantaber exiguis, aut longis Teutonus armis."

² We learn from Martial, x. 104., that the most direct communication by sea between Italy and Spain was from Rome to Tarraco.

their mountains, and drafted into the cities in the plains, or quartered, as clients of the conquering race, within the lines which he now caused to be traced for the establishment of military colonies. Large numbers were sold into captivity; the chiefs were suffered to redeem their freedom by the surrender of hostages. The veterans of the legions were endowed with confiscated lands, and settled in fortified posts, of which Cæsar-Augusta, the modern Saragossa, was chosen, we are told, for its beautiful situation, more probably from its convenience as a centre of communication between Taraco and Gallæcia, the Pyrenees and the Tagus. Bracara Augusta, with Asturica Augusta and Lucus Augusti, served to bridle the rebellious people of the north.¹ Emerita Augusta, which became at a later period one of the chief cities of Spain under the Romans, was founded in a more favoured region, and to this perhaps it owed its eminent splendour and prosperity. The remains of a magnificent bridge over the Guadiana, and of two noble aqueducts, still evince the consideration it attained under the peaceful sway of the emperors.

The thirtieth and last triumph over the warlike nations of Iberia was celebrated in 728 by S. Apuleius, under whose conduct, as proconsul, the final successes had been gained before the arrival of the emperor in person. Augustus was already satiated with these distinctions, and demanded no military honours himself for the victories of his lieutenants. His flatterers recorded with exultation how embassies from the verge of the extreme East now reached him on the western margin of his empire. The envoys, we are assured, of the Indians and Seythians, famous names of unknown nations, had traversed the whole breadth of the globe in quest of the mighty master, and had found

Prolonged residence of Augustus in Spain.

¹ Bracara is the modern Braga in the north of Portugal, Asturica is Astorga in Leon, and Lucus may be traced in Lugo among the highlands of Galicia; Emerita is Merida in Estremadura. There was also a colony, Pax Julia, and a Pax Augusta, probably the same place, called also Colonia Pacensis, which is supposed to be Beja. Ukert, *Geogr. Gr. und Röm.* ii. 388. Ebora (Evora) received the name of Liberalitas Julia, and Gades (Cadiz) that of Augusta Julia.

him at length at the spot where they could advance no farther. The Romans were reminded that in the same manner the nations of Gaul and Spain had sent ambassadors to the court of Alexander at Babylon, to accept peace at the hands of the greatest of ancient conquerors.¹ Augustus prolonged his residence

A. U. 729.
B. C. 25.

in the country till 729, occupying himself with the organization of the three provinces, and amusing himself, during the tedious intervals of returning illness, with familiar correspondence with his friends in Rome. At this period the great epic of Virgil was promised to the world, and a brother poet had predicted, in verses current among the circles of fashion in the capital, that it would eclipse with its splendour all Roman and all Grecian fame. Something finer than the *Iliad*, exclaimed Propertius, is about to see the light. The exploits of Cæsar and the triumphs of Actium were to be entwined with the legend of Æneas and his Trojan fleet. Augustus, to whom these anticipations were duly reported, urged the poet with importunate letters to send him a specimen of the work, which the modest author continued firmly to decline.²

In the year 729 Augustus finally quitted the peninsula. It

¹ Orosius, vi. 21.: "Interea Cæsarem apud Tarragonam citerioris Hispaniæ urbem legati Indorum et Seytharum, toto orbe transmisso, tandem ibi invenerunt, ultra quod jam querere non possent; refuderuntque in Cæsarem Alexandri Magni gloriam: quem sicut Hispanorum Gallorumque legatio in medio Oriente apud Babylonem contemplatione pacis adiit, ita hunc apud Hispaniam in Occidentis ultimo supplex eum gentilitio munere Eous Indus et Scythia Boreus oravit."

We may suspect, however, the reality of this remarkable incident, mentioned only by so late a writer as Orosius, himself a Spaniard. At a later period a similar embassy is said to have reached Augustus in the more central locality of Samos.

² Propert. ii. 34. 65.:

"Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii,
Nescio quid majus nascitur Iliade."

Donatus in *Vit. Virgil.* 12. 45.: "Augustus vero eum tum forte expeditione Carthabrica abesset, et supplicibus atque minacibus per joem literis efflagitaret, ut sibi de Æneide, ut ipsius verba sunt, vel prima earminis hypographa, vel quodlibet eolon mitteret, negavit se facturum Virgilius; cui tamen non multo post, perfecta demum materia, tres omnino libros recitavit, secundum videlicet, quartum et sextum." Comp. Maerob. *Saturn.* i. 24.

was not long, however, before fresh disturbances broke out. In the following year Agrippa was employed to suppress them. In 732 the oppression of Carisius, proprætor of the northern province, drove the Asturians to another outbreak, in which they were presently joined by the gallant Cantabrians. Three Roman armies were attacked simultaneously, and only saved, as was affirmed, by the treachery among the assailants themselves. Carisius reduced the stronghold of Lanciæ, under the mountains of Asturia, in the north of Leon, and displayed unusual moderation in saving it from conflagration, in order that it might remain a monument of his victory. Furnius drove the remnant of the insurgents into the Mons Medullius, between the Minho and Douro, where he surrounded them with a circumvallation, fifteen miles in extent, and compelled them at last to surrender, but not until great numbers had imitated the devotion of the Numantians and Saguntines, and destroyed themselves with fire, poison, and the sword.¹ Nevertheless the last sparks of the indomitable spirit of independence were not extinguished till 735, when Agrippa was once more engaged in the work. Some of the Cantabrian captives in Rome had contrived to assassinate their masters and escape into their own country, where they excited their compatriots to a fresh revolt by the recital of their sufferings and revenge. So desperate was their last effort of resistance, so well had they profited by their experience of Roman tactics, that the veterans had learnt to fear them in turn, and were with difficulty and only by severe examples, brought into the field against them. Among other punishments the legion called Augusta was forbidden to use the imperial title. But

Renewed outbreaks, and final subjugation of the Spaniards by Agrippa.

A. U. 732.
B. C. 22.

A. U. 735.
B. C. 19.

¹ Dion, liv. 5.; Hor. *Od.* iv. 12. This C. Furnius was not less skilful as a courtier than as a soldier. See the anecdote in Seneca, *De Benef.* ii. 25.: "Nullo magis Cæsarem Augustum demeruit, et ad alia impetranda facilem sibi reddidit Furnius, quam quod, cum patri Antonianas partes secuto veniam impetrasset, dixit, Hanc unam, Cæsar, habeo injuriam tuam; effecisti ut viverem et morerer ingratus." He became consul in 737.

the conquest was now at last completed, and the severe measures enjoined by Augustus were carried out with unflinching perseveranee by his trusty coadjutor. Agrippa was conscious, however, that his services had reached the limit beyond which they would be invidious in a subject, and abstained from obtruding them on the emperor's notice by demanding a triumph. With this campaign the three provinces were completely brought under the yoke.¹ From this period the arts of peace and civilization were allowed to germinate without interruption. The fertile genius of the Iberian population profited to the utmost by the advantages of its position, secure from the inroads of war, and opportune for peaceful communication with the rest of the world. The cities of the great western peninsula became famous for luxury and letters, and the schools of Bætica furnished a longer list of historians, poets, and philosophers, than any province of the empire in which the imperial language was spoken. Throughout the southern part of the country the nations were completely Romanized, so as to forget their vernacular tongue.² Bætica was administered by the senate without any military force, while the Tarraconensis and Lusitania, which were placed under the care of the emperor, required the presence of his legates only as a protection against their own intractable mountaineers. Commerce, agriculture, and manufactures flourished; the demand of Italy for grain gave an impulse to industry, and fertilized the Iberian soil with a continual stream of wealth; the spirit of disaffection to Rome and the Cæsarean house yielded to the sense of increasing comfort and abundance; and the ease and contentment of the mass of the population may be estimated from the fact that from henceforth Spain disappears for four centuries from the page of military history.³

¹ Liv. xxvii. 12.: "Hispania prima Romanis inita provinciarum, quæ quidem continentis sunt, postrema omnium, nostra demum ætate, ductu auspicioque Augusti Cæsaris perdomita est."

² Strabo, iii. 2. p. 151.: οἱ περὶ τὸν Βαῖτιν τελείως εἰς τὸν Ῥωμαίων μεταβέβληνται τρόπον, οὐδὲ τῆς διαλέκτου τῆς σφετέρας ἔτι μνημονεύουσι.

³ Velleius remarks (ii. 90.), "Has provincias ad eam pacem perduxit

Thus removed from the ordinary sphere of historical narrative, Spain presents us with scanty materials for describing her political organization, and that organization itself becomes of comparatively little interest or importance. It will be enough to remark, that the three provinces into which the country was divided in the time of Cæsar continued under the same names and with nearly the same boundaries. The military posts by which it was occupied were confined for the most part to the Asturian mountains. The great division of the Tarraconensis contained no less than seven conventus or circles, embracing twelve colonies, thirteen Roman and eighteen Latin municipia. Three conventus, nine colonies, and eight municipia, were enumerated in the smaller district of Bætica; while Lusitania, less populous and advanced, included three combinations of states, five colonies, and four municipia only.¹

Political organization of the Iberian provinces.

But to the ample region, divided from Spain by the Pyrenees, which will come repeatedly on the scene before us, we must devote our attention more closely, destined as it was to play a part in almost every domestic revolution, and many of the foreign transactions, of its conquerors. Cæsar had left Gaul exhausted and tranquil. He had succeeded in diverting into his own camps the valour of her most restless spirits, and had opened to her adventurous chiefs a new career of fame and fortune in the arena of Roman politics. During his brief tenure of power, and for a few years after, the tranquillity of the province continued to be maintained, though he had withdrawn from it the strength of the legions by which its submission had been originally effected. The obedience of the Gauls was interrupted once only by a rising of the Bellovaci;² and

Affairs of Gaul. Pacification of the Aquitanians, the Treveri, and the Morini.

Cæsar Augustus, ut quæ maximis bellis nunquam vacaverant, eæ etiam latrociniiis vacarent." Orosius, the Spaniard, writing four centuries later: "Tota Hispania in æternam pacem reclinata."

¹ See Becker (continued by Marquardt) *Handbuch der Roem Alterthümer*, iii. 1. 83. from Pliny and Strabo.

² Lit. *Epit.* cxiv. The name of Bratuspantium was changed perhaps on

this was speedily put down by Decimus Brutus, to whom, after the reduction of Massilia, Cæsar had entrusted the command. But after the establishment of the triumvirate, the aspect of affairs was entirely changed. From that time, both the north and the south were harassed by repeated disturbances. Agrippa was sent by Octavius in 717 to quell a revolt of the Aquitanians: no sooner had he gained an advantage over this people, than he was summoned in haste to the banks of the Rhine, to check an irruption of German hordes, invited thither by the Gauls themselves. Agrippa was the first to adopt the policy of establishing these warlike strangers in settlements within the frontier, where their jealousy of the natives on the one hand, and their fear of their own fierce and needy kinsmen on the other, might serve to retain them in alliance with the republic, whose position and interests were now connected with their own. This system, as we shall see, was carried out more extensively in later ages, till it became in fact one of the fixed principles of the Roman administration. Nevertheless, the pacification effected by Agrippa was precarious and incomplete. Nine years later the conquest of Aquitania had to be repeated, and Valerius Messala earned a triumph over Gaul on the banks of the Adour.¹ Nonius Gallus defeated the Treviri, together with the German bands they had enlisted in their service; and C. Carrinas gained a victory over the Morini, beyond the Somme, whom Virgil, the pane-

this occasion by Decimus to Cæsaromagus; it became afterwards Bellovac, now Beauvais.

¹ Tibull. i. 7. 4.:

“Hunc fore Aquitanas posset qui fundere gentes,
Quem tremeret forti milite vietus Atur.”

But the Aquitania of Messala's campaign is to be understood in the wider sense it obtained officially only a few years later, as bounded by the Rhone and Saone, the Loire and Pyrenees. The poet continues:

“Non sine me tibi partus honos: Tarbella Pyrene
Testis, et Oceani litora Santonie:
Testis Arar, Rhodanusque celer, magnusque Garumna,
Carnuti et flavi cærule lymphæ Liger.”

Messala triumphed in 727. See the *Fasti Capitolini*.

gyrist of Augustus, would fain persuade the Romans to believe the farthest of mankind. Another irruption of the Germans across the Rhine was chastised in 729 by Marcus Vinicius.¹

The cause of this disruption of the bands of Gaulish obedience, which appeared so firmly settled (for even the aggression of the Germans may be taken as a symptom of disaffection within the province), is to be sought in the change of treatment to which the natives were now apparently subjected. Cæsar, with a broad and liberal policy, besides flattering the martial spirit of the nation, had taken a still surer means of purchasing their submission by the slender tribute he had been satisfied to impose upon them. He required no more than a moderate revenue for the maintenance of his army of picked veterans, small in number, and accustomed to seek its reward in the conquests to which he continually led it. Gaul was in fact the adopted country of the first Roman emperor. During the brief period of his rule in Rome, he formed no general plan of taxation for the empire, and the region beyond the Alps was left to develop its natural resources, in peace and virtual independence, unchecked by the extortions of the Roman collector. As long as this lenient system was suffered to endure, Gaul remained tranquil and contented. But with the accession of the triumvirs to power, the fiscal demands of the treasury began to make themselves felt with more than common severity. The new rulers were needy; their armies, raised in desperate rivalry, were immense in number; their clients and adherents reckless and insatiable; and they were compelled to frame their financial system in accordance with the demands importunately urged upon them. Massacre and confiscation at home, plunder and extortion abroad; such was the simple policy of the new administration. Gaul and Spain, though not cursed by the presence of the rival chiefs

Disaffection of the Gauls, caused by harsh treatment under the triumvirs.

Virgil, *Æn.* viii. fin.: "Extremique hominum Morini." Dion, li. 20, 21., liii. 29. Comp. Vell. ii. 104.: "In Germania . . . immensum exarserat bellum."

themselves, suffered under this pressure hardly less than Greece and Asia, in which they encamped or resided. Hence the commotions we have noticed on either side of the Pyrenees; hence the campaigns which violated even the sacred peace of Janus; hence the hard-won triumphs of the Octavian generals, swiftly followed by fresh disturbances; and hence the necessity for the arrival of Augustus himself to strike out in either province the lines of a satisfactory and permanent settlement.

It was with such a settlement in view that the emperor had chosen these provinces to be governed among others directly from himself. As an imperial province, the whole of Gaul was placed, like the *Tarraconensis*, under a purely military regime. An imperial or Cæsarean *legatus* commanded the legions quartered upon it, enacted its laws, apportioned its contributions, and administered justice, under no other control than that of the emperor himself; while a *procurator*, as the steward of the emperor's private property, and generally a simple knight, or merely a freedman of his household, collected its revenues for the maintenance of its public government.¹ The constitutional princeps and limited emperor in the city was transformed, in his relation to an imperial province, into an irresponsible dictator. The organization of Gaul by Augustus, of which we can combine the details with tolerable completeness, furnishes, in its general aspect, a specimen of the way in which the provinces were ordinarily settled by victorious *proconsuls* under the commonwealth. The civil and political reforms which required such delicate handling, and so much

¹ Under the republic the procurator was the man of business of a private citizen, charged with the care of his property out of Italy: hence generally his client or freedman. The emperor's procurator took the place of the *quæstor* in the imperial provinces, and in some assumed the functions of the *proconsul* himself. Tac. *Hist.* i. 11.: "Duæ Mauretaniæ, Rætia, Noricum, Thracia, et quæ aliæ procuratoribus cōhibentur." In this case he was called *procurator vice præsidis*, &c. Even in the senatorial provinces there was a procurator with independent functions, to look after the *fiscus* or private revenues accruing to the emperor. See Becker, *Röm. Alter.* iii. 1. 300.

of preparation and disguise, when they affected the city, which, in fact, could only be enforced by the most powerful commanders with the aid of popular enthusiasm, could be carried out in the provinces at one blow, or by one word, at the sole will of the governor deputed by the state. The sanction of the subjects of the republic was neither asked nor acknowledged; all the proconsul required was the eventual ratification of his acts by the senate. In the present case, this ratification was of course a mere matter of form, if it was ever even formally demanded. Augustus, at the head of the general assembly of the Gaulish states, propounded his views for the division, the administration, and the assessment of the regions around him, and the law which proceeded from his lips was maintained without appeal by the terrors of the sword.

His attention was first directed to the settlement of the Narbonensis. He had already summoned the states of Gaul into his presence at Narbo, before proceeding into Spain, and had decreed that a census should be taken of the three divisions of the Comata.¹ With Organization of the provincia Narbonensis. respect, however, to the Togata, the more civilized region called hitherto specially the Province, we have seen how completely it had been gained to the interests of the oligarchy under the sway of Pompeius, and the prefects appointed through his influence. The hostile feeling engendered in this quarter against the popular party had been defied by Cæsar, and disarmed to a great extent by his discretion. Yet the Massilians had clearly shown that their sympathies were still Pompeian, and after the reduction of their city Cæsar had taken vigorous measures to break their spirit. Augustus continued, after the dictator's example, to mingle favours with severities in his treatment of these dubious allies. His first

¹ Liv. *Epit.* cxxxiv.: "Cum ille conventum in Narbone ageret, census a tribus Galliis quas Cæsar pater vicerat actus." Dion, liii. 22.: καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπογραφὰς ἐποίησατο, καὶ τὸν βίον τὴν τε πολιτείαν διεκόσμησε. It cannot be supposed that this census was completed during the short stay of Augustus in Gaul in 727.

act was to dedicate a temple to the *Justice and Clemency* of his predecessor, as a pledge of the system he was resolved himself to pursue. He proceeded to found or restore colonies for detachments of his soldiers. Arausio received veterans from the second legion, Forum Julii from the eighth, Arelate from the sixth, Bæterræ from the seventh.¹ These foundations were distinguished by the full Roman franchise; but Augustus was more reserved in communicating this privilege than his bolder predecessor, and Carpentorate, Cabellio, Aquæ Sextiæ, Nemausus, with other places which were now allowed to assume the denomination of Julian or Augustan, marking, it may be presumed, some close connexion with the emperor himself, were confined to the Latin rights. Vienna, the capital of the Allobroges, was already a colony of earlier date, and it is probable that no new proprietors were now intruded upon it.² According to the analogy of Spain we must suppose that the wide domain of the Narbonensis was divided into several conventus, the states of which met in their assemblies to receive the commands of the Roman governor, and to apportion among themselves their shares of the fiscal burdens imposed upon the whole province. Of their number, however, we are not informed.³ The chastisement which fell upon Massilia was the withdrawal from its supremacy of its dependents, Antipolis and Agathe. Of these, the former, though on the right bank of the Var, was declared to belong to the Cisalpine province, while the latter obtained the title and immunities of a Roman city. At the same time, however, Nicæa, which lay some miles to the left of the frontier stream, was suffered to remain a client of Massilia, and a city

¹ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* iii. 4. Valentia and other towns are designated as colonies by Ptolemy, *Geogr.* ii. 5. 10.; but these, we may suppose from the silence of Pliny, are of later date.

² Plin. *H. N. l. c.* According to Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 65., the colonists of Lugdunum (see below) regarded the Viennese as less genuine Romans than themselves. The soil of the Allobroges may have absorbed the blood of the older foundation.

³ Becker's *Röem. Alterthümer*, iii. 1. 89.

of the Transalpine province.¹ The port and arsenals of Forum Julii were completed by Augustus, and this colony, called also Classica, as the station of a great naval armament, and Pacensis, as a surety for the peace of the empire, became a formidable rival to the ancient emporium of the Phoceans.

But beyond the Narbonensis the soil of Gaul extended many hundreds of miles in various directions, and comprehended more than one federation of tribes, differing in manners and language. To forge into one mass the divers elements of which this region was composed, required great administrative vigour, and the seat of its government could not fail to become the centre and capital of the whole province. During the wars of Cæsar and Pompeius, dissensions in Vienna had caused the expulsion of a portion of its inhabitants, originally Roman colonists; and the outcasts had betaken themselves to the eminence which overlooks the meeting of the Rhone and Saone, where, under the auspices of the proconsul Plancus, they had founded Lugdunum, *the city on the hill*.² This place, admirably situated both for commerce and defence, Augustus had garrisoned with a band of veterans, and had endowed it with a small domain extorted from the Segusians on the right bank of the Saone, to make it independent of the surrounding tribes, the Ædui, the Sequani, and the Allobroges.³ Standing at the extreme point or apex of the ancient province, Lugdunum seemed to command a view of the new conquests of the republic in every direction.⁴ From this spot, as the base of his

The provincia
Lugdunensis.

¹ Strabo, iv. 1. p. 184. Plin. *H. N.* iii. 5.: "Agatha quondam Massiliensium."

² Dion, xli. 50. The site of the Roman Lugdunum is on the hill of Fourvières, supposed to be Forum Vetus, to the north of the level space between the rivers, probably a recent accretion from them, now occupied by the chief part of the modern Lyons. Strabo, iv. 2. p. 192.: ἐκτισμένον ὑπὸ λόφου, *on a slope beneath the brow of the hill*, unless we should read ἐπί.

³ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* iv. 32.: "Segusiani liberi in quorum agro colonia Lugdunum." For their position, however, west of both rivers, see Strabo, iv. 1. c. (whose account is to be read with caution, from his mistaking the Loire for the Doabs). Ptol. *Geogr.* ii. 8. Comp. Cic. *pro Quinct.* 25, 26.

⁴ "Qui locus est exordium Galliarum." Amm. Marcel. xv. 11. Strabo,

operations, Augustus drew two geographical lines, radiating, the one to the Atlantic, the other to the British Channel. The first took nearly the course of the Loire, except where it swept southward to exclude the territory of the Turones, and mark off the province of Aquitania from the rest of Gaul;¹ the other adopted first the channel of the Saone, then struck westward between the Seine and Marne, and reached the sea nearly at the mouth of the Somme. Beyond this second line lay the whole region of Belgic Gaul, together with the realms of the Sequani and Lingones, which were now included within that division. The shapeless and comparatively narrow strip comprehended between these two lines, and extended to embrace the distant headland of Armorica, received its name of Lugdunensis from the new city which constituted its capital; but Lugdunum was destined, from the convenience of its situation, to become the political and commercial centre of the whole of Gaul. From hence the great roads of the province were directed to the extremities of the land; and from this starting-point, as from the walls of the imperial metropolis, the distances along each line were regularly measured.² Here was established the Gaulish mint, and here was the residence of the emperor himself, when he chose to visit the province in person, or of the governor to whom he deputed its administration.

rather differently, iv. 6. p. 208.: τὸ δὲ Λούγδουνον ἐν μέσῳ τῆς χώρας ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολις, διὰ τε τὰς συμβολὰς τῶν ποταμῶν, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς εἶναι πῶσι ποῖς μέρεσι.

¹ Pliny asserts in one place that the Garonne was still the northern limit of Aquitania, but shortly afterwards includes in that district several tribes lying between the Garonne and the Loire. *Comp. Hist. Nat.* iv. 31. 33. Mela also retains the pre-Augustan division (ii. 2.); but Strabo is decisive on the other side: προσέθηκε δὲ τέσσαρα καὶ δέκα ἔθνη τῶν μεταξὺ τοῦ Γαρούνα καὶ τοῦ Αἰγυροῦ ποτάμου νεμομένων. iv. 1. p. 177. See also Ptolemy, *Geogr.* ii. 7.

² If we may take the statement of Ammianus in the fifth century, "exinde non millenis passibus sed leugis (1500 pp. Ducange in voc.) metiuntur" (*Amm. l. c.*), as true of this early period, it would seem that a remarkable concession was made to the habits of the natives, in measuring the roads of the further provinces by leagues instead of miles. But the Itineraries authorize no such distinction.

Lugdunum was a new creation of the Roman power, of which it was the citadel and the symbol, the moral and the material pledge. From its position, combined with its political importance, it advanced rapidly in wealth and numbers, and within perhaps half a century had attained, next to Narbo, the greatest population of any Gaulish city.¹ The territory specially assigned to it was withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Gaulish states on every side. It was not, however, the policy of the emperor to break up the old nationalities, or attempt to fuse them into a common mass. On the contrary, nowhere was the common artifice more systematically employed, of inviting the natives to self-government, under imperial supervision, with a machinery fashioned on the model of the commonwealth itself. We have seen that, with the exception of the Arvernians, and more especially of the Æduans, the sovereign authority was exercised throughout Gaul, either by individual chiefs or aristocratic federations. This form of government was supported by the influence of the Druids, whose religion was essentially an engine of aristocratic polity. While the popular assemblies, wherever the power was in their hands, had been prompt in obeying the mandates of Rome, the long struggle of the Gauls against Cæsar had been constantly fostered, and more than once revived, by the animosity of the chiefs and priesthood. Of the forms of popular government, therefore, the conquerors had no cause to be jealous. Here, as elsewhere, the suffering masses of the people hailed the arrival of the Romans as an era of deliverance from domestic tyranny. The fears and anxieties of the new rulers of Gaul were directed to another quarter. Augustus appears, as far as we can trace the landmarks of his policy abroad, to have studied to break down the influence of the privileged classes, and to raise up, as a bulwark against it, the machinery of popular institutions. His first care, it would seem, was to obliterate the old Gaulish names of the principal cities, which might be made the rallying cry of the

Extent to which self-government was accorded to the Gaulish states.

¹ Strabo, iv. §. p. 192.

disaffected; and it is remarkable that, while he changed the designation of Bibracte to Augustodunum,¹ and transformed the names of the obscure oppida of many lesser states into strange appellations of mixed Romano-Celtic sound,² he permitted Lugdunum, as the representative of no hostile nationality, to retain the vernacular title which its first settlers had chosen.³ To these cities, each the centre of a petty tribe, the people of each district were invited to resort; in them the image of a Roman senate or curia was established, to be the instrument of local government and taxation; to them the Gauls were taught to look, as the representatives of their name and nation: eventually, but at what period we cannot determine, its Roman name fell into disuse, and was superseded by the appellation of the tribe in which it lay; and the modern titles of the chief cities of France are derived almost without exception from those of the clans which were ranged in resistance to Cæsar nineteen hundred years ago.⁴

¹ Augustodunum (Autun), the hill of Augustus, so called, I presume, from a temple of Augustus which crowned its summit.

² As for instance Juliomagus, Cæsarodunum, Augustobona, Augustoritum. All such places as these become not merely *urbes*, but *civitates*, or territorial communities. The limits of the dioceses of France down to the Revolution generally mark, it is said, the *ager* of these cities respectively. Dureau de la Malle, *Econ. Pol. des Romains*, i. 193. Walckenacr, *Geogr. des Gaules*, passim.

³ It is singular that this Celtic name (whatever be its true signification) should have been chosen by the mixed Gauls and Romans whom the Allobroges expelled from Vienna, for the city built for them by Plancus by direction of the Roman senate.

⁴ The original names of the places mentioned in the last note but one are not known. Their Roman titles became changed respectively into Andecavi (Angers), Turones (Tours), Tricasses (Troyes), Lemovices (Limoges). A similar change took place with regard to Gaulish names which had never been supplanted by Roman. Thus Samarobriua became Ambiaui (Amiens); Divodurum, Mediomatrici (Metz); Nemetacum, Atrebatas (Arras); Lutetia, Parisii (Paris); Durocortorum, Remi (Rheims); Avaricum, Bituriges (Bourges); Mediolanum, Santones (Saintes); Coudivicnum, Namnetes (Nantes); Limonum, Pictavi (Poitiers); and many more. Such a change is rarely found in the south of Gaul, where the Romans had the longest resided. Toulouse, Bourdeaux, Narbonne, Arles, Nîmes, Vienne, Valence, Aix, Marseille, &c., still bear the original names not of tribes but of the cities themselves. Such is generally the case throughout the more advanced parts of Gaul, the countries of the

The popular assemblies, however, of the cities were in no respect strongholds of national independence. The order of decurions or curials was composed of citizens qualified by a certain census; their officers, the duumvirs, ædiles, quæstors, and Augustales, were appointed by rotation rather than by election. Except in a few cases, where autonomy was specially permitted, they did not presume to legislate in any but the most trifling matters of municipal regime. They merely registered and enforced the decrees of the central authority, and provided the machinery for levying on families and individuals their share of the quota of the state. These quotas were fixed by the census, which was instituted, as we have seen, by Augustus, during his brief sojourn in Gaul in 727; and was repeated and extended by his command at subsequent periods. The moderate impost, or military contribution, of his predecessor, was now increased, we may suppose, to the ordinary proportions of provincial taxation, and pressed more and more heavily on the bulk of the people, as favoured citizens or cities were admitted to the immunities of the Roman franchise. The political and fiscal organization of the province formed the basis of the measures for retaining it in subjection. The discretion with which municipal privileges were conceded or withheld, and personal distinctions awarded or promised, softened the animosity of the conquered, while the show the republic could make of her vast material resources, however distant, terrified and controlled the disaffected. The

*Functions of
their popular
assemblies.*

Ædii and Sequani, as we see in Autun, Chalons, Besançon, Macon, &c. It is remarkable that no such transformation has taken place in the local appellatives of Spain or Britain. The Romans changed the Iberian into a Latin name in a great many cases, in some of which the Latin form is still traced, while in others, perhaps the greater number, the original name has been recovered. In Britain, where not changed by the Saxons, our cities retain the British local appellation, as Venta, Londinium, Lindum, Eboracum. The cause of these peculiarities is difficult to trace, and cannot be discussed within the limits of a note. They would seem, however, to show that the municipal system was more fully developed in Gaul than in the other provinces, and probably with the object of popularizing the local governments as a counterpoise to the influence of the priests and nobles.

Political importance of the military roads.

military roads, the work of the indefatigable Agrippa, which led from Lugdunum to the chief cities of the furthest districts, were constructed for pouring the legions rapidly to any point of danger, while the want of cross-roads cut off their intercourse with one another.¹ Here, as elsewhere, an effective system of posts was established from place to place, but solely for the use of the government, which could thus strengthen itself by the means of communication which it denied to its subjects.² The itinerary system of the Romans was thus an effective instrument of centralization in Gaul, just as, at the present day, the trunk lines of railroad, in the same country, bring its great cities nearer to the capital, but throw them relatively further from one another. Thus enabled to defy local and partial discontent, the Romans found themselves at liberty to concentrate the chief forces of the province on the German fron-

¹ Pompeius is said to have made a line of road over the Alps and Pyrénées; but it does not appear that Cæsar ever constructed any great permanent way in Gaul or elsewhere. Strabo notices the roads of Agrippa in Gaul (iv. 6. p. 208), leading from Lugdunum to—1. the Rhine; 2. the Somme and the Channel; 3. across the Cevennes to the ocean; 4. Massilia and Narbo. Besides these roads, the great aqueduct of the Pont du Gard at Nîmes, still existing, is ascribed to Agrippa on the authority of inscriptions. See Frandsen (*Agrippa*, p. 172.), who ascribes it to the date of Agrippa's second visit to Gaul, A. U. 734, 735.

² The little that is known of the post-system of the empire is summed up in a few words in Becker's *Handbuch*, iii. i. 304. "The institution of Augustus, which became the basis of the later system known to us from the writings of the Jurists, consisted of a military service which forwarded official dispatches from station to station by couriers, called in the earlier imperial period 'speculatores.' (Liv. xxxi. 24.; Suet. *Calig.* 44.; Tac. *Hist.* ii. 73.) Personal conveyance was confined (as in the time of the republic) to officials: for this purpose the mutationes (posts) and mansiones (night quarters) were assigned, and even palatia erected at the latter for the use of governors and the emperor himself. Private individuals could take advantage of these state posts within the provinces by a special licence (diploma) of the governor, and at a later period of the emperor only." Under the republic senators and high personages could obtain the posts for their private use, as a matter of privilege. The occupation, it may be observed, of the posts by the government, would give it a similar advantage to the monopoly of the telegraphs at the present day.

tior, where its tranquillity was threatened, not by internal disturbances, but by foreign invasion. On the left bank of the Rhine Augustus established two formidable encampments, each containing four legions, which, at a later period in his reign, were quartered in smaller detachments on a long line of fortified posts. These armaments, ample as they might appear, were further reinforced by inviting unsettled hordes from the German side to take up their residence within the Roman frontier, and thus opposing barbarians to the barbarians themselves.¹ Cæsar himself had been the first to introduce this policy, to which his successors in after times attached increasing importance. The lexions were attended by bands of native auxiliaries, furnished and supported by the principal cities, in which the most restless spirits of the province were trained to obey and admire their conquerors, till long absence from their homes completed the process of estrangement.

At an earlier period every conquest of the Roman arms was followed by the rush of emigration to the region newly opened to Italian industry and adventure. In the age, however, which we are now considering the springs of enterprise had become relaxed. The revolution which had brought the products of every land in an unceasing stream to Rome itself, had left the Romans satisfied, for the most part, with the indolent enjoyment of wealth and luxury thus wafted to their shores. Nevertheless the influence of their civilization continued to increase abroad in power and attraction. The provincials on every side sought with fatal ardour to naturalize the tastes and habits to which they were prone to ascribe the superiority of their conquerors. Divitiacus, as we have seen, had sojourned for years at Rome, and attended upon Cæsar in his campaigns, without acquiring the use of the Latin idiom. But his countrymen soon wiped

Progress of
Roman civiliza-
tion in Gaul.

¹ Strabo, iv. 3. p. 194.; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 27. The transplantation of the Ubii from the right bank of the Rhine to the district of Cologne and Bonn on the left, was the work of Agrippa, and may be assigned to the year 716. Frandsen, *Agrippa*, p. 102. Suetonius is doubtless incorrect in ascribing it to the emperor himself. Suet. *Oct.* 21.

out the stain of his indolence or incuriousness. They destined their capital Bibracte, which they now entitled the Hill of Augustus, to be the literary metropolis of Gaul, and embraced with eagerness the imperial present of a school for instruction in the liberal arts.¹ Massilia continued to be the centre of Greek education, and taught the Gauls within the sphere of its influence to become, as the writers of that language fondly phrased it, Philhellenes.² The literature of the South flourished for centuries as a brilliant exotic at Tolosa, Arelas, and Vienna: Lugdunum became celebrated for its rhetorical contests.³ The Gauls, naturally loquacious, litigious, and impassioned in thought and gesture, rushed to the contests of the bar as a congenial exercise, while both medicine and philosophy, imported from abroad, found zealous cultivators among their acute and enquiring spirits.⁴ They renounced the stir of the camp and battle-field for the formalities of municipal government. The jealousy of the Italian landlords forbade them to cultivate the vine and olive, to which their soil has since proved so propitious;⁵ but they devoted themselves to raising corn and cattle, particularly horses, together with the fabrication of arms, cloths, and stuffs, of various kinds and qualities.⁶

¹ Tae. *Ann.* iii. 43.: "Augustodunum caput gentis nobilissimam Galliarum sobolem liberalibus studiis ibi operatam."

² Strabo, iv. l. p. 181.: πόλις τοῖς βαρβάροις παιδευτήριον φιλέλλοντας κατεσκεύασε τοὺς Γαλάτας.

³ Ausonius, *de Clar. Urb.*: "Gallula Roma Arelas." The same writer has a series of portraits of the professors of eloquence at Burdigala, not less illustrious in their day perhaps than the commentators in the gallery at Leyden. For Lugdunum see more particularly the well-known passages, Juvenal, i. 44.; Suet. *Calig.* 20.

⁴ Strabo, l. c.: σοφιστὰς γοῦν ὑποδέχονται, τοὺς μὲν ἰδίᾳ τοὺς δὲ αἱ πόλεις κοινῇ μισθοῦμενοι, καθάπερ καὶ ἱατροῦς.

⁵ Cie. *de Republ.* iii. 9.: "Nos vero justissimi homines qui transalpinas gentes oleam et vitem serere non sinimus, quo pluris sint nostra oliveta nostræque vineæ." The prohibition was early defied (see Suet. *Domit.* 7.) and eventually repealed. Vopise. *Prob.* 18.

⁶ In the *Notitia Dignitatum Imp. Occidentis*, e. 32., seven cities of Gaul are enumerated as seats of military manufactures: Argentoratum, Matisco, Augustodunum, Suessiones, Remi, Treviri, and Ambiani. Atrebatas was also

The pursuit of arms, arts, and literature might soothe the restlessness of the Gauls, and keep them industrious and obedient. The extension of municipal government contributed to check the excessive influence of the chiefs, and to balance the authority of the priesthood. The spirit of Druidism, the popular religion of the greater part of Gaul, was essentially opposed to the admixture of any foreign civilization, and this element of disaffection the conquerors studied in various ways to counteract. Augustus, in offering citizenship to the most favoured of the nation, made the renunciation of Druidism, as incompatible with Roman usage, a primary condition of its acceptance.¹ Such a mode of discountenancing a suspected cult was a step beyond the ordinary policy of Rome; for hitherto the jealousy of the government had confined itself to forbidding obnoxious practices within the walls of the capital. Augustus affected pious horror at the custom of human sacrifices, which had been expunged, indeed, from the Roman ritual itself within less than a hundred years, but which the Druids continued undoubtedly to practise more constantly and extensively than had been ever done by the Romans or Etruscans. But while the taking of human life was forbidden, a compromise was made with the priests, who were permitted to puncture the skin of the victim, and sprinkle a few drops of his blood upon the altar.²

Augustus discountenances the Druids.

Another and less direct way of emasculating the obnoxious superstition, was to fuse it, by means of real or fancied

famous for its fabric of red cloth for the legions. Trebell. *Gallien.* 6. with the notes of Salmasius. "Vestitur Gallia rufis." Martial. Lingones, Santones, and Cadurci manufactured woollen and flaxen fabrics. See Moreau de Jonnés, *Statistique des Peuples anciens*, p. 661. Comp. also Juvenal, ix. 30. for the coarse character of the Gallic woollens; and Martial, vi. 11.: "Te Cadmea Tyros, me pinguis Gallia vestit."

¹ Suet. *Claud.* 25.: "Religionem Druidarum apud Gallos tantum civibus sub Augusto interdictum."

² Mela, iii. 2.: "Manent vestigia (i. e. under Claudius, sixty years later) reveritatis abolitæ, atque ut ab ultimis cædibus temperant, ita nihilominus, ubi devotos altaribus admove, delibant."

Introduction of
Roman poly-
theism.

affinities, with the recognized polytheism of the empire. The great principle of the imperial government, inherited indeed from the republic itself, was to declare the essential unity of the various habits and ideas of its heterogeneous subjects. Druidism, it was now proclaimed, was, in its spirit, no other than the common religion of the Roman world. Cæsar himself had remarked, not without surprise, that the Gaulish priesthood held the same notion about the gods as the *rest of mankind*. Here was the germ of the grand idea for the pacification of the country, which Augustus seized and appropriated. The emperor carried across the Alps the principle which the senate had so often applied to Etruria, Greece, and Asia. The gods of Gaul were admitted to the citizenship of the Roman Olympus, the pantheon of the civilized world. Teutates and Belenus, Arduinna and Belisana, were declared to be merely local and special appellations for the universal divinities of Mercury and Apollo, Diana and Minerva.¹ Taranis was identified with Jove the Thunderer; Camul or Hesus with Mars, the patron of the conquering city. Augustus dedicated a temple to the god Kirk or Circius, the spirit of the Bise, a blighting wind of the Southern coast, over which he was supposed to reign with malignant influence.² So far did he advance in this work of fusion as to claim himself a place among the Gaulish deities, and to encourage his flatterers to invoke his divinity in connexion with the genii of their own cities.³ A few years later we shall see them erect an altar and consecrate a ritual in honour of Augustus and Rome.

Worship of Augustus in Gaul.

¹ The collections of inscriptions give numerous examples of the worship of the old Gaulish divinities under the combined Roman and Gaulish names, e. g. Marti Camulo, Minervæ Belisanæ, Apollini Beleno, Marti Belatucardo; sometimes we find such combinations as Beleno Augusto; one inscription in Orelli (1960) gives Ardoinnæ, Camulo, Jovi, Mercurio, Herculi. There are also monuments to the local divinities of Gaul, as Deæ Bibracti, Deæ Deironæ.

² Senec. *Qu. Nat.* v. 17.: "Divus certe Augustus templum illi (Circio), quum in Gallia moraretur, et vovit et fecit." Lucan, i. 407.: "Solus sua litora turbat Circius."

³ "Augusto sacrum et Genio civitatis Biturigum Viviscorum." Gruter, *Inscr.* p. 227. Thierry, *Gaulois*, iii. 258.

Such was the specious compromise of religious sentiment which the Gauls were invited to accept. As usual in such cases, in the towns and among the higher classes, Discontent of the Druids. the new ideas flourished in the sunshine of political favour; while the multitude, particularly in the remoter districts, continued to cling the more fervently to their ancient forms and usages. The Druids had to choose between the two classes of devotees, the courtly and powerful, the rude and sincere. Whatever their interest might have prompted, their love of country, their old habits and convictions, above all their pride of caste and reputed sanctity, forbade them for the most part to acquiesce in a sacrilege committed by the hands of foes and strangers. They kept sullenly aloof from the imperial blandishments, persisting in the practice, discountenanced but not yet forbidden, of their rude but imposing ceremonies; they fostered the spirit of national hatred among the conquered people, maintained in secret the reminiscence of ancient glory and independence, and at length, when the opportunity arrived, unfurled the standard of revolt, and once more led their clans against the Roman legions, with the watchwords of empire and freedom.¹

Besides keeping in check both the Druids within and the Germans beyond the frontier, two things were still wanting to secure the subjection of the Gauls, and to give free course to the imperial plans for their social regeneration. The first of these was to control Augustus satisfied with the promise of tribute from the Britons. the vaunted freedom of the neighbouring tribes of Britain, which Cæsar himself had felt to imperil the security of his yet unorganized conquests. The constant and increasing intercourse between the opposite coasts, while it consolidated the power of the island chiefs, might sap the foundations of submission on the continent. But Augustus was too cautious to engage in an enterprise of such magnitude as the invasion of a region, the resources and even the size of which were but imperfectly known to him, and where he

¹ Tac. *Hist.* iv. 54. 59.: "Ne deessent libertati . . . juravere pro imperio Galliarum." Thierry, *l. c.*

might find it impossible, even after a first success, either to advance or recede with honour. He accepted with alacrity the renewed promise of annual tribute, however little he might expect its punctual fulfilment, and trusted to address and intrigue, and the distribution among the native chiefs of honours and bribes, for the gradual preparation of a future conquest. Meanwhile the Romans continued alternately to conjure up pictures of the rudeness and inhospitality of the British barbarians, and again to amuse themselves with the thought of seeing them led in chains along the Sacred way;¹ but while fully convinced that their arms and counsels were alike invincible, they were content to leave the glory of the triumph to another generation.²

After securing the conquered people from contact with external liberty, it was requisite to strengthen the bonds which strained them to the conquerors themselves. Like the captive chained to the arm of the soldier who guarded him, the provinces were bound to Rome by the great military ways. But these, though extending through the length of Italy, and again from the frontier to the extremities of the provinces beyond, had been long intercepted by the rugged barrier of the Alps, the perils of which were aggravated by the jealous ferocity of their native tribes. Many an invader indeed had penetrated them from either side. The Gauls and Romans had alternately burst through every obstacle, to strike the foe couched in fancied security beyond. The opposition of the natives had succumbed to the resistless determination of a Hannibal, or the overwhelming armaments of a Pompeius. On the other hand, in the intervals of these international conflicts, the spirit of

Operations for
securing the
passes of the
Alps.

¹ Hor. *Od.* iii. 4. 33. : "Visam Britannos hospitibus feros."

Epod. 7. : "Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
Sacra catenatus via."

² It was perhaps popularly believed that the Britons had actually placed themselves under Roman authority. Compare the expression of so grave and sensible a writer as Strabo, half a century later : καὶ οἰκείαν σχέδον τι παρέσχευασαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὅλην τὴν νῆσον. iv. 5. p. 200.

traffic had tempted solitary passengers to thread the defiles, and trample a narrow pathway through the everlasting snows, while they purchased the forbearance of the mountaineers by a regular tribute. Polybius could enumerate in his time three routes over the western Alps, which he distinguished by the names of the tribes on the Italian side, through whose territories they ran. On the one hand lay the coast-road through the lands of the Ligurians; on the other that through the country of the Salassi, or the valley of the Dora Baltea; while a third, between the two, traversed the region of the Taurini, along the defile of the Dora Susina.¹ Of these the first was most commonly adopted by the Romans under the republic; and the Aurelian way, which conducted from Rome to the Cisalpine frontier on the west, was extended under the name of Julia into the Province. The hostility, however, of the unsettled tribes of Liguria made it often impracticable, and Pompeius effected a securer passage for his troops, that perhaps which now conducts over the Mont Genève, while Caesar, at least on one memorable occasion, penetrated into Gaul by the pass of the Cenis. The final subjugation of the Ligurians was effected by Augustus, and commemorated, with that of the other tribes of the Western Alps, on a monument, still remaining, not far from Monaco.² Henceforth the coast,

¹ Strabo, iv. 6. p. 209.: διὰ Λιγύων μὲν τὴν ἑγγιστα τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει· εἴτα τὴν διὰ Ταυρίνων, ἣν Ἀννίβας διήλθεν· εἴτα τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν. These are still the principal routes for entering Italy from the west. It is uncertain whether Polybius was aware that there were in fact two practicable passes through the Salassi—those of the two St. Bernards, or the Pennine and Graian Alps, meeting at Aosta, and two also through the Taurini—those of the Cenis and Genève, which were both known as the Cottian Alps, meeting at Susa. But if, as is not improbable, he was only thinking of the descents into Italy, he would not stop to particularise every separate road he might be acquainted with.

² Strabo, iv. 6. The spot is indicated by the name of a village, Turbia (Tropæa), Maunert, ix. 271. The inscription is given at length by Pliny, *H. N.* iii. 24. It records the names of forty-four conquered tribes. The Ligurians, as we read in Dion, liv. 24., were finally reduced in 740, but as the inscription is dated Aug. Imp. xiii. it cannot have been set up earlier than 746. See below,

or Cornice road, became as safe as it was commodious for communication with the south of Gaul. At the same time the path over the Cenis, the nearest route to Lugdunum, was improved and secured by treaty with Cottius, the king of the Cottian Alps, which included the spurs and summits of the Cenis, Genève, and Monte Viso. The barbarian chief was allowed to retain a nominal sovereignty in return for his zeal and fidelity, and the bounds of Italy continued for a century to be placed at Ad Fines or Avigliana, the first ascent of the mountains.¹ But he was made to feel his entire dependence on his patrons by the galling spectacle of a Roman colony planted at the entrance of his dominions, Augusta of the Taurini, or Turin. Beyond this Alpine tract lay the cluster of the Graian mountains and the pass of the Little St. Bernard, with which also the Romans were already familiar, and by which Cæsar seems to have sometimes travelled. The mountaineers, named, as we have seen, Salassi, who occupied the Italian side of this pass, as well as of the Great St. Bernard further on, constantly resented the intrusion of strangers. Cæsar himself had once lost his baggage in a skirmish with them.² In the year 729 Terentius Varro, who had been charged with the task of reducing them, persuaded them to treat, and then attacked them unprepared, and captured the whole tribe.³ The victims of this signal treachery, 8,000 fighting men and 36,000 old men, women, and children, were sold into slavery;

¹ The Cottian people received Latinitas, and Cottius obtained, with the name of M. Julius, the title of præfectus. See the inscription on the arch of Susa erected by him (Orell. 626.): "Civitates quæ sub eo præfecto fuerunt." Comp. Strabo, *l. c.*; Amm. Marcell. xv. 10. The date of this inscription is fixed to 745 by the words Aug. Imp. xiii. Trib. pot. xv.; Fischer, *Rœm. Zeittaf.*

² Strabo, iv. 6. 205.: ἐσύλησαν δὲ ποτὲ καὶ χρήματα Καίσαρος, καὶ ἐπέβαλον κρημνοὺς στρατοπέδοις, πρόφασιν ὡς ὁδοποιοῦντες ἢ γεφυροῦντες ποταμούς. The same writer relates that the Salassi mulcted Decimus Brutus one drachma per man, when he crossed their mountains in his flight from Mutina.

³ This Varro was a Licinius Murena, adopted by an A. Terentius Varro, whose name he accordingly bore. He continued, however, to be sometimes called by his original designation. For the conquest of the Salassi see Dion, liii. 25.; Liv. *Epit.* cxxxv.; Suet. *Oct.* 21.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* iii. 21.

and it was stipulated that their masters should in no case emancipate them under a period of twenty years. At the point where the two streams meet which form the Dora Beltea, the emperor founded a military colony, to which he gave the name of *Augusta Prætoria*, now *Aosta*, to assure for ever the safe passage of troops and wayfarers; and at the entrance of the town he erected a triumphal arch to attest the utility and glory of his conquest.¹ The reduction of the *Salassi*, the most formidable of the Alpine tribes, coincided with the submission of the *Cantabrians*, and *Augustus*, while still occupied with the settlement of affairs in Spain, could command the temple of *Janus* to be once more closed at Rome.² This speedy repetition of the auspicious solemnity of four years previously, shows how popular the idea of peace now was with the Romans; it marks the striking change that had taken place in the character of the times and the people, and what a field was open for the creation of a new national policy.

Enough has been said to show how means of access were finally secured for the Roman arms to the nations beyond the western Alps. Henceforth the conquerors and their subjects, in that quarter, might peacefully coalesce. To occupy the defiles of the mountains to the east was a matter of hardly less importance, in order to reach the *Rhætians*, the *Vindelicians*, and the *Pannonians*, with whom Rome had become gradually implicated in almost constant hostilities. Our account, however, of its conflicts in this quarter may be conveniently deferred. Beyond the *Adriatic* *Augustus* had shared in person the hardships and perils of the Roman warfare against the *Dalmatians* and *Illy-*

Progress of the
Roman arms in
Mæsia and
Thrace.

¹ Dion, liii. 25.; Strabo, iv. 6. p. 206.

² Dion, liii. 26.; Oros. vi. 21.; “*Cantabricæ victoriæ hunc honorem Cæsar delulit, ut tunc quoque belli portas clastro cohiberi juberet. Ita tunc secundo per Cæsarem, quarto post urbem conditam clausus est Janus.*” This does not of course imply that Rome had never been at peace but twice before *Augustus*, in the legendary period of *Romulus* and *Numa*, but that no chief had been encouraged by the temper of the times to make a political merit of restoring it.

rians, the success of which, if effected by no brilliant victories, was not the less solid and permanent. But the advance of his lieutenants was not checked by the range of the Mons Bœbius, which separates the waters of the Adriatic from those of the Danube and the Euxine. Forty years before Actium, while Lucius Lueullus was engaging Mithridates in Asia, his brother Marcus first traversed the vast plains of Mœsia, and checked the league of Seythians and Sarmatians with which the king of Pontus was meditating to penetrate into Italy.¹ The dread of such a combination among the unknown hordes of the North survived the overthrow of the man, who alone, perhaps, could have hoped effectually to wield it. Accordingly, among the projects of Cæsar, which divided his attention with the task of chastising the Parthians, was that of a military promenade along the northern shores of the Euxine and Mæotis. His successor shared, indeed, in no such romantic visions; but he allowed his lieutenants to follow in the track of Marcus Lueullus, to check the aggressions of the nomade races of the plains, and reduce the Greek colonies on the western coast of the Euxine to more direct obedience.² Istrus and Dionysopolis, Odessus and Tomi, Calatis and Apollonia, accepted his powerful protection against the Mœsians encamped around them, and the Getae, Iazyges, and Dacians, who crossed the Danube and poured over the morasses of lower Scythia.³ These places became the outposts of the Roman power, the factories of Roman commerce, in some cases the prisons of Roman tyranny; but the subjugation of Mœsia itself continued through the reign of Augustus to be merely nominal: it was not till the time of his successor that tribute was first exacted from it, when it

¹ A. U. 681. B. C. 73. Liv. *Epit.* xcvii.; Eutrop. vi. 7.; Oros. vi. 3.

² Dion, li. 23-27.

³ The sites of these places lay on the Bulgarian coast, but none of them, I believe, have been clearly identified. For the names of the hostile nations by which they were threatened, see Ovid in the *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto*. Virgil and Horace mention the Daci. Ukert, *Geogr. der Griech. und Rœm.* pt. iii. § 22.

became annexed to the province of Illyricum.¹ Some portions of this latter country were suffered to continue under the sovereignty of native chieftains, who were dignified with the title of king, and alliance with Rome, in return for the real surrender of their independence. The victories which he claimed over the Mœsians, indecisive as they were, gained for M. Crassus the honours of a triumph. In Thrace he was emulated by a Lentulus and a Piso. Rome was appalled by the accounts these commanders transmitted of the ferocity of their captives, who gnawed, it was said, their chains in the fury of a savage despair.²

From the northern we may pass once more to the southern frontier of the empire, and the remote realms of the Moor and the Numidian, where Augustus without a foe or rival could make a graceful exhibition of moderation and generosity. The sway of the Mauretanian Bocchus extended from the shores of the Atlantic to the city of Salda, and its independence had been guaranteed by Julius Cæsar after the battle of Thapsus. He had enlarged it, moreover, with a portion of Juba's dominions, or rather, perhaps, restored to it some territories which the Numidian had wrested from it. This donation was confirmed by Octavius, to whom Bocchus continued to his death in devoted obedience. Upon this event, which occurred in 721, the triumvir, it might be expected, would annex this sovereignty to the empire. He abstained, however, from this aggression, and a few years later, in 729, appointed Juba, the son of the late king of Numidia, who had been educated at Rome, and imbued with due veneration for Roman institutions, to rule as a friend and ally over it. At the same time he gave the young chieftain for wife Cleopatra Selene, the daughter of Antonius and his Egyptian paramour, and even transferred to their protection her brothers Ptolemæus and Alexander. The respect and even favour he thus displayed to the children of his great enemy, whom Octavia herself had bred up with her own children, deserves

The kingdom
of Mauretania
given to Juba.

¹ Appian, *Rel. Illyr.* c. 30.

² Florus, iv. 12.

to be honourably recorded. It was intended, perhaps, as a mark of his sincere affection for his noble sister.¹

The dominions of the peaceful and studious Juba were enlarged by the addition of the tract which lies eastward from Salda to the river Ampsaga. This was the The province of Africa. boundary of the Roman province of Africa, which extended from hence to the greater Syrtis; the ancient domain of Carthage having been increased by the accession of the conquered realm of Numidia. This region had been completely pacified by the wise administration of Cæsar; nor did it ever again betray an inelination to espouse the republican cause. When the ports of Italy were opened to its ample stores of grain, it advanced rapidly in wealth and importance, and even the exertions of its prefect Sallustius failed to shake its fidelity. On the second division of the empire between the triumvirs, its importance was such that it could be assigned, with some appearance of respect and good faith, as the sole portion of one of the contracting parties. After the overthrow of Lepidus, Augustus considered the province as his own conquest, and of all his possessions there was none that caused him so little anxiety or expense. A single legion sufficed to maintain it, and the emperor could concede its government to the senate without prejudice to his own interests; nor throughout the long period of his reign did it ever require his presence, a fact which could be affirmed of only two provinces of the empire, one doubtless the most obscure, the other, perhaps, the most tranquil of all.²

¹ Dion, li. 15., liii. 26.; Strabo, xvii. 3. p. 828.

² Sardinia and Africa. Suet. Oct. 47. The Cyrenaica should, I believe, be added. It is remarkable, however, that the Fasti record no less than five triumphs over Africa, that is, over the wild tribes on the frontier, such as the Garamantes and others (see Plin. *H. N.* v. 5.), in the early years of the empire; those, namely, of Statilius Taurus, A. U. 720; of L. Cornificius, 722; of L. Autronius Pætus, 725; of L. Sempronius Atratinus, 733; and of L. Cornelius Balbus, 735. This Balbus was nephew to Cæsar's friend. Pliny remarks that he was the only foreigner (i. e. from beyond Italy) who ever enjoyed the honour. He was, moreover, the last Roman subject who triumphed. The province of Africa being senatorial, the emperor scrupled thus long to curtail the right of the senate to reward its own officers.

Beyond the great Syrtis eastward lay the province of the Cyrenaica, which enjoys throughout the whole course of Roman history a remarkable immunity from political vicissitudes. Surrendered to the republic by ^{The Cyre-}
^{naica.} the will of its last Macedonian sovereign Ptolemæus Apion, it was for a time allowed to retain its freedom, on payment of a moderate tribute. Upon the pretext, however, of quarrels occurring between its cities, the Romans shortly afterwards interfered: Lucullus formed it into a province about the year 680, and Metellus combined it under one government with the opposite island of Crete.¹ To the transfer of its allegiance, and again to the loss of its independence, it submitted without a murmur, and gave its annual tribute of the gum silphium, which was worth its weight in silver, without repining. The sword was never required to enforce its submission. In the civil wars, indeed, it ventured to assert its indifference to either side, and it was fortunate, when for a moment it refused admission to the republican force under Cato, to meet with an equitable opponent who abstained from chastising its presumption. Throughout the long period of its connexion with Rome the Cyrenaica attached itself to no political movements, nor, remote and obscure as it was, did it ever become the battle-field of contending parties. Nor was it less favoured by the blessings of nature. Its configuration is that of a large segment of a circle projecting into the Mediterranean; and it consists of a series of terraces rising one behind another, like the seats of a vast inverted theatre, to a depth of eighty or an hundred miles into the interior, till bounded by a range of lofty summits which protect it from the simoom of the desert. Upon these terraces, fanned by cool breezes from the sea, grow the

¹ The precise date of the reduction of the Cyrenaica is still a matter of dispute in consequence of the differing statements of Eutropius, vi. 9., and Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 111. See Becker's *Röm. Alt.* iii. 1. 222. note. The union of Crete and Cyrene continued under Augustus, who made it a senatorial province under a proprætor with the title of proconsul. See an inscription in Gruter, p. 415. 5.

products of as many different climates, and the fortunate inhabitants of its five cities gathered, in a succession of harvests prolonged through eight months of the year, the grains of the north and the fruits of the south of Europe, together with the gums and perfumes of Asia and Africa.¹ One only drawback to such manifold advantages is recorded in the annual recurrence of a plague of locusts: to this must be added the customary extortion of the Roman officials, as similar in kind, and repeated in similar succession. Nevertheless, the Cyrenaica, if not free from this endemic pestilence, may have escaped better than most of its kindred provinces; no instance, at least as far as I remember, occurs of a public scandal in this quarter.

Crossing the elevated plain of the Libyan desert, and descending the Catabathmus, its eastward slope, we alight on the fertile valley of the Nile, the latest and most precious acquisition of Rome. Little more than half a century had elapsed since the first political intercourse of the Romans with the Egyptians, and in that brief period the arms, and still more the craft, of the Western conquerors had reduced the kingdom of the Ptolemies to complete servitude. The neighbouring realm of Palestine was traversing with slower and less direct steps the same fated cycle from independence to servitude, but at this moment, as we have seen, it had only reached the stage of royal vassalage. At no extremity of the empire did the pulse of Roman life beat more energetically than in these regions. The south-eastern angle of the Mediterranean had become the common theatre of the commercial activity of all nations. Greeks and Syrians, Jews and Ethiopians, Persians and Arabians were all mingled together at this central focus; but the Romans, more resolute and self-confident than any, more shrewd perhaps and keen in business than most of their competitors, were thrusting themselves into every emporium of trade, and founding factories in every haven. Rome had long

The province of Egypt and the regions bordering on the Arabian desert.

¹ Herod. iv. 198, 199.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xiii. 4.; xvii. 30.; and other authorities referred to in the article "Cyrenaica," Smith's *Dict. Anc. Geography*.

been glutted with the glories of Grecian civilization ; statues and bronzes, plate and jewels, had been poured with unbounded profusion into her markets : but the luxury of the masters of the world, and not less of their mistresses, was now taking another direction, and the purveyors to their taste and cupidity were ransacking the east and south of Asia for gums and spices, silks, ivory, and costly woods, for all the most curious products of India and Arabia, their birds of gayest plumage, and their slaves, bedizened with gems and fragrant with aromatic odours.¹ The chief emporium of this traffic was Petra, the rock-hewn city, which filled a narrow gorge in the mountains of Seir, and kept the gate of the eastern and western desert. From a port on the Arabian shore of the Red Sea, to which the Greeks gave the name of Leuce Come or the White Village, the merchandise of India, Arabia, and Ethiopia, was carried on the backs of camels to Petra, and from thence to Rhinocolura on the Mediterranean, for dispersion throughout the western world.² But the producers of these luxuries, living in the rudest simplicity, demanded few of the products of Europe in return, and Italy continued for centuries to exchange for them its precious metals only. In the year 730, the higher circles of the capital were amused and excited by the rumour, that the emperor

¹ Ovid. *Amor.* ii. : "Psittacus Eois imitatrix ales ab Indis."

Virg. *Geo.* i. 57. : "India mittit ebur, molles sua thura Sabæi."

Hor. *Od.* i. 29. : "Puer quis ex aula capillis

Ad cyathum statuatur unctis."

For the vegetable products of India and Arabia, see particularly Plin. *H. N.* xii. 8. foll. The objects of Indian commerce, at its fullest extent, are enumerated by the author of the *Periplus maris Erythræi*, and in the *Digest*, xxxix. 4. 16., de publicanis et vectigalibus. But these authorities refer to a later period.

² Strabo tells us that in his time, within half a century, the route of Arabian commerce had changed to Myos Hormus and Alexandria by the Nile. This was in consequence of the great impulse given to the trade of Egypt by its Roman masters. Strabo, xvi. 4. : *νυνὲ δὲ τὸ πλεόν ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τῷ Νείλῳ κατάγεται, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας καὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς εἰς Μυὸς ὄρμον, ἔτι θ' ἐπέρθεσις εἰς Κοπτὸν τῆς Θηβαίδος καμήλοις, ἢ διώρυγι τοῦ Νείλου, κειμένη ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.*

was about to send an expedition to acquire the native seats of these splendid luxuries. The actual views of the government were kept perhaps in studied obscurity, and free scope was given to the wildest ideas of avarice and ambition. The East, in the imagination of the Romans, glittered with gold and jewels, as with the rays of its own morning sun. The defeat of Crassus was still unavenged; the disasters of Antonius unretrieved; the fabled treasures of the great Parthian cities invited the hand of the spoiler, who knew nothing of the treaties his ruler had made with their chiefs, or of the motives of the policy which still kept his sword in its scabbard. With ideas thus vague and unsettled, the objects of the meditated enterprise were easily confounded in the minds of the Romans. At home they had little notion of commerce apart from conquest, and their cupidity was inflamed by the splendours paraded before them in the triumphs of Pompeius and Augustus. Accordingly, in the current language of the day, as we may gather it from the poets of the court, the arms of Rome were to be directed against the Parthians and Medes, the Arabians and Indians, the Bactrians and Seres.¹ The land of the morning was to be explored sword in hand, subjugated and ransacked. The young nobles cast aside the tomes of the philosophers, and equipped themselves in breast-plates of Iberian steel, abjuring the tame lessons of content and simplicity for the prospect of illimitable booty.² Augustus might shudder, perhaps, at seeing how little the peaceful occupations to which he had directed the Roman youth had really taken hold of their minds. Neither did it enter into his views to hazard any great scheme of oriental con-

¹ Compare Hor. *Od.* i. 29.: Propert. ii. 10., iii. 4.; Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 604.:

“Sive Getis inferre manu lachrymabile bellum
Eoisve Arabisve parant, seu tendere ad Indos,
Auroramque sequi, Parthosque reposita signa.”

² Hor. *l. c.*: “Cum tu coemptos undique nobiles
Libros Panæti, Socraticam et domum,
Mutare loricis Iberis
Pollicitus meliora tendis.”

quest: he shrank from risking an encounter with the formidable Parthians; he limited his preparations to a scale proportioned to an exploring expedition, rather than an invading armament.

Even at a later period, indeed, sober historians did not scruple to affirm that the object of Augustus was either to form relations of commerce with the Arabs and Ethiopians, or, if necessary, to reduce them to submission by force of arms; but the account they give of the means employed seems to show that no armed occupation of distant regions was actually contemplated. The force placed under the command of Ælius Gallus, the officer chosen for the service, amounted only to ten thousand men, forming apparently no more than a single legion, with auxiliaries, of whom one thousand were Nabathæans and five hundred Jews.¹ The legionaries were drafted from the army of Egypt, and Gallus himself had recently served there under the prefect Petronius. The blunders, however, which he committed from the very outset, bespeak a strange want of local information. The Romans, with their usual vanity, ascribed them to the treachery of their adviser Syllæus, a minister of the Nabathæan king Obodas, who sought, they declared, both in his own interest and that of his master, to harass the invaders in every possible way. But the first delay was caused by the error of equipping large war-galleys for the navigation of the Arabian coast, which is full in many parts of shoals and rocks. The expedition was kept waiting at Cleopatris at the head of the gulf of Heropolis till a new flotilla of smaller vessels could be equipped. When all was ready it dropped down the gulf to the point of Drepanum, and then crossed the mouth of the Elanitic gulf

Expedition of
Ælius Gallus
against the
Arabians.
A. U. 730.
B. C. 24.

¹ Strabo, xvi. 4.: ἔχων περὶ μυρίους πεζοὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου Πρωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, ὧν ἦσαν Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν πεντακόσιοι, Ναβαταῖοι δὲ χίλιοι. These words have been generally understood to mean that there were 10,000 Romans besides allies; but I believe my interpretation is more correct. Two legions constituted the ordinary garrison of Egypt, and Ælius Gallus was only a subordinate to the prefect.

to the Arabian coast. Here it ought to have made good its landing, and taken the caravan route southward in the direction of the spice regions of Arabia Felix or Yemen, to which it was bound. But Syllæus, we are told, assured Gallus that there was no practicable coast route, and persuaded him to continue his course by sea as far as Lence Come (Haura). In this latter part of its voyage, the fleet suffered severely from the difficulties of the navigation and the violence of winds and tides; and the men were already dispirited when they first touched land after a passage of fifteen days. From hence it was determined to march into the spice country, opening relations with the intervening states, chastising such as opposed or betrayed any jealousy of the armed strangers, and leaving garrisons at the most important posts for the security of their return. But though the object of the expedition was not properly warlike, it was the crafty policy of Syllæus to engage it in hostilities with tribe after tribe, in order to exhaust and finally destroy it. Before, however, the Romans could move in advance, they were dreadfully harassed by sickness, which particularly affected their mouths and legs, and seems to have been the same which modern travellers have described as endemic on that part of the coast.¹ When, at last, after passing a summer and the succeeding winter under these distresses, the army was ready to march, Syllæus directed it into the country of Arctas, a chief in alliance with Obodas. This is the name frequently given by the Greeks and Romans to chiefs of northern Arabia, and from this and other circumstances it seems probable that the route of Gallus lay, not southward, in the first instance, but

¹ Strabo says, *στομακάκη τε καὶ σκελοτύβη πειραζομένης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπιχωρίοις πάθεισι*, which is curiously confirmed by the observations of Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, i. 182. 446. &c.): "My stay at Djidda was prolonged to three weeks, chiefly in consequence of sore legs, a disease very prevalent on this unhealthy coast, where every bite, if neglected, becomes a serious wound. . . . I believe that one fourth of the population of Djidda is constantly afflicted with ulcers on the legs." See Forster's *Hist. Geogr. of Arabia*, ii. 280. Djidda, it should be remarked, is 300 miles south of Haura; but Burckhardt's observations apply to the whole coast of the Hedjaz.

eastward, into the central plateau of the great peninsula, known by the name of El Nedjed; and that the territory of Aretas himself was El Kasim, lying on the caravan track from Medina to Bahrein on the Persian Gulf.¹ Even here, though the country was not unfriendly, and the track not unfrequented, the strangers were subjected, by the artifices of Syllæus, to severe privations; but when, at last, they turned southward across an inhospitable desert, in quest of Agrana (Nedjran), at the first descent of the hills towards the Red Sea, their sufferings became intense. Three months were spent in reaching this spot, where the Romans found rest and refreshment, the chief having fled at their approach, and the tribe having yielded with little resistance. Six days beyond Agrana, the Romans fought a battle on the banks of a river, in which they boasted of destroying ten thousand Arabs with the loss of two men only. Nevertheless, from hence every step was contested, and six months had passed before they reached the city of Marsyaba, which lay within two days of the spice country, the cherished object of their expedition. But the resistance they here encountered, together with the want of water, determined them to retire from before its walls at the end of six days. They had become persuaded of the treachery of Syllæus, who had led them by a painful and

¹ Strabo says that Syllæus led the Romans *κυκλοπορείαις*. Mr. Forster justly remarks, "While Gallus might be and was deceived, a Roman general could not be altogether befooled by his Arab conductor. Total ignorance of the country might betray him, as it had betrayed Crassus, into taking a totally wrong road—an error which his subsequent better knowledge of the country enabled him eventually to correct; but no amount of ignorance could induce him to be led, like the characters of a modern drama, round and round a horse-pond, as must have been pretty much the case, could we believe him to have employed alternately six months and two months in his passage through the same line of country. Yet this is the ground taken by our highest modern authorities. D'Anville, Gosselin, Vincent, all agree in conducting and reconducting the Roman army through the Hedjaz." Forster supposes, on the contrary, that the army described two sides of a triangle on its advance, and took the base on its retreat. See below. Pliny, *H. N.* vi. 32., refers to this expedition, and gives a list of towns which the Romans occupied on their route; but their names afford little or no assistance in determining it.

circuitous route, in order, as was supposed, to employ their arms in chastising tribes unfriendly to his master. Exhausted as the Romans were, their leader relinquished the attempt to penetrate southward, and commenced his retreat. Having once more reached Agrana, instead of retracing the route by which he had come, he turned to the left in the direction of the Red Sea, from whence he led his army, apparently without impediment, along the coast. On reaching Nera Come (Yembo), where he arrived in sixty days, he fell in with the flotilla which had been despatched southward to wait on his movements, and, once more embarking with the remnant of his soldiers, crossed over the gulf to the Bay of Hormas.¹ The failure of the expedition must have been a severe mortification to Augustus, whose power rested to so great a degree on the reputation of success; but he threw a veil over it, by retaining and even promoting Gallus in his service, and by refraining from the infliction of punishment on Syllæus. The one on his return was appointed prefect of Egypt, the other ventured to appear in person at Rome, where he negotiated

¹ The main points to be determined in tracing the route of this expedition are Leuee Come, Nera Come, and Marsyaba. The two first of these are, I think, satisfactorily settled by Mr. Forster (*Geogr. of Arabia*, ii. 277. foll.). The first corresponds in signification with El Haura, the White City, and also in its distance (fifteen days' voyage) from Cleopatris, the distance in miles, taking the sinuous line of the coast, being stated at 470, or 31 miles a day. Mr. Forster shows also, from Golius, that Nera, a barbarous Greek word for water, agrees in meaning with Yembo, the name of a town eighty miles south of Haura on the coast of the Hedjaz. Marsyaba may very possibly be Saba or Sabbia, lying midway between the modern Meeea and Mareb, with the former of which it has been identified by Gosselin, but by D'Anville, followed by Gibbon, with the latter. Mareb, however, lies in the centre of the spice region, while Meeea is too distant from it. I think, with Mr. Forster, that Gallus went eastward from Haura in the first instance (and this was the opinion of Burekhardt and of Walekenaer, *Vie d'Horace*, i. 564.), though I cannot imagine that he got, as that writer represents, almost within sight of the Persian Gulf. Mr. Forster lays great stress on the mention of the river, which he thinks he can prove was the Sanean, the only stream in the vicinity of Nedjran. But his identification of Agrana with Nedjran on the caravan route from the Persian Gulf into Yemen cannot be fully relied on, and the maps I have been able to consult differ widely from each other.

either for his master or for himself, but eventually, being detected in a fresh treason, expiated his offence with death.¹

While Gallus was thus occupied in Arabia, his superior officer Petronius, the governor of Egypt, was employed in chastising the encroachments of the Ethiopians on the other side of the Red Sea. During the latter years of the feeble and enervated rule of the Macedonians the resources of that fertile country were allowed to run to waste, and even the defence of their frontiers had been neglected. While Alexandria flourished from the concourse of all nations in its streets, and from the increasing development of Oriental trade, the old cities of Upper Egypt had utterly decayed, the industry of the native Copts, no longer strung to the utmost by importunate taskmasters, had relaxed and dwindled away, and the Arabs of Nubia and Ethiopia had encroached upon their domains, and occupied their crumbling halls.² The artificial channels for the irrigation of the soil, on which the whole welfare of Lower Egypt depended, had become choked with sand; the canal from the Nile to the head of the Red Sea, begun by Sesostris or Darius, and which the Ptolemies had undertaken to complete, had either been left unfinished or was rendered useless from want of repairs; the traffic of India, which, even in default of continuous water communication, might have been brought by a short portage to the valley of the Nile, had been allowed to become diverted to the route of Petra; and not more than twenty vessels were despatched annually from Arsinoe to the Indian Ocean. Augustus undertook to repair all these disorders, and unfold the boundless resources of his new province. But his first prefect, Cornelius Gallus, was found unequal to the charge, in which,

Petronius, the
successor of
Cornelius Gal-
lus in Egypt.

¹ Strabo, l. c.: ἔτισε δὲ καὶ δίκας ἐν Ῥώμῃ, προσποιούμενος μὲν φιλίαν, ἐλεγχθεὶς δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ πονηρίᾳ καὶ ἄλλα κακουργῶν, καὶ ἀποτμηθεὶς τὴν κεφαλὴν.

² Thus the city of Coptos was occupied jointly by Egyptians and Arabs, that is, Ethiopians. Strabo, xvii. l. p. 815. But the principal evidence on this point is drawn from the large proportion of Arab skulls among the mummies of this period. Sharpe's *Hist. of Egypt*, ch. i. § 3.

besides indulging in personal vanity, he had excited by ill-judged severity the disaffection of an irritable population. He had been removed, as we have seen, from the government of Egypt, and his place had been supplied by C. Petronius, who brought zeal and activity to his work. The new governor speedily quelled the risings of the Alexandrians, and set his legionaries, freed from the task of coercion, to clear the canals and remove the causes of insurrection.¹ When this beneficent work was completed, it was found that a rise of the Nile waters of twelve cubits sufficed to cover a tract of country which had previously required fourteen.²

A portion of the army of Egypt was now drafted off on service in Arabia; but about the same time the encroachments of the barbarians on the frontier had become intolerable, and it was necessary to employ a force to chastise them. Petronius repaired to Syene, and demanded of the Ethiopian queen Candace, the restitution of the booty her subjects had carried off, including some statues of the emperor himself. The barbarians retorted by complaints of the aggression of Roman officers on the frontiers; to which Petronius replied that the ruler of Egypt was Cæsar himself, and with him they had to deal and not with his lieutenants. When, not comprehending this argument, they ventured to meet him in the field, they were easily routed, and pursued far into their own territories. Candace, who is described as a woman of great spirit, and the more terrible to behold from the loss of an eye, consented to treat for peace with the cession of the spoils demanded, and of the fortified post of Premnis; but no sooner had Petronius withdrawn than she collected her forces to attack the garrison he had left there, and compelled him to rush back in haste to its rescue. Negotiations again ensued, and the Roman referred his adversary to Cæsar himself for terms of permanent pacification. On her demanding *who Cæsar was*,

He defends the
province from
an attack of the
Ethiopians.
A. U. 732.
B. C. 22.

¹ Suet. Oct. 18.

² Strabo, xvii. 1. p. 788. Ten cubits, instead of twelve, according to Groskurd's reading.

he despatched her envoys to Augustus, who was then in person at Samos, and the emperor, satisfied with their protestations of respect, and sensible of the fruitlessness of attempting to extend his sway into their wild regions, released their nation from the tribute his prefect had imposed on them.¹ On the return of Ælius Gallus from Arabia he was appointed to succeed Petronius in the prefecture. In the progress which he made to Syene he took with him the geographer Strabo, then a young man, to whose personal examinations and inquiries on the spot we owe the minute details about Egypt recorded in his great work.

In the year 733 Augustus once more quitted the seat of his government to make a proconsular progress through the Oriental provinces, and settle their administration on a definite basis. On his way he first visited Sicily, where he planted Roman colonies in Syracuse and other cities, impoverished perhaps, or depopulated, by the effects of the late war, and at the same time withdrew, as it would appear, the privilege of citizenship accorded generally to the islanders by Antonius.² From thence passing into Greece, he bestowed favours on Sparta, which had been loyal to his interests, while he mulcted the Athenians, guilty of the grossest flattery of his rival, of the most lucrative of their privileges, that of selling the freedom of their city.³ Thence he crossed to the island of Samos, where he passed the winter, shaming, perhaps, by his simplicity the

Progress of Augustus into the East.

A. U. 733.
E. C. 21.

¹ Strabo, xvii. 1. p. 820. The campaign of Petronius is referred to the year 732: Dion, liv. 5. Augustus is supposed to have coveted a footing in Ethiopia or Abyssinia, from the apprehension that the natives might at any time ruin Egypt by turning the course of the Nile into the Red Sea. Such a project was actually entertained by Albuquerque, the great captain of the Portuguese in the East, to punish the Egyptian Sultan for his opposition to the establishments of that people in India. M'Culloch's *Economical Policy*, p. 292.

² Among the sixty-eight cities of Sicily enumerated by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* lii. 14.) six only are specified as having the Roman franchise. We do not know when the franchise was withdrawn, and the act is ascribed to Augustus only conjecturally. Dureau de la Malle, *Econ. Pol. des Romains*, i. 322.

³ Dion, liv. 7.; Spanheim, *Orb. Rom.* i. 61.

orgies enacted on the same spot by the wretched Antonius, and receiving the envoys of many vassal potentates, among them, as we have seen, those of the queen of Ethiopia. In the ensuing spring he landed on the continent of Asia, and undertook the arrangement of its political condition, not heeding the distinction he had himself made between the provinces of the emperor and the senate, but exercising, in virtue of his proconsular power, the same unlimited authority throughout all as had been conceded to Pompeius by the Gabinian law.

Armed with irresponsible power, that great conqueror had prostrated the whole Lower Asia under the supremacy of Rome; but the dependence to which he had reduced its various districts differed in form and degree. At the commencement of the imperial rule a small portion only of the regions which extended to the Phasis and Euphrates was strictly provincial soil; for in the centre, and by the side of these provinces, certain wide tracts were still allowed to remain in the hands of native princes and priests, in addition to which a few favoured territories were still suffered to call themselves autonomous. The power, however, of the one, and the freedom of the other, were held alike in fact at the mere will of the conquerors. The political status of all these regions, excepting that of the province of Asia, properly so called, was grounded on the acts of Pompeius, ratified by the decree of the senate; and the system he created continued to subsist in all its principal features into the imperial period. The dissensions of the republic, the conflict of Roman parties in this distant sphere, the irruption of the Parthians, the intrigues of less powerful barbarians on the frontiers, and, above all, the caprice and violence of Antonius, had each in turn assailed and shaken it; Augustus himself, in his rapid progress through Asia on his return from Egypt, had modified it in various particulars. But the work which he meditated was not yet complete, and the same hand which had organized the western half of the empire in accordance with the matured system of the imperial policy, was

Political organization of the region of Lower Asia.

now employed in finally regulating the affairs of the opposite hemisphere.

Bithynia and Asia were the only provinces in this quarter which Augustus was content to surrender to the government of the senate. Of these Asia was the earliest acquisition of the republic beyond the *Ægean*, The provinces of Asia and Bithynia. and comprised the regions of Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and probably the greater part of Phrygia.¹ This magnificent territory had been originally obtained by the testament of the last of the Attali, whose kingdom of Pergamus had been extended by the aid of the Romans themselves far beyond its proper limits. Bithynia had also been acquired by the voluntary cession of its sovereign Nicomedes. When formed into a province it was extended by Pompeius, at the expense of the dominions of Mithridates, as far as the Halys, so as to include the whole seaboard of Paphlagonia, together with a part of Pontus. It was divided from Asia by the Rhyndacus, a river which falls into the Propontis: and its southern frontier was marked by the ridge of Mount Olympus, which separated it from Galatia and Phrygia. These provinces had been subdivided into numerous districts for the convenience of levying the appointed tribute. Thus in Asia there were as many as forty of these regions, each having its chief town;² another division was that into conventus or circles for judicial and administrative purposes, much fewer in number and proportionally more extensive. The chief cities of Asia, six in number, were denominated metropolises, and of these Ephesus was the principal, and the capital of the whole province; but in all there were enumerated not less than five hundred.³ Under the republic both Asia and Bithynia were governed by *proprætors*, but under the emperors the officers appointed to admin-

¹ Cic. *pro Flacc.* 27.

² This was the division of Sulla, which was generally maintained by his successors. See Becker, *Röm. Alterth.* iii. 1. 134.

³ Becker, from Philostr. *vit. Sophist.* p. 36. 21.; and Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 16. 4.

ister them by the senate took the style and rank of proconsuls.¹

With these arrangements, which constituted the ordinary machinery of provincial government, Augustus did not interfere. His attention was directed to meting out justice to the states and cities which had either sided with his enemies or been maltreated by them. Several autonomous cities were now deprived of their freedom, while others which had suffered, whether from Brutus or Antonius, received munificent compensation by grants of territory or relief from taxation. This retributive policy Augustus had already inaugurated in his earlier progress; but now, after an interval of ten years, he still found his work incomplete, and the claims of those who had suffered in his cause urged him to carry it out to the uttermost. The people of Cyzicus, who had seized some Roman citizens in a popular tumult, scourged and executed them, were now punished with the loss of their national freedom; a punishment which was inflicted also subsequently on the people of Tyre and Sidon.² These cities fell henceforward under the direct control of the proconsul. On the other hand, several Asiatic communities were now presented with the Roman or the Latin franchise. The temple of the Grecian Artemis claimed from remote antiquity to confer rights of asylum on the wretches who took refuge within its enclosure. Alexander of Macedon had extended this privilege to the circuit of one stadium around it; Mithridates, letting fly an arrow from the corner of the roof, had slightly overshot this limit, and enlarged the sacred precincts accordingly; but Antonius had doubled the radius of the circle, so as to embrace within its sphere a large portion of the city. The Ephesians themselves exclaimed that this put their homes and hearths in the power of evil-doers, and Augustus performed a popular act in confining the asylum once more within reasonable limits.³

Compensation
or retribution
meted to the
cities of Asia.

¹ Strabo, xvii. p. 840.; Dion, liii. 12. 14.

² Dion, liv. 7.; Suet. Oct. 47.

³ Strabo, xiv. 1. p. 641.: 'Ἀλεξάνδρου μὲν ἐπὶ στάδιον ἐκτείναντος, Μιθρι-

At the south-western angle of Asia Minor several places on the coast of Caria were held by the Rhodians, whose island still retained a nominal freedom, and vaunted ^{Caria and Rhodæa.} itself as the last stronghold of the maritime and commercial spirit of ancient Greece. Before the establishment of Roman supremacy in the East, Rhodes might not unjustly style herself the mistress of the sea. In the civil wars she had furnished a large fleet to Pompeius, which she had withdrawn from the service of the senate after the defeat of Pharsalia. Her docks and arsenals continued under Augustus to be the objects of her pride and solicitude. Herein still resided, or seemed to reside, the secret of the independence which even the emperor respected, and she punished with death the prying intruder who ventured covertly to inspect them. The Rhodians offered an asylum moreover to the teachers of rhetoric and philosophy, and to their city many of the young patricians continued long to resort for the highest literary instruction. But they are still more remarkable for the institution among them, unique, it may be said, in antiquity, of a regular poor-law, which seems to have been long established; not, as Strabo remarks, that they were democratically governed, but the aristocracy, in the midst of its pride and power, wisely took this precaution to secure an unfailing supply of efficient operatives and seamen.¹

We are not sufficiently acquainted with the mode in which this system of relief was conducted to decide whether it was in fact an instance of prudent generosity, or merely, as in the case of the largesses to the Roman ^{Autonomous states of Lycia.} populace, a tribute exacted from contented industry for the satisfaction of turbulent idleness. Allowing, however, that

δατου δὲ τόξευμα ἀφέντος ἀπὸ τῆς γωνίας τοῦ κεράμου, καὶ δόξαντος ὑπερβαλέσθαι μικρὰ τὸ στάδιον.

¹ Strabo, xiv. 2. p. 653. The constitution of Rhodes, at least at an earlier period, is described as a curious combination of aristocracy and democracy. See Cicero, *de Republ.* iii. 35. At a later period again, Dion Chrysostom and Aristides represent the constitution of Rhodes as popular. Creuzer, in loc. Ciceron.

its principle was sound, we cannot but remark how little jealousy the Romans evinced of this example of freedom and public spirit. Not only did they suffer the autonomy of Rhodes within sight of their own subject provinces, but permitted even in their centre the existence of a political confederacy of twenty-three Lycian towns, whose deputies met together in common, as the Greeks and the Ionians had assembled in the days of their independence. From the character of these meetings, as well as from the name of the chief Lyeian city, Xanthus, we might imagine that these autonomous communities were themselves of Hellenic origin; but the Greeks refused to acknowledge the affinity, and insisted that they were simply Carian. At all events, they deserved the respect shown them by the Romans for the honourable way in which, though a maritime people, they abstained from piracy in its palmiest days, and Xanthus at least, which had been delivered by Brutus to pillage, might claim consideration at the hands of Augustus. These little states, however, had suffered so much from the exaction of the Roman generals, that even freedom, with immunity from Roman taxation, seems to have failed to restore their prosperity.¹

From the Gulf of Pamphylia to that of Issus stretched the province of Cilicia. To this, since the time of Pompeius, not only Pamphylia and Isauria, but also some districts of Pisidia and Phrygia had been appended. Cilicia was regarded by the Romans as a very important possession, not for the wealth of its inhabitants, but, first, as the region from whence the pirates had issued, and within which they were still located after their defeat; and, again, as the key of Syria, with which it was connected by the passes of the Amanus. Accordingly we always find it occupied by a strong military force. Augustus claimed to administer it by officers of his own appointment; but Cyprus, which was at first attached to it, he afterwards restored to the senate.²

¹ Strabo, xiv. 3. p. 664.

² Strabo, xvii. 3. p. 840. A. W. Zumpt seems to have satisfactorily shown

But though the seas were cleared of pirates, and the harbours secured, the mountains of Cilicia were still invested by hordes of robbers; and it was in order to keep these marauders in check without expense to the imperial treasury that the Romans had permitted the existence on the Taurus and Amanus of various petty chieftains with the title of kings.¹ In the period of the civil wars one chief of superior craft or energy had succeeded in absorbing into his own realm the possessions of his neighbours, and was allowed to hold, in dependence on the republic, the gates of Syria and Cilicia. His name was Tarcondimotus; but when he was slain on the side of Antonius at Actium, his son Philopator, who claimed the succession, was displaced by the conquerors, and the throne bestowed upon a younger brother of the same name as the father.²

Vassal kings
allowed to ex-
ist in Asia.

The disposition of affairs effected by the republic in the Asiatic provinces had remained, for the most part, intact through the series of revolutions which had recently swept over the country. Neither Cæsar nor Brutus and Cassius had changed in any important particular the administration of these territories. Even Antonius, whose sway had been most arbitrary, and whose necessities most exacting, had spared the institutions of these regions, while levying from them the heaviest contributions. But throughout the foreign and allied dependencies of the sovereign state, as far as his hand could reach, he had overthrown dynasties and effaced political landmarks, for the gratification of his caprices, or from lust of gold. Every where thrones were to be obtained from him for money, and without money the possession of none was secure. The vassals of the Roman people were transformed into clients of the triumvir, and were summoned at his call to maintain his quarrel against his rival, and the gods and people of Rome herself. They obeyed him reluctantly, and betrayed him

Their subser-
vience to the
chiefs of the
Roman state.

that Cilicia became annexed to the proconsulate of Syria. *Comment. Epigraph.* ii. 93. foll.

¹ Strabo, xiv. 4. p. 676.

² Dion, liv. 9.

without scruple. But the conqueror, who had friends and allies of his own to serve, did not, for the most part, spare them for this tardy service, and few, perhaps, of the whole number of the dependent chiefs of Asia were allowed to retain their authority on the establishment of his power.¹

Difficult, indeed, was the game which these little tributaries were required to play. The creatures of a proconsul's breath, and the puppets of his caprice, any sense of gratitude for favours conferred might well be lost in the sense of his insolence and own degradation. Their power, and indeed existence, depended on their turning precisely at the favourable moment in a contest in which they took no interest, but in which their services were demanded by every party in turn. Among the wariest of the number was Amyntas, who had been the minister and general of king Deiotarus. He was sent by his master to the assistance of Brutus and Cassius; but without waiting for the decision of Philippi, which would have been too late, he had the sagacity to augur their discomfiture at an earlier period, and could thus make a merit of his defection.² Antonius accordingly rewarded him with the royal title, and gave him, upon the death of Deiotarus, which speedily followed, the greater part of his late master's possessions. His territories extended over the whole of Galatia, the tract between the Halys and the Phasis, together with some portions of Lycaonia and Pamphylia.³ Having once turned so opportunely, he resolved to play the same game again, and, watching the moment when the crimes and follies of Antonius were manifestly hurrying him to his ruin, he contrived to signify his desertion to Octavius just before the battle of Actium.⁴ By this second feat he secured the possession of his throne, which he continued to enjoy, with no further trial of his prudence, till his death in 729, whereupon Augustus

Amyntas, king
of Galatia.

Annexation of
his territory.
A. U. 729.

¹ Dion, li. 2., excepts only Amyntas and Archelaus. But we shall see immediately that there were some others.

² Dion, xlvii. 48.

³ Dion, xlix. 32.; Strabo, xii. 3. p. 547

⁴ Vell. ii. 84: Plut. *Anton.* 63.

tus took the greater part of his dominions, and formed there-with the province of Galatia.

A similar good fortune, though on a smaller scale, attended the well-timed adhesion to Octavius of Deiotarus Philadelphus. This chief went over to the western triumvir with Amyntas, and was allowed, it would seem, in consequence, to retain his little sovereignty in a part of Paphlagonia, which again, upon his death, became incorporated in the province of Galatia.¹ The same was the fate of several other petty chiefs in this district, and of their territories. Another of the most distinguished of these favourites of fortune was Polemo, the son of a Greek rhetorician, on whom Antonius had bestowed the kingdom of Pontus, comprising the eastern portion of the ample region generally so called, enlarged by the addition of the seaboard of the Euxine, as far, at least, as the river Phasis.² Augustus confirmed his title to these dominions, and in 728 conferred upon him the style of friend and ally of the Roman people. He even added eventually to his territories the kingdom of the Bosphorus.³ Polemo himself was killed in conflict with some of his barbarian neighbours; but his territories continued long to escape the gulf into which so many Asiatic sovereignties were falling, and retained their nominal independence under the sceptre of his widow Pythodoris. This woman was possessed of uncommon abilities, and maintained herself on her throne in the midst of so many hostile or jealous potentates, by the force of her genius and the discreet choice of her second husband. She united her fortunes with those of Archelaus, another client of Augustus, whom Antonius had placed on the throne of Cappadocia in reward for the complaisance of his beautiful mother.⁴ To this kingdom, which was originally bounded by Galatia and Lycaonia on the west, and the line of the Anti-Taurus on the north, Au-

Deiotarus,
king of Paphla-
gonia.

Polemo, king
of Pontus and
the Bosphorus.

¹ Strabo, xii. 3. p. 562.

² Strabo, xi. 2. p. 499.

³ Dion, liii. 25. liv. 24.; Strabo, xi. 2. p. 495.

⁴ Dion, xlix. 33.; Strabo, xii. 2. p. 540.

gustus added a portion of Cilicia,¹ and Pythodorus could bring him a further accession in the adjacent realm of the Lesser Armenia. In the centre of their united dominions they founded the city of Sebaste in honour of their patron, and strenuously defended his frontiers against the formidable power of the Parthians.²

In the conquest of Asia Minor, Sulla and Lucullus, Metellus and Servilius, had each borne a share; but the subjugation of Syria, the fairest gem of the imperial diadem of Rome, was the work of Pompeius alone. The reduction of Gaul, it may be said, was the only achievement that surpassed it, as Cæsar was the only Roman who deserved to be styled superior to the second Alexander. Syria, in its widest extent, comprised the whole tract of country, ill-defined, at least on its eastern frontier, which lay between the Amanus and Euphrates on the north, and the deserts of Mesopotamia and Arabia to the Pelusian isthmus. In Palestine and some other outlying districts, the conqueror had suffered the existence of vassal kings; but Syria proper, with its wealthy cities of Antioch and Damascus, Apamea and Emesa, its active and restless population, its fanatical priesthood, and above all its frontier exposed to powerful and ambitious neighbours, was too precarious a possession to be placed in the hands of any tributary monarch. Accordingly Pompeius had at once enrolled it among the Roman provinces, and had demanded of the senate that a force of several legions should be permanently quartered in it, for the defence of the most important outpost of the empire. The proconsulate of Syria became the object of every inordinate ambition; and the possession of this dependency, it was soon discovered, was pregnant with far more

The province
of Syria.

¹ Strabo, xii. 1. p. 535.

² Cappadocia on the Taurus, the original kingdom of Archelaus, was formed into a province on his death, A. U. 769. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 42.; Strabo, xii. 1. p. 534.; Lucan, iii. 243.:

“Venere feroces

Cappadoces, duri populos *nunc cultor* Amani.”

danger than advantage to the government at home. Cæsar redressed the balance of the East and West, but it was at the expense of creating a new army, and a new general inimical to the privileges of the dominant class. Meanwhile, however, the presence of the legions of Syria had secured the safety of the province against the encroachments of the Parthians, amidst all the troubles of the civil wars, and the terrible disasters of Crassus and Antonius. Accustomed to submission, and trained to the yoke of foreign rulers, by the successive dynasties of the Assyrian, the Persian, and the Macedonian, the natives bore the exactions of their new masters with equanimity: nevertheless Augustus garrisoned their country with a force of four legions.¹ At the northern extremity of this region the little kingdom of Commagene reached to the banks of the Euphrates, and presented the last vestige of the magnificent domain of the Seleucidæ. In the year 723 it was ruled by a king of the name of Mithridates, who, however, was not himself a scion of the Macedonian dynasty.² Two years later an Antiochus of Commagene was put to death, as we read, at Rome. The possessor of the throne from this time to the year 734 is not known, but at that period Augustus presented it to another Mithridates, who was but a child.³

Two years before the Eastern journey of Augustus, his friend and adviser Agrippa had inspected in his behalf the provinces of Asia.⁴ The politic Herodes had succeeded in gaining the minister's favour, as Herodes, king of Judea. previously his master's, and had received a full confirmation of the favours already bestowed upon him. To his kingdom of Judea were annexed the dominions of various petty chieftains; he was allowed to choose his own successor from among the children whom he had sent of his own accord to Rome, as pledges of his loyalty. Few of the vassal kings of

¹ Tac. *Ann.* iv. 3.

² Plut. *Anton.* 61.; Appian, *B. C.* v. 10.

³ Dion, lii. 43. liv. 9.; Hoeck, *Röm. Gesch.* i. 370.

⁴ In the year 731. Dion, liii. 32.: οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον μετοιάζων ἐκείσε μὲν τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἐπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν Λέσβῳ διέτριψε.

Rome were thus encouraged to contemplate the prospect of perpetuating a dynasty. On the arrival, however, of Augustus himself, more extensive additions were made to his territories, in the districts of Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanea, which were taken from their tetrarch Zenodorus, because he leagued himself with the Arab robbers instead of controlling them. Pheroras, a brother of Herodes, was raised to the sovereignty of a portion of Peræa, and Herod was himself guaranteed by special ordinance from the obnoxious interference of the governor of Syria. Such were the brilliant rewards he obtained for maintaining the police of the Arabian deserts, chastising the nomade sheikhs, and gradually enuring them to the stern control of civilized authority.¹ On similar conditions Obodas held, as we have seen, his sceptre in Petra, and Iamblichus in Emesa.

Before quitting the Eastern dominions of the Roman empire we must cast our eyes for a moment on the great empire —the only rival empire—which lay beyond their frontier. In their collisions with Parthia the

The rival monarchy of Parthia.

Romans had been twice unfortunate, and scanty were the trophies they had to set against the overthrow of one proconsul, the flight of another, and the loss of their legionary eagles. Nevertheless the events which had taken place in the interval nearer home were too tremendous in their character, and their interest was too absorbing, to allow them to brood over these distant disasters. Each political chieftain had in turn rejoiced secretly in the discomfiture of his personal foe: the death of Crassus had relieved both Pompeius and Cæsar from a vigilant rival, and the setting of the sun of Antonius had cast a double brightness on the rising star of Octavius. The splendour and pretended glories of the new administration might continue to throw these early misfortunes into the shade: patriots who dared hardly think of the ancient triumphs of the republic would still less indulge in

¹ Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 7. 10. 13.; *Bell. Jud.* i. 20, 21.; Dion, liv. 9.; Strabo, xvi. 2. p. 756.

the recollection of her failures. Although in the earlier years of Augustus the writings of the day reflect often the national fear and hatred of the Parthians, none ventured to suggest the duty or policy of chastising them. During the closing struggle between the triumvirs, both Media and Armenia had been suffered to fall under the tutelage of these formidable enemies; but the dissensions of the reigning family had saved the honour of the Romans, by inducing the rival claimants of the throne to appeal to the arbitration of the emperor.¹ While Phraates was allowed, as we have seen, to sit unmolested on his throne, his son, whom Tiridates had delivered up to Augustus, was kept in honourable confinement at Rome, and Tiridates himself entertained with respect and favour in Syria. This state of things subsisted for several years, during which the rivals, thus kept apart, continued secretly to countermine each other. Meanwhile Rome grew united and stronger: Parthia was weakened by its dissensions. In the year 731 the claimants for the throne condescended once more to appeal to the common enemy of their nation. On this great occasion the demeanour of Augustus was eminently patriotic and national. He referred their claims to the consideration of the senate, and himself suggested that the opportunity had now arrived for satisfying the honour of the country, and effacing the memorials of her discomfiture.² While no decision was yet made respecting the settlement of the throne, the standards and the captives of Carrhæ were proudly reclaimed, as the first condition of arbitration. The Parthian monarch temporized, and on the part of the Roman no great anxiety was shown to hasten their recovery. At last, in the year 734, Augustus, then engaged in the settlement of the affairs of Asia, repeated in louder tones his demands for satisfaction. The tardy restoration was quickened by the advance of Tiberius Nero, the emperor's step son, into Armenia, at the head of a military force, which might easily be turned against the refractory Parthian.³ The

A. U. 734.
B. C. 20.

¹ Dion, li. 18.; Justin, xlii. 5. See above, ch. xxix.

² Dion, liii. 33.

³ Suet. *Tib.* 9. The line of Horace, *Epist.* i. 12. 26., "Jus imperiumque

Restoration of
the standards
of Crassus.

standards were restored, or rather, perhaps, the bronze eagles which surmounted them—the cherished object of the soldier's affection and sometimes of his worship—which he was bound by the military sacrament never to desert. After an interval of more than thirty years few of the captives survived, and not many of these would care to relinquish their new ties and occupations for the forgotten honours of their youth. Phraates himself, if we may trust the testimony of the imperial medals, performed homage at the feet of the emperor's representative, and received the crown from his hands. The long-lost trophies were brought by Tiberius to his father, and by him transmitted to Rome, where they were greeted with fervent acclamations, and deposited in the temple of Mars the Avenger.¹ This splendid edifice, which Augustus had vowed before the battle of Philippi, in which he was about to take vengeance on his father's murderers, was thus rendered doubly worthy of its title, as a monument of national retribution. The poets celebrated this recovery as something greater than a victory or a triumph. Augustus, however, in the monumental record he has left us of his own exploits, speaks of it with dignity and moderation.²

Phraates Cæsaris accepit genibus miuor," alludes to the coins struck at this period, on which we see the figure of a trousered Parthian presenting the emperor with a standard, or, in some cases, a bow. Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm.* vi. 95. Comp. Ovid. *Fast.* v. 593.: "Parthe, refers aquilas, victos quoque porrigis arcus." Propert. iii. 4. 17.: "Tela fugacis equi et braccati militis arcus."

¹ Bunsen, *Rom.* iii. 281., after Piale, maintains that the trophies were suspended, not in the temple of Mars Ultor in the forum of Augustus, but in a chapel erected to that deity in the Capitol, on the ground that the medals represent it as a small circular building, whereas the temple was ample in size and of the ordinary shape. Becker takes the same view. Hoeck supposes that the trophies were first placed in the smaller shrine, and removed at a later period to the temple, which was not actually dedicated upon completion till 752. But surely the representation of the temple on the medal is merely conventional. Dion, who places the temple itself on the Capitol, may be corrected by an easy transposition. The words of Augustus himself are: "Ea autem signa in penetrali quod est in templo Martis Ultoris reposui." *Mon. Ancy.* col. 5.

² *Mon. Ancy.* 5.: "Parthos trium exercituum Romanorum spolia et signa

The history of Armenia, during the few years preceding, is equally obscure with that of Parthia. Antonius had withdrawn from it ingloriously in 721, and Artaxias, Armenia. the son of the unfortunate Artavasdes, being placed on his father's throne, had avenged the injuries of his family by murdering all the Romans in his dominions. His next resource was to throw himself upon the protection of the Parthians. He seems, however, to have made some friendly overtures to Octavius after the death of Antonius, which the victorious triumvir thought fit to dignify with the name of submission.¹ On the murder of Artaxias soon after by his own subjects, Augustus commissioned Tiberius to place his brother Tigranes on the throne, nor did the Parthians, as we have seen, venture to make any opposition. Armenia, we may conclude, fell under the protection of the empire, an event which the imperial medals commemorate with their usual magniloquence.² Whatever, however, was the glory of the exploit, Tiberius, it was remarked, claimed it all as his own, and the prodigies which marked his progress over the field of Philippi stimulated his young ambition with visions of future empire.³

After witnessing the completion of these important affairs Augustus returned, towards the end of 734, to his winter quarters at Samos, where he bestowed the boon of autonomy on the hosts by whom he had been so Augustus returns to Samos.
A. U. 734. frequently entertained. He watched, as we have seen, from this distant retreat the agitation of public feeling

restituere mihi, supplicesque amicitiam pop. Rom. petere coegi." The three disasters may include, perhaps, besides the defeats of 701 and 719, the inglorious retreat of Antonius from the Araxes in 721. Dion, xlix. 44.

¹ Eckhel, *Doct. Numm.* vi. 82.: "Cæsar Divi f. Armenia recepta." (A. U. 725.)

² Eckhel, vi. 98.: "Augustus Armenia capta." Comp. Dion, li. 16., liv. 9; Vell. ii. 94.

³ Dion, liv. 9.: ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φιλίππους αὐτῷ προσελαύνοντι θόρυβος τις ἐκ τοῦ τῆς μάχης χωρίου, ὥς καὶ ἐκ στρατοπέδου ἠκούσθη, καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τῶν βωμῶν, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐν τῷ ταφρεύματι ἰδρυθέντων, αὐτόματον ἀνέλκυψε. Τιβέριος μὲν δὴ ἐκ τούτων ἐγαυροῦτο.

at Rome, where each ensuing consular election had called forth an ungovernable spirit of turbulence ; and the eyes of all sober citizens were turned more and more anxiously towards him, as the man who could alone restore tranquillity and guarantee its continuance. Still, however, while affairs seemed not yet ripe for his august interference, the emperor persisted in holding his court at Samos, transacting business there through the winter, and receiving the homage of long trains of admirers from the remotest parts of India and Scythia. The envoys of Pandion and Porus, Indian kings, professed to have been four years on their travels westward, and apologized for the diminished retinue with which they approached his presence by the losses their number had sustained through fatigue, or in the course of nature.¹ They brought presents of precious stones, and spices, and animals hitherto unknown to Europe. The Romans, says Dion, had never before seen a tiger ; nor, he believes, had the Greeks either.² They presented him also with a man born without arms, but who had learnt to blow the trumpet, to draw the bow, and dart the lance by means of his toes ; *so at least*, says the historian, *I am told, though I see not myself how it be possible*. But the most remarkable part of this embassy was the self-immolation of an Indian sage, whose name perhaps was Zarmanochanus, who followed the court of Augustus to Athens, was there initiated into the mysteries of Ceres, and then, declaring that having lived so long in perfect content he would not expose himself to the chances of a reverse, burnt himself publicly, according to the approved custom of the wise men of his country.³

¹ Dion, liv. 9. ; Strabo, xv. 1. p. 720.

² Comp. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* viii. 25. : " Q. Tuberone, Fabio Max. Coss. Theatri Mareelli dedicatione, tigrin primus omnium Romæ ostendit (Augustus) in cavea mansuefactum (A. U. 743)." This animal was probably the royal Bengal tiger, which may have been unknown to the Romans. They speak so frequently of the Armenian and Hyrcanian tigers, that I can hardly suppose they were unacquainted with the inferior species.

³ Dion, Strabo, *l. c.* Comp. Lucan, iii. 241. :

" Proh quanta est gloria genti

At Athens the proconsul slowly returning was met by accounts from Rome which determined him at last to yield to the importunate solicitations addressed to him from various quarters, and assume the direct nomination of the consuls to be elected by the people. Accordingly our review of the long progress he had made through almost every region of the empire here comes to its conclusion; but a few words are still wanted to complete our survey of his dominions. The first province formally constituted beyond the Adriatic was Macedonia; but the whole extent of Greece Proper, or Achaia as it was denominated by the Romans, together with the islands around its coast, had been reduced under their sway for more than a hundred years, though the nature of its government was not perhaps very accurately defined. It is probable that Achaia was not made a province before Julius Cæsar, nor even then is it easy to determine from the confused statement of the geographer Strabo exactly what its limits were.¹ It is still a question whether, according to the general opinion, Thessaly, Ætolia, Acarnania, and certain parts of Epirus were included in Achaia, or belonged more properly to Macedonia. Both those provinces were surrendered by Augustus to the government of the senate; and such being the case, it seems not impossible that the limits between them were either not accurately defined or varied from time to time.² They both con-

Injecisse manum fatis, vitæque repletos

Quod superest donasse Deis."

Calanus had made a similar exhibition before Alexander; but he was old and infirm. See Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* vii. 3. The name of Zarmanochanus is spelt in various ways. I retain this orthography from its similarity to other Indian names as Grecized, such as Forticanus, Musicanus, Oxycanus, Assacanus. The philosopher came from Bargosa (Baroche) on the western coast of India.

¹ Becker (Marquardt), *Röm. Alterth.* iii. 1. 121., refers to a recent treatise by C. F. Hermann, in which he comes to the conclusion that this organization did not take place till the time of Augustus. He inclines however himself to an earlier date.

² Achaia was made senatorial in 727, again resumed, in conjunction with Macedonia, as imperial, in 739. At a later period it was again transferred to the senate by the emperor Claudius. Becker, p. 128.

tinued to enjoy uninterrupted tranquillity ; and if the population of Achaia dwindled with the decay of commerce and the loss of independence, the constant resort thither from all parts of the world of the curious in antiquities and learning, the admirers of its historic glory, and believers in the inspiration of its hallowed soil, continued to maintain at least a brilliant reflection of its ancient wealth and splendour. The legions which had recently controlled Macedonia were removed to the turbulent frontier of Thrace, Mœsia, and Pannonia.

The district of Illyricum, which Cæsar had held together with both the Gauls, was confined in his time to a narrow strip of land on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, from the Istrian peninsula to the river Drilon, a rude and barren tract, as it has ever been, but important in a military sense, as the outwork of the great central citadel of Italy. The Romans in this region had been brought, in the usual course, into more and more frequent collision with the half-reclaimed natives themselves, and with their wholly barbarous neighbours, the Dalmatians, Iapodes, and Pannonians. Augustus himself, with his lieutenants Pollio and Agrippa, had made Illyricum a field for the martial training of his fresh conscripts. In the course of a few years the province assumed grander dimensions, the Dalmatians were incorporated in it, the Iapodes were subjugated on the fall of their fortress Metulum, and the Roman arms were advanced as far as Siscia, a fastness of the Pannonians on the waters of the Save. For a moment Augustus seems to have fancied his work there accomplished, and to have offered the pacified province to the administration of the senate ; but on the occurrence of disturbances within, and threats of aggression from without, he renounced this intention as premature, and appointed two legions, under a commander of his own choice, to watch over its security. But events of considerable gravity and importance, which presently occurred in these regions, will again draw our attention to the Save, and even to the Danube, to Rhætia and Vindelicia, to Noricum and Pannonia.

So far and wide, says an historian under the empire, did the Romans carry their arms around the circuit of the terrestrial globe, that the student of their affairs may trace therein the fortunes, not of a single nation,

Italy.

*but of all mankind.*¹ And so this faint outline of their political relations, reduced within the limits of a single chapter, has brought us in contact with the mines of Asturia and the looms of India, the painted Britons, and the sunburnt Ethiopians, the languid decrepitude of Greece, and the precocious aspirations of Gaul and Spain. All these various and discordant nationalities were bound together by the moral sentiment of a common dependence on a stronger, an abler, and a wiser people than themselves, who swayed them, from the sacred soil of Italy, the centre of their common universe, the heart of their whole animated system. This moral connexion was represented outwardly to the eye by the long lines of military road, branching from the centre of Italy herself, from the golden milestone in the forum at Rome.² Within the bounds of Italy indeed, the desolation of the social war, the massacres of Marius and Sulla, the plantation of colonies, many times repeated, had tended to obliterate every national distinction, and to assimilate the population of the whole peninsula to a single type. The same process which was in rapid progress throughout the provinces, was already almost consummated in the sovereign territory. The ground was cleared for the completion of the work of fusion, and in Augustus the man was found who had the skill and energy to effect it. From an early period the name of Italy had been popularly attached to the whole region south of the Alps, though politically it had been divided into Gallia Cisalpina in the north, and Italia Proper in the south.³ Possibly

¹ Florus, *procem. lib. i.*: "Ita late ubique per orbem terrarum arma circumtulit, ut qui res ejus legunt, non unius populi, sed generis humani fata discant."

² Hoeck, *Röm. Gesch.* i. 386. The "milliare aureum," it may be observed, was not properly a milestone, though popularly so denominated. The roads might be said to commence at the forum, but the measured miles began not at the centre, but at the gates of the city.

³ Polybius, ii. 14., speaks of Italy as the whole region within the Alps;

the popular use of this common name was a tradition from times anterior to the first Gallic invasion. But Italy within the Rubicon had become entirely Roman, and recently the Gauls also on either side the Po had received the franchise of the City. There remained, therefore, no substantial distinction between any portions of the whole country, and Augustus acted in harmony with the instinct of the times when he formally pronounced the Var the boundary of Italy and Gaul.¹ This favoured tract was exempted from the sway of a proconsul, whose imperium in the provinces was a symbol of conquest and domination. The commander of an army so near to Rome might have imperilled the security of the emperor. It was governed by the civil officers of its own colonies and municipalities; and was divided for administrative purposes into eleven regions or circles.² With the respective limits of these we are not accurately acquainted, but we may presume they regarded in little more than name the old and almost forgotten landmarks of communities and races.³

In our review of the provinces of the empire the two considerable islands of Sardinia and Corsica have well nigh escaped our notice. Isolated in their position, Sardinia and Corsica, they were, in fact, not less exceptional in their

but, as a Greek, his use of such terms may be geographical rather than political.

¹ Strabo, v. 1.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* iii. 6.; Lucan, i. 404. Nieæra, lying east of the Var, is assigned by Pliny and Ptolemy to Italy. Mela, however, and Stephanus give it to Gaul, as a Massilian colony. Ukert, ii. 2. 431.

² The eleven regions of Italy were Transpadana, Venetia, Liguria, Cispadana, Etruria, Umbria, Picenum, Samnium, Campania, Lucania, and Apulia. Becker, p. 61., ventures to assign the exact limits of each.

³ Ancient writers have illustrated the shape of Italy by various fanciful similitudes. Polybius likened it to a mathematical triangle, Pliny to an elongated oak-leaf. Lucan more judiciously fixes his eye on the dorsal ridge of the mountains that permeate it; and this, if we were to indulge in such fancies as the foregoing, we might compare to the sinuosities of a monstrous serpent, whose head is in Istria, whose arched and crested neck is represented by the Alps, his body by the Apennines, and his tail by the waving curve of Lucania and Bruttium.

character. Near as they were to the coast of the continent, —the latter being within sight of Populonium and even of Liguria,—to the great Etruscan cities of antiquity, and even to Rome herself, these islands enjoyed none of the fruits of Italian civilization, and remained, in the time of Augustus, as they have continued ever since, dark spots of barbarism on the skirts of opulence and refinement. The northern island, indeed, was rugged and wild, and covered with impenetrable forests, and even under the empire was made a hunting field for slaves of the lowest and rudest character. Sardinia, more inviting in appearance, and adapted for the production of grain, which it sent in large quantities to Italy, was afflicted by a pestilential miasma which its possessors had never science or energy to overcome. Both were placed under the rule of the senate, as secure, and, at least from their weakness, peaceable. They were used as places of banishment for political exiles: the philosopher Seneca passed eight years of solitude and reflection in the mountains of Corsica;¹ and when four thousand freedmen of Rome, *infected with the superstition of the Jews*, were transported to Sardinia, it was observed that if they all perished of the fever of the country the loss would be of little importance.²

Senec. *Cons. ad Helv.* 6.

Tac *Ann.* ii. 85.: “Si ob gravitatem cœli interissent vile damnum.”

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE CÆSAREAN FAMILY.—JULIA, DAUGHTER OF AUGUSTUS, BY SCRIBONIA, MARRIED TO MARCELLUS, SON OF OCTAVIA.—HIGH PROMISE AND EARLY DEATH OF MARCELLUS.—JULIA UNITED TO AGRIPPA.—AUGUSTUS RECEIVES THE TRIBUNITIAN AND THE CONSULAR POWERS.—AGRIPPA IS RAISED TO A PARTICIPATION IN THE FORMER.—PREFECTURE OF MANNERS.—REVISION OF THE SENATE.—SECULAR GAMES.—PREFECTURE OF THE CITY.—CONDUCT AND CHARACTER OF MÆCENAS.—AUGUSTUS IN GAUL, AND AGRIPPA IN THE EAST.—CONQUEST OF RHÆTIA AND VINDELICIA BY TIBERIUS AND DRUSUS, STEP-SONS OF AUGUSTUS.—TIBERIUS CONSUL IN 741.—AUGUSTUS AND AGRIPPA RETURN TO ROME.—AUGUSTUS CHIEF PONTIFF.—CAMPAIGN OF AGRIPPA AGAINST THE PANNONIANS.—HIS ILLNESS AND DEATH.—CHARACTER OF AGRIPPA. A. U. 729-742. B. C. 25-12.

THE importance which began, even from their tenderest years, to attach to the members of the imperial family, attested from an early period the direction of the revolution

The Cæsarean family. Influence of Livia.

which was in progress. It was at the commencement of the year 716 that Augustus married Livia, the last of the four consorts with whom, in his brief career, he had already connected himself. Livia was at this time extremely young, but she had borne one son to her first husband Tiberius, four years before, and was already six months with child when led to his home by her second. She was again delivered of a male child in due season, which was acknowledged equally with its elder brother by Tiberius, though the ardour of her lover's passion, and the fact that her husband had been compelled to resign her to him, gave rise to a suspicion that the child was really the

offspring of Augustus himself.¹ However this might be, the reputed father, who had acquiesced with courtier-like facility in the loss of his wife, continued on the best terms with his successor, and at his death, four years afterwards, recommended both the children to his guardianship. Livia herself, the sport of these caprices, was even at the date of her second marriage little more than a child. It is hardly credible that she was only twelve years of age at the birth of her eldest son Tiberius, but at latest she was not more than twenty when she became the consort of Octavius.² But while her personal charms were thus in their first bloom, her understanding was, perhaps, already mature. She was a daughter of the Claudian house, the pride and abilities of which were the common inheritance of both males and females.³ She had been united for four years to a man of eminence, under guidance of whose experience she had shared the vicissitudes of civil war, and had fled with him before her future husband on the failure of the enterprise of Perusia. The facility with which she had been transferred from the guardianship of one political chief to that of another might give her an impressive lesson on the instability of female influence. In her second home she directed all her arts to securing her position, and became, perhaps, in no long course of time, as consummate a dissembler and intriguer as Octavius himself. While, indeed, she seconded him in his efforts to cajole the Roman people, she was engaged, not less successfully, in cajoling him. Her elegant manners, in which she was reputed to exceed the narrow limits allowed by fashion and opinion to the Roman

¹ Suetonius, *Claud.* 1.: "Drusum Livia, quum Augusto gravida nupsisset, intra mensem tertium peperit; fuitque suspicio, ex vitrico per adulterii consuetudinem procreatum. Statim certe vulgatus est versus: *Τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσι καὶ τρίμηνα παῖδια.*" Compare Suetonius, *Oct.* 62., *Tib.* 4.; Dion, xlviii. 44.

² Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xiv. 8.) places her birth A. U. 700; Dion (lviii. 2.) in 696.

³ Livia was daughter of M. Livius Drusus Claudianus, a Claudius adopted into the Livian gens. Her children were accordingly Claudii by actual descent on both sides

matrons, proved no less fascinating to him than her beauty.¹ Her intellect was undoubtedly of a high order, and, when her personal charms failed to enchain his roving inclinations, she was content with the influence she still continued to exercise over his understanding.² While she connived at his amusements she became the confidante of his policy, and the sway she acquired over him in the first transports of courtship she retained without change or interruption to the day of his death. But Livia was denied the good fortune of bearing her husband a child; and there were objects still nearer to his natural affections than her offspring by another man, though bred up under his own eye and guardianship.³

Scribonia, during the short time she had been permitted to share the home of the triumvir, had proved her fertility by the birth of one daughter, and might, perhaps, have surrounded the emperor's throne with a numerous progeny of sons. From this blessing, however, in which his ambition was so deeply interested, he excluded himself by his wanton repudiation of her. When the prospect of having heirs by Livia began to fail, the daughter of Scribonia, to whom he had given the name of Julia, acquired the ascendant in his affections.⁴ But a woman could have no political position in Rome: the father must be content to transfer to the son-in-law of his choice the interest he felt in his own offspring. It was the natural policy of Augustus, in order to avoid domestic jeal-

Julia, daughter
of Augustus,
by Scribonia,
married to
Marcellus, son
of Octavia.

¹ Tac. *Ann.* v. 1.: "Sanctitate domus priscum ad morem, comis ultra quam antiquis fœminis probatum."

² Suet. *Oct.* 71. Tacitus calls her "uxor facilis."

³ In the hope of having sons of his own, and when this hope failed, for the sake of his grandsons by Julia, Augustus refrained from formally adopting the young Neros. Tiberius, as we shall see, acquired adoption at a much later period. Suet. *Oct.* 65., *Tib.* 15.

⁴ Julia, the daughter of Augustus by Scribonia, was born in the year 715, and her mother received her bill of divorce the same day. Dion. xlviii. 34.: τῷ δ' ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ Λούκιός τε Μάρκιος καὶ Γάιος Σεβίνοις ὑπάτευσαν, . . . ὁ Καῖσαρ . . . ἤδη καὶ τῆς Λιουίας ἐρᾶν ἤρχετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Σκριβωνίαν τεκοῖσάν οἱ θυγάτριον ἀπεπέμψατο αὐθήμερον.

ousies, to seek a husband for his child within the sphere of his own family, and in Marcellus, the son of his sister Octavia, he found one both suitable in years and promising in disposition. He had shown strong marks of affection for his sister, whose force of character, together with a superiority of two years in age, had exercised great influence over him. For her sake he had spared the lives of the spurious children of Cleopatra, and had continued to treat with the consideration due to their rank those she had herself borne to his rival. But she had had a son and daughter also by an earlier marriage, and these had on every account a prior claim to his regard. On his return from Egypt he united Marcella, just then of marriageable age, to his friend Agrippa; but for the young Marcellus he destined at an early date the hand of his beloved Julia. In the year A. U. 729.
729 the one had completed only seventeen, the B. C. 25.
other not more than fourteen years of age. But the weakness of his own health, lately shaken by a dangerous sickness, urged him to hasten an union to which he looked for the perpetuation of his family, and the fortunes so wonderfully linked with it; and being himself still detained beyond the sea, he deputed Agrippa to conduct the ceremonial. Augustus had already raised the partner in his victories to an elevation at which it was scarcely prudent to set any limit to his ambitious aspirations. The successive consulships to which he had been advanced in 725 and 726, were regarded by the Romans as an indication that he had outstepped the sphere of a private citizen. In his Spanish campaigns Augustus had divided with him the command of the army, and shared the prætorian tent. In 729, when his dwelling was consumed by an accidental fire, he was invited to take up his residence in the emperor's mansion on the Palatine, which was already beginning to assume the name and character of the Palace.¹ And now, when the daughter of the emperor was about to be given in marriage, he was summoned to take the place, not indeed of the bridegroom, which, with its pledge

¹ Dion, liii. 1. 27.

of favour and prospect of inheritance, he might perhaps have justly demanded, but of the father of the bride. While he had served his patron by land and sea, in peace and in war, with signal fidelity for so many years, he had made it, perhaps, apparent that at least he would serve no other, and that he regarded himself as debarred from the first place in the state only by the existence of one precarious life. The rumour that Agrippa had counselled the restoration of the republic, and was himself at heart a true republican, may have arisen from hints dropped by himself to remind Augustus that his claims could not safely be disregarded.¹

But neither these rumours, nor the splendour of his shows, and utility of the manifold works he designed and executed, Marcellus enjoys more popularity than Agrippa. availed to obtain for Agrippa any peculiar popularity with the citizens. Born of obscure, and perhaps vulgar, extraction, he could never perhaps shake off the manner of the plebeian client, and invest himself with the easy address of the noble Roman which won all hearts in an Antonius or an Octavius. His countenance, as it is exhibited on the medals, was stern and rigid, expressive of grave thought and inflexible will, but destitute of all the graces of feature and expression which secured the popular triumphs of a Cæsar or a Pompeius. It is probable that he was naturally reserved and haughty, and that the great but qualified successes of his career rendered him still more so. On the other hand, the regard entertained by the Romans for the noble Octavia descended in full measure upon her son, while he was yet too young to exhibit any character at all. Already, in the year 719, the triumvir had elevated his sister to an equal share in every honour and privilege assigned to his consort Livia. As time passed on, he demanded of the senate that her son Marcellus should have leave to anticipate by ten years the age for soliciting the consulship. He caused him to be chosen ædile for 731, when yet in his twentieth year. At the same time he placed the young Tiberius, twelve months his junior, in the quæstorship,

¹ Velleius (ii. 79.) describes him as "parendi, sed uni, scientissimus."

to allay, perhaps, the jealousy of Livia.¹ But it was not so easy to satisfy Agrippa, who seems to have resented every such act of favour as an indication of the emperor's intention to raise his youthful relative to a speedy participation in his own pre-eminence.

In the year 731 Augustus had returned to Rome, and was exercising his eleventh consulship.² Struck down by a second illness, more alarming than the first, we have seen how adroitly he contrived, in the very crisis of his disorder, to flatter the hopes of the friend whom he esteemed, without blighting the fond anticipations of the nephew, for whom, perhaps, he felt the deeper affection.³ When, shortly afterwards, the politic dissembler rose from his couch, he had refrained from committing himself beyond return with either of the two expectants; nevertheless Marcellus could not dissemble his disappointment and jealousy, nor perhaps did Agrippa abstain from resenting his youthful petulance with undisguised ill-humour. Augustus was anxious to separate them. With this view he offered Agrippa a splendid mission in the East, for the regulation of the affairs of one half of the empire. Agrippa accepted the charge; but he went in person no farther than Lesbos, committing to the care of his

Sickness of Augustus.

A. U. 731.

B. C. 23.

Conduct of Agrippa.

¹ Dion's statement (liii. 28.) is that Marcellus had leave to become consul ten years before the proper age, and Tiberius to anticipate by five years the career of honours. Now in strictness the quæstorian age was thirty, that of the ædile thirty-two. Marcellus therefore became ædile, and might have become consul, twelve years, and Tiberius commenced his career not five but eleven years, before the time. If we are to credit the historian, we must suppose, as is not indeed improbable, that the decrees in question were merely conventional, implying generally a release from the *Lex Annalis*, which long before this time had ceased to be much regarded.

² This was the last of the series of continuous consulships which Augustus had held, with a single interruption (A. U. 722) since 721. He assumed it, we may presume, this year in order to introduce the young scions of his house into public life with more solemnity. His assumption in this year also of the tribunitian power may have induced him to waive for the future the now inferior dignity of the consulship, which he accepted only once subsequently.

³ Dion, liii. 30.; Suet. *Oct.* 28. See above, chapter xxx.

legates the execution of the orders he issued from thence. This conduct may have been interpreted by some as a token of his moderation; but to others it may have seemed an indication of offended pride, and of a suspicion that his mission was the result of the emperor's distrust rather than of his confidence.¹ Agrippa belongs to the number of men of high mark and estimation, who have been judged worthy of reigning because, perhaps, they have never actually reigned. Little as his personal character appears in the history we have received of his exploits, his behaviour on this occasion is important from the element of weakness it seems to disclose, and the tokens it apparently gives of moroseness and selfishness, which, had he ever succeeded to power, might have rendered him a coward and a tyrant. We shall presently witness a conspicuous example of a similar disposition, in which a fair renown for political ability was overcast by the misfortune of inheriting an empire.

The emperor's recovery from his recent illness seems to have been slow and dubious. During the weary hours of convalescence the pressure of public affairs made itself doubly felt, and there may perhaps be some foundation for the notion to which Suetonius refers, that at this period he meditated, for the second time, the surrender of his power.² But with returning strength and spirits any such ideas quickly

Recovery of Augustus. He accepts the tribunitian power.

A. U. 731.
B. C. 23.

¹ Dion says: οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μάλλον μετρίᾳ-ζων ἐκεῖσε μὲν τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἐπεμψε. Suetonius also mentions it as an instance of Agrippa's forbearance: "Quum . . . quod Marellus sibi anteferebatur, Mytilenas se, relictis omnibus, contulisset," Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 45., mentions, among the misfortunes of Augustus, "pudendam Agrippæ ablegationem." Velleius, ii. 93., says of him: "Qui sub specie ministeriorum principum profectus in Asiam, ut fama loquitur, ob tacitas eum Marellus offensiones præsentem se subduxerat tempori." Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 2., expresses the opinion common in the East, that Agrippa was associated in the empire with Augustus: ὥστε δύο τούτων τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν διεπόντων, Καίσαρος καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Ἀγρίππα. Perhaps it was supposed that a division was made between them, as between the triumvirs. Frandsen's *Agrippa*, p. 45.

² Suet. *Oct.* 28.: referred to in chapter xxx.

passed away. The year 731 is memorable in the life of the first princeps from his acceptance of the power of the tribunate, the most important perhaps, in a constitutional point of view, of all his prerogatives; certainly that which above all others stamped the empire of the Romans as a government of the people by the child of the people itself. From henceforth Augustus might regard himself as no longer a military ruler, but a popular leader, and such is the character to which the best of his successors constantly aspired. But the interests of the people could not thus rise without proportionally depressing those of the privileged classes of the state; and from henceforth we must consider the reign of the Roman nobility as actually extinguished.

But, whatever were the feelings with which Augustus regarded this accession to his dignity, and the completion of his work of popular revolution, the anticipations he might form of founding a dynasty of tribunes were suddenly checked by the shock of a terrible domestic calamity. The young ædile was in the midst of his career of office, in which, assisted by the liberality of his father-in-law, he had gratified the citizens with the grandeur of his shows, when towards the end of the summer the fatal malaria of the city marked him for its prey.¹ The same physician, Antonius Musa, who had cured the valetudinarian Augustus of a fever by the bold expedient of a cold-water treatment, failed in repeating the experiment on the younger and stronger patient.² The emperor seems to

Death and funeral obsequies of Marcellus.
A. U. 731.
B. C. 23.

¹ I suppose that as ædile Marcellus would have passed the summer in the city superintending the public festivals; but he died, we are told, at Baïæ. Propert. ii. 16.:

“At nunc invisæ magno cum crimine Baïæ;
Quis Deus in vestra constitit hostis aqua?”

² Dion, liii. 30. Augustus was treated, according to Dion, ψυχρολουσίαις καὶ ψυχροποσίαις. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xix. 8.) adds, “lactucis.” Suet. *Oct.* 81.: “Quia calida fomenta non proderant, frigidis curari coactus, auctore Antonio Musa.” The cold treatment of certain cases of fever is now very commonly used with success, where the patient has strength to bear the violence of the stimulant. In ague-fever it is said that it would be highly in-
ex-

have been much affected by this untoward event.¹ It was not only the loss to him of a favourite child, it was the frustration of a cherished plan, and a stern memento that fortune, which had exalted him so high as her vassal, still retained over him her paramount sovereignty. He caused the body to be honoured with public obsequies, and the ashes laid in the mausoleum of his family. He had erected this monument to his own mortality in his sixth consulship, the very year of his return to Rome and assumption of undisputed power. Hard by the banks of the Tiber, in the grassy meadow where the Roman youths met in athletic and martial exercises, there rose a lofty marble tower with three retiring stages, each of which had its terrace covered with earth and planted with cypresses. These stages were pierced with numerous chambers, destined to receive row within row, and story upon story, the remains of every member of the imperial family, with many thousands of their slaves and freedmen. In the centre of that massive mound the great founder of the empire was to sleep his last sleep, while his statue was ordained to rise conspicuous on its summit, and satiate its everlasting gaze with the view of his beloved city.² Marcellus was the first for whom those lofty portals opened. The people followed his remains with unavailing lamentations, heaping reproaches on the unkindness of the gods, and whispering horrid sus-

pedient. But we do not know the precise nature of either of these two eases. Suetonius says of the illness Augustus suffered in Tarraco, "destillationibus jejinore vitiato."

¹ It was natural that high expectations should be formed of a youth who had such advantages for courting popular favour. Vell. ii. 93.: "Sane, ut aiunt, ingenuarum virtutum lætusque animi et ingenii, fortunæque in quam alebatur capax." Seneca (*Cons. ad Marc.* 2.) expatiates more amply on the same theme.

² There are two passages about the mausoleum of Augustus: Suet. *Oct.* 100., and Strabo, v. p. 256. I think they are sufficient to bear out this description, which I have taken from Dezobry's *Rome au siècle d'Auguste*, i. 426, and his charming restoration of the Campus Martius. Strabo says expressly that there was a statue of Augustus on the summit, and he can hardly have been mistaken. Nevertheless Dezobry contends, from the analogy of similar monuments, that it was probably surmounted by an urn.

picious of the unfair practices of Livia. The season indeed had been unusually fatal: but in these cases the breath of rumour can never be wiped away, and every historian has thought it necessary to record that the guilt of Marcellus's death was imputed at least to the mother of Tiberius.¹ The emperor had the fortitude to pronounce in person the panegyric of his favourite, and dedicated in his name a magnificent theatre in the Campus Martius.² But amidst the vain and perishable memorials of the deceased which Augustus might fondly love to accumulate, he was fortunate in obtaining from the gratitude of Virgil a monument nobler and more durable than stone. The verses on the death of Marcellus, which the author of the *Æneid* inserted in his poem, bear evident marks of a hasty interpolation, and so far corroborate the common belief that they were in fact a later addition. The graceful story of Octavia's fainting at the recital of her darling's praises, and the hopes so cruelly frustrated, crowns with its last ray of interest the head of the noblest of Roman matrons.³

¹ Dion, liii. 33. For the honours paid to Marcellus see Servius on *Æn.* vi. 862.; and comp. Probert. ii. 16.; the *Consol. ad Liviam*, i. 65.; and the celebrated passage in Virgil himself, *Æn.* vi. 872.:

“Quantos ille virum magnam Mavortis ad urbem
Campus aget gemitus, vel quæ Tiberine videbis
Funera cum tumulum præterlabere recentem.”

A rude fragment of the lower story of this mausoleum still remains after many transformations. The explorer passes from a dark alley under a dark doorway, and ascending a dark stair finds himself in a small open amphitheatre. The sepulchre of the illustrious ædile is now dishonoured by the vulgar sports of the bull-ring: “inani munere.”

² Some of the outer columns of the Theatre of Marcellus still remain, and owe their preservation to their having been built in with modern houses. In one of these Niebuhr was lodged during part of his residence in Rome. Servius, on Virgil's phrase (*Æn.* i. 716.) “*pesti devota futura*,” observes, “De oratione Augusti translata locutio quam habuit in translatione funeris Marcelli, eum diceret illum immaturæ *morti* devotum fuisse.” The first book of the *Æneid* must have been written earlier, yet such later insertions were not perhaps uncommon. Horace also has the phrase: “*Devota morti pectora libera*.”

³ Donat. in *Vit. Virgil.* 47.: “Dena scstertia (about 90*l.*) pro singulo versu.” Comp. Servius on *Æn.*, l. c.

Whatever aspirations Livia may have cherished on the death of her husband's son-in-law, it was not to her children in the first instance that the advantage fell. Such Agrippa is required to espouse the widow Julia. of the citizens as had ventured to augur, from the favour with which Augustus had treated him, that it was wished to smooth the way for his succession, had still regarded the pride and ambition of Agrippa as a formidable obstacle to his claims.¹ At this period the imperial autocracy was assuming a more fixed and definite character. Though he declined at the close of this year to resume the consulship which he had held for several years in succession, and though on the occurrence of scarcity and inundations he had firmly refused the dictatorship decreed him by the senate and pressed upon him not without violence by the people, Augustus was not the less intent on shaping the foundations he had himself marked out for his power, and was not unwilling that his countrymen should be led to regard him and his system as the sole pledges of regular government. Without a partner in his power or an heir to his pre-eminence, he seemed to stand isolated and defenceless as a mark to the dagger of the assassin. In fact, the death of Marcellus was speedily followed by renewed attempts on the life of the emperor.² While he withdrew therefore from Rome, that the citizens might feel by renewed experience the need of his presence, he determined to frustrate the designs of his enemies by confirming and perpetuating his authority. On reaching Sicily he desired Agrippa to leave his retreat in Lesbos and meet him. Mæcenas had whispered in his ear that the minister's power was already too great for a subject: he must either raise him to his own rank by marriage with the widow Julia, or contrive to rid himself of

A. U. 732.
B. C. 22.

¹ Vell. ii 93.: "Marcellus quem homines ita, si quid accidisset Cæsari, successorem potentiae ejus arbitrabantur futurum, ut tamen id per M. Agrippam securo ei posse contingere non existimarent."

² The conspiracy of L. Murena and Fanuius Cæpio. Dion, liii. 3.; Vell. ii. 91.; Suet. *Oct.* 19., in the first half of the year 732.

him.¹ Augustus had resolved upon the former alternative. He could not balance, as a measure of prudence, between Livia's striplings and the trusty veteran of Pachynus and Actium. Agrippa was married indeed to Octavia's daughter Marcella; but the expedient of a divorce was obvious and easy, and the mother herself, it was said, was prepared and even anxious to sacrifice her own child to the higher interests of her brother's family.² She had abandoned herself to passionate sorrow on the loss of her son, and had ever since made a parade of her affliction, and refused to admit of any alleviation. Crushed in her own dearest hopes and aspirations, she was alive only to the frustration of those of a rival, and woke once more from her dream of unavailing woe to devise a scheme for the mortification of Livia.³ The result of the interview was that Agrippa was sent to Rome, to carry on the government in the name of Augustus, and to solemnize his nuptials with the emperor's daughter.⁴ He was thus fixed in the eyes of his countrymen in the second place in the commonwealth, and was manifestly designated for admission hereafter, either in his own person or that of his children, to the first.⁵ The ambition of Livia was a second time disappointed.

From this time we must expect to find a veil cast over the domestic transactions of the imperial family. It has become dangerous to divulge to public curiosity

A. U. 733.
B. C. 21.

Uneasy relations between

¹ Dion, liv. 6., makes Mæcenæ say, without circumlocution, *τηλικοῦτον αὐτὸν πεποίηκας, ὥστε ἢ γαμβρόν σου γενέσθαι ἢ φονευθῆναι*.

² Plutarch, *Anton.* 88.; Suetonius, *Oct.* 63.

³ See the description of Octavia's mourning contrasted with that of the magnanimous Livia on a later occasion, by Seneca, *Cons. ad Marc.* 2. The rhetorical turn of the philosopher's pathos is imitated pretty closely by his nephew Lucan in celebrating the sorrows of Cornelia, *Phars.* ix. 109. fol.

⁴ The return of Agrippa to Rome and marriage with Julia took place in the first half of 733. Fischer, *Rœm. Zeittafeln*.

⁵ The precedent was cited on a subsequent occasion. Tac. *Hist.* i. 15.: "D. Augustus sororis filium Marcellum, dein generum Agrippam, . . . in proximo sibi fastigio collocavit. Sed Augustus in domo successorem quæ sivit."

Augustus and Agrippa. the privacy of the palace. The divorced Marcella had borne her husband more than one child ; but of the fruit of this ill-starred marriage we have no further account. She was wedded herself a second time to Julius Antonius, the second son of the triumvir, an union, however, which met with a still more disastrous end than the preceding. For two years Agrippa ruled alone in Rome, while Augustus was abroad in the provinces, an alteration of his sphere of administration which gave additional significance to his reputed association in the empire.¹ About their feelings and outward demeanour towards each other at this period, history is entirely silent. Jealousy there must have been on the one side, pride on the other. Agrippa must have been conscious that he owed his elevation not to predilection, for another had been preferred to him, but to necessity or fear ; and of this consciousness Augustus himself cannot but have been painfully sensible. It seems impossible that the familiarity of their early friendship can have continued under these circumstances ; but whatever were their real feelings, they were mutually careful to give no handle to rumour, and during the ten years their union lasted, with increasing marks of external confidence, there was no whisper of private dissension between them. No sign did Agrippa betray of regret at parting from Marcella ; if Julia was personally distasteful to him, or if the licentiousness for which she was afterwards notorious became apparent during the period of her union with him, he communicated to no one his aversion or resentment. In the ten years which followed, she bore him two sons and as many daughters, and was pregnant of a third son at the time of his death.

¹ Among other significant incidents which seem to imply a virtual equality between the two rulers, may be mentioned the statues of Augustus and himself which Agrippa placed on either side of the entrance to the Pantheon, and the two halls in his palace to which Herod, the king of Judea, gave their names respectively. Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 9. 3. ; *Bell. Jud.* i. 21. 1. Agrippa also erected his own statue together with one of Augustus on the Propylæa at Athens.

Agrippa did not long remain in the exercise of his new authority in Rome. While Augustus was still absent in Asia, the report of renewed disturbances in Gaul, and afterwards in Spain, called him to the opposite quarter of the empire, where he speedily repressed an outbreak of the Cantabrians. It is possible that he may have reached the capital once more before the return of Augustus, towards the end of the year 735.¹ During his absence, however, and, we may suppose, from the want of his firm controlling hand, the turbulence of some ambitious intriguers had brought the government into peril. Egnatius Rufus, the ædile of the year before, had ventured to solicit the consulship, vacant by the emperor's refusal, not at the recommendation of Augustus, but through his popularity with the citizens. Riots and bloodshed ensued, though we are left altogether in ignorance from what quarter they sprang. The actual consul, Sentius Saturninus, acted, we are told, with vigour. He chastised the disturbers of the public peace, and arrested Egnatius and others on a charge of conspiracy against the emperor's life, a charge sufficiently improbable in the absence of the emperor at many hundred miles' distance.²

State of affairs
at Rome during
the absence of
Augustus.

A. U. 735.
B. C. 19.

The treason of Egnatius, indeed, never ripened into act. As with previous conspirators, his nefarious design was discovered, as we are informed, and stifled in the bud. But the time had already arrived when it might be convenient to extinguish a vexatious ambition by the false imputation of a crime. Saturninus refused the invidious privilege which the senate would have thrust upon him, of maintaining an armed guard for his personal security against the disturbers of the

¹ Fischer (*Röm. Zeit.*) supposes that he had returned before the summer, 735, from a passage in Frontinus *de Aquæd.* 10.: "Agrippa cum jam consul tertium fuisset, C. Sentio Q. Lucretio Coss. post annum xiii. quam Juliam deduxerat (scil. ann. 721), Virginem quoque in agro Lucullano collectam Romam perduxit: dies quo primum in urbe responderit V. Id. Jun. invenitur." But there is no reason to suppose from this that he was in Rome at the time.

² Vell. ii. 91.: "Egnatius, aggregatis simillimis sibi, interimere Cæsarem statuit." Comp. Suet. *Oct.* 19.; Dion, liv. 10.

public peace, and distinguished senators were sent to entreat Augustus to resume the consulship which he had already waived. He contented himself, however, with nominating one of the envoys, Q. Lucretius, and shortly afterwards quitted Samos, and reentered Rome, after three years' absence, on the fourth of the Ides of October.¹ The subordination of Agrippa's position to that of his illustrious patron, in general estimation, as well as in outward distinction, is clearly marked in the application of the senate to Augustus alone, notwithstanding the presumed association of the other with him. If the exploits of Agrippa, his love for his country, and even his services in her behalf, might in some respects be compared with those of his imperator, the distinction of the Julian name was confined to Augustus alone; he alone could claim descent from tutelary gods and heroes; Agrippa, by his recent marriage, might become the father of a divine race, but Augustus was himself divine.²

The joy which the Romans had vociferously expressed on the return of Cæsar from Thapsus and Munda, of Octavius himself from Actium and his Asturian battlefields, was again manifested with no less apparent enthusiasm when he regained the city after the bloodless triumphs of his eastern administration.

Enthusiasm of the citizens on the return of Augustus.
A. U. 735.
B. C. 19.

¹ Kalendar. Amiternin. in *Fast. Verulan.* p. 114. ed. Foggin. (Orelli, *Inscr.* ii. 400.) IV. Eid. Oct. August. Lud. in eire. Fer. ex S. C. q. e. d. Imp. Cæs. Aug. ex transmarinis provinciis urbem intravit, araque Fort. Reduei constit. Fischer, *Röem. Zeit.*

² Agrippa seems to have called himself by his *prænomen* and *cognomen*, and allowed the *nomen* of his obscure Vipsanian gens to drop. The lowliness of his origin is constantly put forward by the ancients, as Vell. ii. 127., "novitas familiæ haud obstitit," &c.; and so late a writer as Servius, in *Æn.* viii. 632.: "Agrippa non adeo claro genere ortus." M. Seneca, *Controv.* ii. 12.: "Tanta autem sub divo Augusto libertas fuit ut præpotenti tunc M. Agrippæ non defuerint qui ignobilitatem exprobarent. Vipsanius Agrippa fuerat: Vipsanii nomen, quasi argumentum paternæ humilitatis, sustulerat, et M. Agrippa dicebatur. Quum defenderet reum, fuit accusator, qui dicebat: M. Agrippam et quod medium est. Volebat Vipsanium intelligi." See Frandsen's *Agrippa*, p. 254.

The last two years had been marked by the paralysis of legitimate order in Rome, and had brought back a painful reminiscence of the days of demagogic turbulence, when consuls vied with tribunes in the violation of the laws. A whole generation had passed since the comitia had been dissolved, and the tribes dismissed to their homes without the completion of the business of their meeting, the election of the chief magistrates of the state. Such, it might naturally be remarked, had been the happy effect of lending autocratic authority to the most deserving of the citizens, that the course of law and order had never since been seriously interrupted, even in the midst of wars and revolutions. But no sooner did the emperor quit the helm, than the perils of winds and waves broke out with redoubled fury. The days of Clodius and Milo returned, intrigues were enforced with the hand of violence, fraud was cemented with blood. Checked, perhaps, for a time by the presence of Agrippa, these disturbances had recommenced on his departure from the city, and affairs had come to pass not unlike that in which Pompeius had been invested with the sole consulship for the restoration of the commonwealth. Augustus was now invoked, as Pompeius had been, to accept extraordinary powers for the salvation of the state: but he already possessed the substance, and was satiated with the titles of power. His return to Rome was celebrated, in the fashion of the day, by honorary distinctions, which were not, however, without their significance. An altar was erected to Fortuna Redux, the good genius of the state which had brought her hero home, and the day of his return was marked as a festive anniversary in the calendar.¹ Upon

¹ Dion, liv. 10. Eckhel (vi. 100.) and the numismatists cite medals referring to this circumstance. Similar honours were afterwards paid to Domitian (Martial, viii. 65.), Vespasian, Caracalla, and other emperors. Reimar on *Dion*, l. c. They are referred to by Claudian in the solemn exordium to his "Sixth Consulship of Honorius:"

"Aurea Fortunæ Reduci si templa priores
Ob reditum vovere ducum."

It is curious that this compliment was paid to Honorius, as to Augustus, upon a pretended restoration of the comitial elections:

the 12th of October the feast of the Augustalia was henceforth to be solemnized. But in order to avoid the display of a solemn reception, he was careful to make his entry into the city, as on former occasions, by night.¹ His successes over the Parthians, obtained, as he vaunted, without a blow, by the mere terror of his name, he celebrated in due course by the modest ceremony of an ovation, on which occasion he led his legions on horseback, through the gates of the city under an arch erected in his honour. The temple of Mars the Avenger has been already mentioned, in which the spoils of Parthia and the recaptured standards were suspended, while medals were struck to commemorate the rout of the mail-clad bowmen, and the homage of Phraates.²

It was upon this return to Rome, when the senate and people had repeatedly declared that the wheels of government could not move without the pressure of his guiding hand, that Augustus allowed the cycle of his administrative functions to be completed with the assumption for life of the consular power. Nor must we fail to remark that, at the same time that he thus allowed the sphere of his own powers to be extended, he did not fail to advance his colleague Agrippa to a still nearer equality with himself. He caused him to share with himself the tribunitian power, the same which the most careful of Roman political writers has designated as the highest and most distinctive prerogative of the Cæsar.³ This power, however, he

Augustus accepted the consular power.

A. U. 735.
B. C. 19.

Agrippa raised to participation in the tribunitian power.

"Indigenas habitus nativa Palatia sumunt,
Et patriis plebem castris sociante Quirino
Mars augusta sui renovat suffragia Campi."

¹ Suct. *Oct.* 53. says that this was his usual custom. "Ne quem officii causa inquietaret."

² See above, chapter xxxiv.

³ Tac. *Ann.* iii. 56.: "Id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit . . . M. deinde Agrippam socium ejus potestatis . . . delegit, ne successor in incerto foret." Comp. Dion, liv. 12.: ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἐς τὴν ἀνταρχίαν τρέπον τινὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προήχθη. Serv. on *Æn.* viii. 682.: "M. Agrippa . . . societate Augusti ad summos honores pervenit; nam Tribunus plebis quietissi-

limited in the first instance to a period of five years. About the same time he resumed, in his own person, the censure or prefecture of manners, and proceeded to exercise it by a second lustration of the senate, as well as by the introduction of sumptuary enactments. He proposed, at first, to reduce the chief assembly of the state to its original number of three hundred, but the reclamations of the members themselves, of whom he was about to demand so large a sacrifice, induced him to retain as many as six hundred; indeed, from the difficulty he acknowledged in ensuring the attendance of a sufficient number to transact business, he could hardly have afforded to reduce it lower by one half. With this reduction of its numbers was connected, perhaps, the raising of the census or qualification of the order.¹ This was the emperor's second reform of the senate, and warned, perhaps, by the animosity the first had excited, he secured the aid of Agrippa in the task, and threw a portion of the responsibility upon the senators themselves, selecting himself, in the first instance, thirty of the most distinguished, and requiring these to choose the remainder by a combination of appointment and ballot. Nevertheless he found himself the object of desperate hostility to many of the rejected; and it was on this occasion, we are told, that he deemed it advisable to protect his person with a guard of faithful friends, to wear a coat of mail under his robes, and search every senator who approached him.²

Prefecture of
manners.

A. U. 736.
B. C. 18.

Now followed also the second attempt of Augustus to restore the honours of matrimony by penal legislation, the character and provisions of which have been specified in a preceding chapter. The *leges Juliae* of this epoch included also divers measures, with the particu-

Legislation of
Augustus.

mus fuit.' The writer intends to mark that the tribunate of Agrippa was exercised in perfect accord with the ruling powers of the state, not, as in the old times of the demagogues, in opposition to them.

¹ Dion, liv. 12. 18.; Suet. Oct. 41.

² Suet. Oct. 35., on the authority of Cremutius Cordus, who, however bears the character of a *frondeur*, and is not to be implicitly relied on.

lars of which we are not acquainted, for the regulation of criminal procedure in cases of bribery at elections, exactions in the provinces, and other subjects of administrative reform. With the close of the year 736, the decennial period to which Augustus had insisted on restricting his imperium was about

He accepts the
imperium for
five years.

A. U. 736.

B. C. 18.

to reach its termination. He does not appear to have waited to be pressed to renew it, but pleading the necessity which still existed for the superintendence of his vigilant authority, and apprehensive perhaps of the success of the conspiracies still rife against him, if he suffered himself to be disarmed, he required the senate and people, who certainly exhibited no reluctance in complying, to invest him with it once more, but this time, not for ten, but only for five years.¹

The completion of the cycle of the imperial functions could not be more fitly celebrated than by a revival of the

The Ludi Sæ-
culares.

A. U. 737.

B. C. 17.

solemn festival, which, according to a tradition obscurely floating in the minds of the Romans, was appointed to mark the transition of each succeeding age of the republic. When the Etruscans laid the foundation of a city, the births of the year, it was said, were carefully registered, and with the decease of the last survivor, the first age of the city was supposed to terminate. In a similar way each subsequent age was calculated; but this fanciful definition of the *sæculum* seems to have been soon lost in the more natural and, at the same time, stricter notion of a fixed number of years. Whether, however, the age or century of the early Romans was a hundred or a hundred and ten of their years, or whether it was computed with reference to periods of ten or of twelve months, of ordinary or intercalated years, remains still a mystery, into which it is the less necessary to inquire, inasmuch as the secular games, anterior to the epoch of Augustus, seem to have had little significance, and to have been celebrated with no sort of regularity.² But Augustus determined to seize an

¹ Dion, liii. 16., liv. 12.

² Much has been written upon the mode of computing time to which the

opportunity for inaugurating his rule by a solemn ceremony, and with his usual tact he perceived how impressive the revival of this historic tradition might be made. The Sibylline oracles, searched by his obsequious priests, readily presented the sanction he required; the forms of the ceremonial were investigated by the most learned of his legal antiquarians; and the college of the Quindecimvirs undertook to prescribe the particulars of the observance, and superintend its execution. The ceremony was to occupy three days and nights, and, for some time previous to its commencement, heralds were appointed to traverse the streets of the city and the neighbouring towns, inviting every citizen to attend upon a solemn spectacle *which none of them had ever yet seen, or could ever see again.*¹ The secular games were, indeed, once

secular games should be referred. I will try to compress within the limits of a note the most important points for consideration. We learn from Censorinus (c. 17.) that Valerius Antias, Varro, and Livy make 100 years the period of the sæculum, while Augustus himself and Horace specified 110. The notices we have of the celebration of these games anterior to the time of Augustus are so inconsistent that we must conclude there was no such regular celebration of them at all. The discrepancy, however, in the number of years, as stated to us (100 and 110), may perhaps be accounted for by comparing the ordinary year of Numa, 355 days, with the intercalary years of 377-8 days. Multiplying the first of these numbers by 110, and the second by 100, the results will come sufficiently near to one another to satisfy the conditions of a round number. (I take the hint of this solution from Walckenaer, *Hist. d'Horace*, ii. 269., though I cannot subscribe to the method by which he arrives at still closer results.) But however this may be, succeeding ages soon lost the clue to this synchronism. The emperor Claudius repeated the games A. U. 800, disregarding those of Augustus as irregular. Claudius was disregarded again in his turn by Domitian, who renewed the celebration in 841, anticipating, in his impatience, by six years the period prescribed by Augustus. To the Augustan computation Severus conformed precisely, and repeated the solemnity in 957, after two intervals of 110 years each. Philippus, however, returned once more to the precedent of Claudius in the year of the city 1000. This was the last celebration, though Zosimus, in the year 1067, suggests that the time has arrived for another secular festival, according to the computation of Severus.

¹ Walckenaer's ingenuity has discovered another reason for fixing the age at 110 years, in the law of mortality as deduced from certain French tables. He finds that, in a population of the amount of that of the Roman empire,

more repeated within the lifetime of a large portion of that same generation, but never again, assuredly, on so worthy an occasion, nor, perhaps, with such popular enthusiasm. The ceremonies themselves, peculiar to the occasion, were of the simplest kind, consisting of the distribution of lustral torches, sulphur, and pitch, to the citizens at certain stations, and of wheat, barley, and beans, at another, in which the emperor himself took a prominent part. The Aventine, the Capitoline, and the Palatine hills were paraded by crowds of citizens. Sacrifices were offered for the safety of the state to the chief divinities of the national religion. The game of Troy was enacted, together with other shows, in the circus, and occupied with scenic representations the intervals of sacrifice, and divided the interest of the multitude. The festival concluded with the performance of an ode of praise and thanksgiving in the atrium of Apollo on the Palatine, by a chorus of noble youths and maidens, the auspicious offspring of the holiest marriages, and both of whose parents were living.¹ Such were the rites, it was confidently affirmed, by which Rome had gained the favour of the gods, and secured their protection; and when their due repetition was first discontinued, three ages later, the champions of expiring Paganism beheld in their cessation an omen of the dissolution of the empire, and a not inadequate cause for it.²

By one writer, at least, the name of Agrippa is associated on equal terms with that of Augustus himself, in his account of the secular games, though in the more courtly panegyrics

which he supposes to be four times that of France (28,763,192), there will be at any given time sixty-four individuals aged 105, thirty-two aged 106, sixteen aged 107, eight aged 108, four aged 109, but not one will have arrived at the age of 110. We cannot suppose that the Etruscans had the means of making such an induction as this, nor, probably, the capacity to deduce a law from it.

¹ The nature of the ceremonies may be collected from Horace's *Carm. Sacul.*; Tac. *Ann.* xi. 11.: Zosimus, ii. init. The origin of the festival is narrated by Zosimus and Valerius Max. ii. 4, 5. For a lively description of them, see, besides Walckenaer, Dezobry, *Rome*, &c., ii. 412. foll.

² Zosimus, ii. 7: Τούτου δὲ μὴ φυλαχθέντος ἔδει εἰς τὴν νῦν συνέχουσιν ἡμῖν ἰλθεῖν τὰ πράγματα δυσκλήριον.

of the poets no such union or participation was, perhaps, alluded to.¹ If the antiquarian Censorinus repeated what he had read in the archives and on public monuments, Horace and Ovid reflected, we may suppose, the popular sentiment which persisted with unusual fidelity in confining all its enthusiasm to the good deeds of Augustus alone. That Agrippa, however, had now actually reached a point of elevation at which he could no longer be deputed by his colleague to discharge an office of dependence, appears very clearly in the formal institution at this period of the prefecture of the city. Hitherto, upon every emergency, it was to the faithful energy of Agrippa that the control of the capital, the command of its garrison, the supervision of the disaffected and suspected in its vicinity, had been entrusted. But this was an irregular office which had never yet been incorporated formally in the system of the imperial government. Now, at last, Augustus found it necessary to make it regular and perpetual. The association of Agrippa in so much of the outward show of power, had served, perhaps, to exasperate the remnant of the republicans; intrigues against the life of the emperor became more rife than ever, and permanent machinery might be required for the protection of his august person.² But he did not now depute Agrippa to act as the commander of his own body-guard. He selected in the first place Valerius Messala, the foremost of the citizens in the estimation of his countrymen,

Institution of
the prefecture
of the city.
A. U. 737.
B. C. 17.

¹ Censorinus, c. 17.: "Quintos ludos, C. Furnio, C. Junio Silano Coss. anno dccxxxvii. Cæsar Augustus et Agrippa fecerunt." But Tacitus, Suetonius, Pliny, and Dion mention Augustus only. Compare the *Carmen Sæculare* of Horace, and the allusion in Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 25. Horace's hymn is remarkable as an index to the popular feeling of the time, and shows how far the regard of the Romans for Augustus was removed from the vulgar adulation of later despotisms. The writer never mentions the name of his hero, and only once directly alludes to him as "Clarus Anchisæ Venerisque sanguis," while hardly a line could fail to remind the citizens indirectly of his presumed merits. No monument of antiquity gives us a clearer view of the self-respect of the Roman character, which is, perhaps, the highest idea of religion of which Paganism was capable.

² Dion, liv. 15.: καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἐπιβουλευσαί.

and second to none in rank and the importance of his services. He might hope to gratify the Romans, and disarm their suspicion, by placing in the vanguard of tyranny a man whom they trusted and admired, rather than a creature of his own, such as Mæcenas. The Romans, however, and their master, must have been equally surprised when Messala, after holding the office six days, insisted upon resigning it, pleading, perhaps, his inability to discharge its arduous duties, but allowing it to be understood that he regarded it as hostile to liberty.¹ He was succeeded by Statilius Taurus, whose military distinctions have been already frequently mentioned, and who had been consul with Augustus ten years before. Taurus was now a man of advanced age, but the combined vigour and discretion with which he acquitted himself became a theme of general admiration.²

Among other tokens of incipient monarchy, must here be mentioned the select council which Augustus at this time employed for the handling of state affairs, which he gradually withdrew more and more from the consideration of the assembled senate. The first adoption of such a system is dated from an earlier period; but in the interval he had resided but little in the capital, and it was not, perhaps, till his second return from Asia, and second reform of the senate, that he allowed this privy council to become a distinct engine of his government. The convenience which had first suggested the arrangement became more and more sensibly felt with the decline in the political training of the great body of the nobles, and their growing indifference

¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 11.: "Sumsit ex consularibus qui cocceret servitia et quod civium audacia turbidum, nisi vim metuat: primusque Messala Corvinus eam potestatem, et paucos intra dies finem, accepit, quasi nescius exercendi." The studied mildness with which Tacitus speaks of this office is rather remarkable. Compare Hieron. in Euseb. *Chron.*: "Messala Corvinus primus prae-fectus urbis factus sexto die magistratu se abdicavit, incivilem potestatem esse contestans." This appointment is placed at the commencement of 738, by Frandsen, *Agrippa*, p. 80.

² Tacitus, *l. c.*: "Tum Taurus Statilius, quanquam provecta ætate, egregie toleravit."

to public affairs. Their indisposition to business increased with the consciousness that their interference was not wanted, and gradually every transaction of importance was left to the secret deliberation of the imperial councillors. The reception of foreign kings and envoys, and some other stated ceremonies, still drew the senators together; but the real business of the state soon dropped as completely from their hands, as that of election had slipped from the control of the people.¹

The more prominent Augustus became in the outward titles and actual substance of power, the more did he strive to appear in his habits and demeanour simply the equal of his citizens. He rejected with signs of horror the appellation of Dominus, which awkward flatterers sometimes addressed to him; and once in the theatre, when a player uttered the words, *O just and generous Lord*, and the spectators applied it with acclamations to the emperor, he repressed their flattery with a frown and gesture of impatience, and the next day issued an edict to forbid the use of a term which seemed to imply that the Romans were his slaves.² When consul, he generally traversed the streets on foot, nor at other times did he shut himself up in a close litter. In the senate he rejected, as far as possible, the distinctions of the consular dignity. The fathers were given to understand that he did not wish to be conducted from his door to the curia by a crowd of illustrious attendants, nor would he let them rise from their places when he entered the assembly or quitted it. As he passed along the streets he received petitions with equal affability. The Romans repeated with delight his playful rebuke of a nervous suppliant, whom he likened to a man giving a halfpenny to an elephant. Within

Studious moderation of the emperor's demeanour.

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 35.; Dion, liii. 21. This council was instituted as a floating body, consisting of certain of the chief annual magistrates, and fifteen senators chosen for a period of six months. It was designed originally to prepare measures for the consideration of the larger assembly. Dion refers to the institution under the year 727.

² Suet. *Oct.* 53.; Dion, lv. 12.; but Orosius (vi. 22.) with only the Christian application of the word in view: "Domini appellationem, ut homo, declinavit."

the curia he suffered with patience many harsh attacks. One senator ventured to exclaim, *I do not know what you mean!* another, *I would contradict you, if I might!* Once, on his quitting the assembly in anger at the noisy altercations which were going on, several voices shouted after him, *We ought to be let speak on public affairs!*¹ It must be remarked that, with the loss of personal dignity, such of the senators as did not sink into abject flatterers, too often sought to assert their self-respect by ill-mannered freedoms. Augustus was known to leave the curia precipitately to check the angry retort which they would sometimes have provoked from him. When the fathers were discussing a proposal for appointing some of their body as a guard of honour to the emperor, Antistius Labeo, who was notorious for his blunt humour, growled out, *I for one am not fit to be posted before Cæsar's bed-chamber, for I snore in my sleep.*² It was observed that, when Augustus recommended a candidate for a magistracy, he conducted him always in person through the public places, and solicited votes in his favour: his own vote he gave in his proper tribe, like a private citizen. When he canvassed for a prince of his own family, he was careful to add, *provided he deserves the honour.* He allowed himself to be summoned as a witness before the tribunals, to be examined and interrogated, and abstained, on the trial of a friend, from the formal testimony to his public services which was sanctioned by an invidious custom.³ So great was now his respect for the rights of property, that the assigner of the military colonies suffered the proportions of his forum to be curtailed, rather than trespass upon the limits of private occupiers.⁴ As consul and corrector of manners, Augustus was anxious to exhibit strictness and firmness in the dispensation of justice. His temper was

¹ Suet. Oct. 53, 54.

² Dion, liv. 27. Comp. another story of Labeo, Suet. Oct. 54.; Dion, liv. 15.

³ Suet. Oct. 56.

⁴ Suet. c.: "Forum angustius fecit, non ausus extorquere possessoribus proximas domos." Mon. Ancyr. "privato solo."

not naturally mild, or the infirmities of his health made him irritable, and he sometimes forgot his usual discretion. On one occasion he had brought a charge against a knight for having squandered his patrimony. The accused proved that he had, on the contrary, augmented it. *Well*, replied the emperor, annoyed at his error, *but at least you are living in celibacy in defiance of recent enactments.* The man could reply that, on the contrary, he was married, and was the father of three legitimate children. The inquisitor was silenced; but the accused, not satisfied with his triumph, added aloud, *Cæsar, when next you listen to charges against good citizens, see that your informants themselves are honest men.*¹

The time indeed was not far distant, when the majesty of the emperor, and the sanctity of the tribunitian power, would demand a severe account for freedoms far more innocent than these; but at present, little or no restraint was imposed upon the moroseness of disappointed patriots or place-hunters. The examples of Mæcenas himself, the minister in whom Augustus most confided, might be pleaded in defence of a liberty of speech which must appear offensive and inexcusable to our modern notions. This shrewd adviser was encouraged to keep close watch on his master's hasty and arbitrary temper, and recall him, when requisite, to a better mood. Once when the emperor was presiding at a criminal trial, and was about to sentence to death a number of culprits, Mæcenas, it is said, sought to speak with him in private, but being prevented by the crowd, he tore a leaf from his tablets, wrote hastily upon it, *Up, hangman*, and threw it dexterously into the folds of the emperor's robe. Augustus opened and read the paper and quitted the tribunal without a word.² He was pleased, we are assured, when he received such corrections as these, though we may well believe it was only in certain moods, well understood by those about him, and by certain persons under peculiar relations to him, that such liberties could safely be taken.

Freedom of
Mæcenas as
counsellor to
Augustus.

¹ Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 4.

² Macrob. *l. c.* ; Dion, lv. 7.

The influence indeed which this shrewd adviser exercised upon Augustus, and through him upon public affairs, was strongly characteristic of the circumstances of the period. Mæcenas was a disciple of the school of Balbus and Oppius, Matius and Pansa, the mild and courtly favourites of the elder Cæsar, whose habits and temper had marked a reaction from the rough and bold self-assertion of the men directly preceding them. Cæsar himself, whose early life had been passed in scenes of angry contention, whose associates and opponents had been ever ready with the fierce retort and the rude blow, seems to have taken pleasure in his later years in reposing himself among gentler spirits. From such as these the fashion of forbearance in speech and action had descended upon the public men of the generation before us. The writings of the day present, or at least suggest to us, many pictures of urbanity and delicacy in the transaction of affairs, and as it were a studied desire to put aside the recollections of strife and bloodshed, which must have pressed so importunately on the minds of all. With the closing, indeed, of so many avenues to aspiring ambition, the interests of life were now less absorbing. Men became more indifferent to success, less furious in their rivalry with one another; they could afford to tolerate party differences where party itself led to no political prizes. Between the flatterers of the ruler on the one side and the grumblers on the other, lay this important class of polished triflers; polished and trifling in their outward demeanour, yet for the most part sufficiently in earnest at heart, and resolved to maintain the balance of the state, to control the discontented, who were ready to plunge it into another revolution, and to shame the corrupt and venal, who would have precipitated it into the arms of tyranny. To this class belonged all the greatest statesmen of the day, Messala, Pollio, Taurus perhaps, and Piso, who succeeded Taurus in the prefecture of the city. Such was the temper, and such, we may believe, the views of the high-minded Agrippa. But to these views no man gave such distinct form and expression as

Easiness of
temper cultiva-
ted by the chief
men of the day.

Mæcenas himself, who for many years governed the republic in the truest interests of his master, by quietly removing from his path the opposition which might have stimulated his more selfish passions. By teaching the Romans to be content with the liberties they were yet able to retain and enjoy, he averted the further encroachments of despotism. Mæcenas was not a soldier by profession; nor did he understand the machinery of military governments. At moments when the peace of Italy was seriously threatened, Augustus resorted for its defence to the stronger arm of Agrippa. But when these crises had passed, he gave his confidence once more to the man of policy and sagacity; and with no ostensible post, for he never rose above the equestrian rank, nor filled any public magistracy, Mæcenas was in fact, during a long course of years, the closest and dearest of the emperor's advisers. To the counsels of this minister the Romans ascribed the subtle policy by which Augustus gathered into his single hand the functions of the magistracy and the legislature. If the imperator actually deliberated on resigning his extraordinary powers, it was Mæcenas who was generally believed to have advised his retaining them. The transformation of the ancient system of coordinate municipalities to the modern character of a government emanating from the centre to the extremities, was reputed to be the work of this able administrator; the chief lines at least of such a change were drawn by his hand, and filled in by statesmen of his school in later generations. If we may suppose any difference of opinion on these matters between the minister and his master, we may represent Mæcenas to ourselves as the exponent of progress, Augustus of conservation, the two principles which throughout the reign of the second Cæsar preserved so happy a balance.¹

Mæcenas represents progress, Augustus conservation.

The views of the statesman combined with the natural temper of the man in moulding Mæcenas to habits of life which engaged the curious observation of his contempo-

¹ The traditional idea of the policy of Mæcenas may be supposed to be preserved in the counsels ascribed to him by Dion, lii. 14-40.

Mæcenæ the
first minister of
the empire.

raries, and have always retained their interest with posterity. It is to be remembered that he was the first *minister*, in the modern sense, of the Roman commonwealth; and his deportment, not uncommon, as modern times bear witness, in men of his class, was novel and peculiar in the eyes of a generation born under the free republic. The republican statesman of ancient Rome, an aristocrat by birth, a despot by his military training, was characterized by strong self-assertion, and rude independence of sentiment and manner. He was active, earnest, and busy; he left no moment unoccupied; he rushed from the forum to the camp, from the senate to his study, with marvellous rapidity and unwearied diligence; even the softer hours he allotted to polite conversation had their definite object of exercise and improvement. The last age of the republic brought out in the strongest way the harsher features of this unamiable character. The Romans were hardened by success more than they were softened by refinement. But about their qualities, such as they were, there had been at least no disguise. The consul and emperor never pretended indifference to the honours and advantages of his position. His countrymen, he knew, were proud both of the office and of the men who filled it, and required no concession on his part to any envious feelings on theirs. Believing himself the greatest and noblest of his kind, he gave the world to know it without reserve or delicacy. But with the advent of the empire all this was destined to undergo a complete change, though it could not arrive immediately. For more than one generation we shall have to remark the angry struggles of the old Roman pride against the dissimulation which circumstances so potently enjoined it. The great nobles of the Augustan age felt instinctively that they had fallen from their high position, and ceased to be the first objects of their countrymen's admiration; but they descended with reluctance from the pedestal of official eminence, and strove to deceive themselves with empty titles and not less empty magnificence. Already a vast revolution was embodied in the fatal apparition of the first subject of the

empire, the animating spirit of its policy, the controller of its laws, and dispenser of its honours, averring entire indifference to all public distinction, lounging carelessly in the forum, amidst the men of business and the men of pleasure, with his robe trailing on the ground, leaning on the arms of two eunuchs, chatting with the chance comers of his acquaintance, gazing listlessly at statues and paintings, and basking in the brilliant sun of Italy, or sporting in song and epigram with the wits and poets of the day.¹

Political influence of Mæcenas as a patron of literature.

How seductive must have been the fashion thus set by the most prosperous and most popular of politicians! The world moulds itself to the habits of the minister more readily than to those of the sovereign himself; for the eminence of the one seems attainable by duly copying his behaviour, that of the other is altogether beyond the sphere of an ordinary ambition.

Undoubtedly in the manners of Mæcenas there was a mixture of nature and artifice. Under the exterior of careless good humour he concealed real shrewdness, activity, and vigilance; he was fully possessed of all the threads of party intrigue, and was never unprepared, at the fittest moment, to baffle any hostile aspiration.² His far-famed patronage of art and literature was not unalloyed by political motives. The poets whom he caressed, and with whose names his own has become inseparably entwined, were in fact the instruments, perhaps unconsciously, of his system of government; and their encomiums on the person of the most gracious of statesmen, and the glories of his administration, were inspired, if not by his gold and his wine, at least by the charm of his affability and the adroitness of his flattery. The praises lavished on Mæcenas by Virgil, Horace, and Propertius are recorded for all readers; but we know not what were the blandishments by which he engaged or retained them. The same lax philosophy, gilded with the brilliant name of Epicurus, which Cæsar had used to quell the remorse of his followers, when he urged them to trample on the sanctions

¹ Seneca, *Epist.* 114.

² Vell. ii. 88.

which upheld the frame of the republic, was employed by Mæcenas to stifle the yearnings of ambition and the murmurs of discontent. It stimulated activity in the one case, while it served to paralyse it in the other.

The air of easy and almost contemptuous nonchalance which Mæcenas assumed so successfully in public life, stands in curious contrast with the susceptibility he was His domestic chagrins. unable to conceal in the conduct of his domestic affairs. The man who could control the politicians of Rome without an apparent effort, was himself no better than a struggling captive in the hands of an intriguing woman. His wife Terentia, or Terentilla, was celebrated for her beauty and caprices, for the violence of her temper and the powers of her fascinations. From the licentiousness of conduct imputed to her we may suppose that she was unfaithful to him with more than one lover; but the interest she excited in Augustus himself was perhaps peculiarly galling to the uxorious husband, who was unable to resent an injury inflicted by his master. Terentia is supposed to have been sister by adoption to Licinius Murena, who was put to death for a conspiracy against the emperor in the year 732.¹ It was a remarkable instance of the power she exercised over Mæcenas, that she extracted from him the secret of the discovery his agents had made of the plot. Once it is said the angry husband availed himself of the indulgence of the laws to divorce her without a public scandal; but he speedily sued for a reconciliation. His frequent and transient quarrels with her became a topic of general derision. Mæcenas, it was said, married a thousand times, and every time the same woman.² But this inconsistency in the character of the wariest of ministers might be thought too common to deserve remark, were it not worthy of observation as a trait of manners. It would be difficult to discover such an instance of female domination at an earlier period of the republic, while it became a prominent and striking feature in the history of the times which followed.

The establishment of the prefecture of the city released

¹ Dion, liv. 3.; Suet. *Oct.* 66.

² Seneca, *Ep.* 114.

both Augustus and Agrippa from the necessity of keeping watch in the capital, where they found it constantly more difficult to maintain, amidst flatterers and cavillers, the modest reserve they had prescribed to themselves in their intercourse with the citizens. In the year 737 Augustus had adopted the two sons whom Julia had now borne to his son-in-law in order, perhaps, to render his own person more secure against conspirators. The children now received the names of Caius and Lucius Julius Cæsar, names which sufficed of themselves to impress the Romans with the conviction that their bearers were destined to imperial preeminence.¹ Agrippa, satisfied with this mark of confidence, had already betaken himself to the eastern provinces of the empire, while Augustus was preparing again to inspect in person the western. Like Pompeius, the emperor had experienced the difficulty of abiding strictly by his own statutes, swerving neither to partiality, nor severity. If he proposed to quit the helm for a season, there was no lack of pedants to remind the Romans of the celebrated example of Solon, who quitted Athens that his countrymen might try, without fear or favour, the real strength of his institutions. Nor were there wanting busy tongues to whisper that he was disturbed by the observations made at home on his amour with Terentia, and wished to enjoy her

Adoption of
Caius and Lu-
cius, sons of
Agrippa by
Julia.

A. U. 737

B. C. 17.

¹ Caius, Lucius, and occasionally Sextus, are the only prænomens of the Julian family that occur in the *Fasti*. Every gens had its proper prænomens, which it repeated from one generation to another, and abstained not less carefully from others. Thus the *Cornelii* were mostly *Caii*, *Lucii*, and *Publii*; they have no *Titus* or *Quintus*. The *Claudii* have no *Titus* or *Quintus*; the *Æmilii* no *Titus*. The *Quinctii* are always *Titus*, *Lucius*, or *Caius*. It may be interesting to remark how these prænomens bore reference originally to nobility of birth. Thus *Caius* and *Cnæus* = *gnavus*, "well born;" *Titus* and *Lucius* are the Sabine and Etruscan words for "noble." Comp. *Titius*, *Tatius*, on the one hand; on the other *Lucumon*, *Luceres*. *Marcus* = "warrior;" comp. *Manercus*, *Martius*. *Spurius* (see Donaldson's *Varron*. p. 26.) = "high born." *Aulus* is cognate with *Augustus*, &c. = "noble." From *Marcus*, *Lucius*, and *Publius* we have the gentile names *Marcus*, *Lucilius*, and *Publilius*; as from *Quintus*, *Sextus*, and *Decimus* are formed *Quinctius*, *Sextius*, and perhaps *Decius*.

society beyond the reach of curiosity. We may conclude from this surmise, whatever other value it may have, that Mæenas now accompanied his master into the provinces.¹

But in truth the disturbed state of the frontiers was a sufficient motive for this renewed activity. Not only had many of the Alpine tribes rushed again to arms, and harassed the colonists of the Cisalpine, but from beyond the Alps, also, the Pannonians and Norieans had invaded the Istrian peninsula, which now claimed to be a portion of Italy. The Dalmatian tribes were in open insurrection; Macedonia was ravaged by the Mæsan Dentheletæ and Scordisei; the Sarmatians had inundated Thraee; and lastly, the central fortresses of Spain were shaken once more by renewed commotions.² The government, indeed, was not in any quarter taken by surprise. Presidiary cohorts were stationed at every threatened point of attack, and it required no extraordinary effort of their arms to check and overthrow the aggressors in all directions. An irruption, however, of the Germans, who had crossed the Lower Rhine in considerable numbers, was represented as more formidable. Lollius, the imperial legate on that frontier, was defeated with some loss and still more disgrace, for the eagle of the fifth legion was left in possession of the victors.³ Augustus hurried, it is said, across the Alps, with the purpose of marching against them. But while he was advancing northwards, Lollius rallied his troops again, and the Germans thought it prudent to withdraw from a collision with the collected forces of the Empire. Retreating hastily into their own country, they sent hostages for their future tranquillity.

Within the confines of the Gaulish province, however, Augustus found a more fatal enemy than the Usipetes and

Dion, liv. 19.

² Dion, liv. 20.

³ Suet. *Oct.* 23., says the defeat was "majoris infamiae quam detrimenti." Comp. Vell. ii. 97.; Tac. *Ann.* i. 10. The favourable character Horace gives of Lollius, *Od.* iv. 9., is in marked contrast with the imputations of Velleius. We may suspect partiality on the one side as readily as prejudice on the other.

the Sigambri. His own procurator, Licinus, had shaken the fidelity of the Gauls by his monstrous exactions.¹ This man was himself a Gaul by extraction; he had been captured in his childhood, and subsequently manumitted by Julius Cæsar, and, as the freedman of the dictator's heir, Octavius, had acquired by his useful talents the favour and confidence of his patron. Raised successively to various places of trust and profit, he had been promoted at last to the general superintendence of the finances of the imperial province. From Lugdunum, the centre of his administration, he had tyrannized over the whole of Gaul with the insolence of a despot.² He combined, said the wretched provincials, the pride of the Roman with the avarice of the sordid barbarian, and he had no compunction in crushing by his extortions the chiefs of the native nobility. Not only did he exact the legitimate dues with ruthless severity, but imposed additional burdens for the enrichment of himself and his creatures. Such, it was declared, was his unblushing wickedness, that he made the people pay their monthly taxes fourteen times in the year. December, he said, is clearly the tenth, not the twelfth month. I demand the quotas of two months more, which I will call Augusti.³ When at last complaints of this injustice reached the ears of the emperor, he was inclined to sympathize with the oppressed provincials, and ashamed of the confidence he had reposed in a culprit so odious. On reaching Lugdunum, he required his procurator to render an account of his transactions. But Licinus, we are told, finding his position pre-

Iniquitous proceedings of Licinus, the emperor's procurator in Gaul.

A. U. 738.
B. C. 16.

Augustus repairs to Lugdunum.

¹ Dion, liv. 21., calls this man Licinius, but as the freedman of Cæsar it is more probable that he took the gentile name of Julius. On the other hand, the scholiast on Juvenal identifies him with the Licinus cited as an example of enormous wealth by Seneca, Persius, and his author in various places. The reading in Suet. *Oct.* 67. Licinium Enceladum seems to be corrupt.

² Senec. *Ludus in Claud.* 6.: "Lugduni . . . ubi Licinius multos annos regnavit." Seneca might have applied to him the proverb which he reserves for the emperor Claudius: "Gallum in suo sterquilinio plurimum posse."

³ Such seems to be the meaning of Dion, who expresses himself rather confusedly.

carious, invited his master to visit him at his house, and there exposing to his view the hoards he had accumulated, insinuated that all these treasures, extorted from the public enemy, he had amassed for the service of the emperor himself. Augustus acknowledged the policy of the device, and accepted the splendid bribe. Licinus continued to advance in his prosperous career, maintaining himself in favour by the occasional contribution of great sums to public works in Rome, where the basilica of Julius Cæsar was completed principally at this freedman's expense.¹ He acquired the reputation of the richest of Roman upstarts; and when he died, at a great age, after surviving Augustus himself, his marble sepulchre was contrasted, with bitter indignation, with the humble grave of a Cato, and the unsheltered bier of a Pompeius.²

The emperor prolonged his residence in Gaul through the years 739 and 740, and finally completed the arrangements

Augustus prolongs his stay in Gaul.

A. U. 739, 740.

connected with the organization of the province. His system of government required him to divide his time almost equally at home and abroad: he remembered that he was imperator as well as princeps, that he wielded the proconsular power as well as the tribunitian. The position of Gaul, moreover, lying between the hostile zones of Germany and Vindelicia, demanded more than ordinary vigilance. Immense preparations were now in progress for the effective subjugation of both those regions, and for binding the Rhine and Danube together by a chain of Roman outposts. It was from Gaul, the great storehouse of men and

¹ Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 4.; Schol. ad Juven. i. 109.

² Comp. the epigram of Varro Atacinus quoted by the scholiast on Perseus, ii. 36.:

“Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet; et Cato parvo;
Pompeius nullo: quis putet esse Deos?”

The freedmen of the great nobles had already become notorious under the republic for the wealth they had been permitted to accumulate. Such was the case especially with Chrysogonus, Heron, Amphion, Hipparchus, and Demetrius, the freedmen of Sulla, Lucullus, Catulus, Antonius, and Pompeius. Comp. Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 18. But the reign of the freedmen in Rome was yet to come.

material, that the resources for many future campaigns were principally to be drawn. We may believe that the emperor's presence there, together with the attitude assumed by his legions on the frontier, sufficed to keep the Germans in check, and prevent any cooperation from that quarter with the tribes which the Romans were at the same time assailing in the south. The exploits of the lieutenants of Augustus in the western Alps had secured the passes into Gaul, but those which led into Germany and Pannonia were still in the hands of the barbarians, and the communications of Rome with her legions in the valleys of the Save and Danube lay often at the mercy of these unmanageable hordes. The Alps from the Simplon pass to the sources of the Drave were occupied by the Rhætians. Beyond the Inn and the Lake of Constance, the plain which slopes gently towards the Danube was known by the name of Vin-delicia. Styria, the Kammergut of Salzburg, and the southern half of the Austrian Archduchy, belonged to the tribes of Noricum, while the passes between that country and Italy were held by the Carnians. The rich plains of the Cisalpine offered a tempting prey to these hungry mountaineers, and the honour, as well as the security, of Italy demanded their thorough subjugation. Nor was it less important to extinguish the sparks of freedom still visible from the seats of the conquered Gauls. But these rude warriors were not terrified into submission by the memorable chastisement of the Salassi; on the contrary, they were rather exasperated by the treachery which accompanied it, and retorted the cruelty of the conquerors with no less shocking barbarity.

Formidable position of the Rhætians and Vindelicians.

Under these circumstances cause of warfare was never wanting on either side, but the Romans, as usual, pretended that they were provoked to hostilities by intolerable aggressions.¹ The Camuni and Venno-
Campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius in the Eastern Alps.

¹ Dion, liv. 22. : καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ συνήθη πῶς τοῖς οὐκ ἐνσπόνδοις ποιεῖν ἐδόκει, πᾶν δὲ δὴ τὸ ἄρρεν τῶν ἀλισκομένων οὐχ ὅτι τὸ φαινόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς γαστροσίν ἔτι τῶν γυναικῶν ὄν, μαρτίαις τισὶν ἀνευρίσκοντες, ἔφθειρον.

were the first attacked. P. Silius engaged these tribes in 738, and worsted, not them only, but the Noricans and Pannonians also, who had made an incursion into Istria.¹ The year following it was resolved to follow up these successes with method and perseverance. Drusus, the emperor's younger stepson, now in his twenty-third year, took the command of the legions from Silius, overthrew the Rhætians in the Tridentine Alps, traversed the Brenner pass, and defeated the Brenni and Genauni in the valley of the Inn. Whether he made any further progress towards the Danube is not recorded; it is more probable that he turned westward to effect a junction with his brother Tiberius, who had been despatched at the same time from the Rhenish frontier to attack the Vindelicians in the rear. Ascending the valley of the Rhine beyond the frontiers of the Gaulish province, Tiberius had reached the Lake of Constance, and had there launched a flotilla, with which he surprised the enemy in quarters where he least expected to be assailed. He penetrated the gorges of the Upper Rhine and Inn in every direction; and at the conclusion of a brilliant and rapid campaign the two brothers had effected the complete subjugation of the country of the Grisons and the Tyrol.² The permanence of their successes was doubtless assured by the wholesale slaughter or captivity of the wretched people. *Strike once and strike no more*, was the maxim of the Roman imperator; and perhaps the process was merciful even where mercy was least intended. But it is impossible not to marvel at the extraordinary power of the Roman arms, which could thus in a single campaign storm, rifle, and dismantle the great fortress of modern freedom. The free tribes of the eastern Alps appear then for the first time in history only to disappear again for a thousand years; their memory was perpetuated on the monument erected by Augustus, on which he enumerated the names of four and forty conquered nations. A few of the bravest among them have obtained a place in the most martial of Horace's odes,

¹ Dion, liv. 19.; Flor. iv. 12.

² Dion, liv. 22.; Vell. ii. 95.; Strab. iv. 6. p. 206.

and swell the deathless triumph of their twice-fortunate conquerors.¹

Having settled the affairs of Gaul, Augustus made a final progress into Spain, to receive once more the submission of the Cantabrians. Drusus was retained in command of the armies on the Rhine, while Tiberius was despatched to Rome, to assume the consulship for 741. In the following July, the emperor

Augustus returns to Rome.
Tiberius consul.
A. U. 741.
B. C. 13.

himself returned to his capital, amidst the same demonstrations of flattery, which had already greeted him on so many former occasions. Cornelius Balbus, who, at the moment of his arrival being announced, was exhibiting shows in a theatre he had recently erected, pretended that he had sped his return by the auspicious ceremony. Tiberius, as consul, repaid the compliment by demanding his opinion first of the senators. An altar, it was decreed, should be placed in the senate-house, on which incense should be offered for the safety, not of the state, but of its ruler; but this token of respect, the principle of which is recognized under every modern monarchy, was rejected by one who still called himself the first citizen of the Roman republic. The day after his return, which had taken place, according to his usual custom, at night, Augustus saluted the people from the door of his Palatine residence, and then, ascending the capitol, took the laurel wreath from his fasces, and placed it on the knees of Jove's statue. That day the whole Roman people were admitted to the use of the baths gratuitously, and the services of their barbers remunerated from the fiscus. Augustus then convened the senate to receive the account of his proconsular acts; and being himself hoarse from a casual cold, the recital of his victories and his ordinances was made by his quæstor. At this time he determined also the limits of military service, the uncertainty of which had caused some discontent. Twelve years were assigned as the term of prætorian, sixteen of legionary ser-

¹ Horace, *Od.* iv. 4.:

“Videre Rhæti bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem,” &c.

vice.¹ Instead of lands, for which, since the days of Sulla, the veterans had been constantly clamouring, pensions were henceforth to be given in money, an arrangement which was accepted by both the citizens and the soldiers as a mutual compromise. If less splendid than houses and estates, these fixed rewards were of more real value to the recipients, while they relieved the citizens from the constant fear of spoliation, which embittered the glories of each successful campaign.

While Augustus was occupying himself with the affairs of the western provinces, the opposite hemisphere, as we have seen, he had committed to the care of Agrippa. The exigencies of a government so widely divided, especially at a period of transition, when every state was resigning itself, with more or less agitation, to a change from the fitful licentiousness of republican imperators to the systematic despotism of imperial procurators, required the personal superintendence either of the chief of the empire, or of his direct representative, with the same interests as his own. Agrippa quitted the city in the summer of 737, and reached Syria before the winter, accompanied by his consort Julia, or followed by her at a short interval. While engaged in the administration of this province,² he was visited by Herod of Judea, who offered, with protestations of friendship and devotion, to escort him within the frontiers of his own kingdom. This prince, the most consummate adept in flattery of all the dependents of the imperial court, had recently returned from Rome, where he had succeeded in recovering the liberty of Aristobulus and Alexander, his sons by Mariamne, who had been kept there as hostages for his own fidelity. These youths were received by their countrymen with

¹ Dion, liv. 25. A few years afterwards the difficulty of recruiting induced the emperor to increase the pay of the prætorians after sixteen and the legionaries after twenty years' service, by which they were tempted to remain longer under arms. Dion, lv. 23. It would seem from the complaints of the soldiers at a later period (see *Tac. Ann.* i 17.) that this extension of service was made, at least on some stations, compulsory.

² In Syria Agrippa founded the colony of Berytus (Beyrout), and made it a station for two legions, A. U. 739. Strabo, xvi. 2. p. 756.

the strongest marks of affection for the sake of their much-injured mother; nor does Herod himself appear to have entertained any jealousy of them. But they were all the more hateful to Salome and her party, through fear of their influence over their capricious father, by whom they were already treated with the distinction due to their birth, and united in marriage, the one with a daughter of Salome herself, the other with the child of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.¹

Herod led his guest through his new cities Sebaste and Cæsarea, which he had named in honour of Augustus, and displayed to him the magnificence of his build-
ings, as if the most delicate compliment he could pay the Roman potentate was to show himself not afraid to reveal the abundance of his resour-

He visits Judea, and returns to Asia Minor.
A. U. 740.
B. C. 14.

ces. Agrippa in return assured him of his security, and confirmed to his subjects the privileges accorded them by the first Cæsar. The Jews, it would seem, were flattered by the Roman entering their city as an admiring visitor, and sacrificing a hecatomb to their God.² From Judea he returned to Asia Minor for the winter, in order to prepare an expedition for settling the affairs of the kingdom of the Bosphorus. The throne of Mithridates had been seized by a pretended descendant of the great king, who called himself by the Roman name of Scribonius, on his marriage with Dynamis, the widow of its recent occupant Asander. This usurpation was unpalatable to the Romans, and Polemo, king of Pontus, was invited to overthrow it, and assume the sovereignty under their protection. The natives, indeed, speedily ridded themselves of the first of these intruders, but they were reluctant to admit the second, in support of whose pretensions Agrippa sailed in the spring of 740 as far as Sinope. Here he was joined by Herod, whose officious zeal had prompted him to follow his patron with powerful reinforcements. The Bosphorus now submitted, and received Asander. Agrippa had no

Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xvi. 1, 2.

² Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xvi. 2. 1.: ἦγεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμῶν . . . Ἀγρίππας δὲ καὶ τῷ Θεῷ μὲν ἐκατόμβην κατέθυσεν.

occasion to proceed farther. He returned through the states of Asia Minor, still accompanied by Herod, who seems to have feared to lose sight of him, and listened at Ephesus to the complaints of the Jewish residents, who resented the desecration of their sabbaths and holidays, and not less the robbery of the tribute they annually sent to the temple of Jerusalem. Among other favours they now received was the important boon of exemption from service as auxiliaries to the legions, a privilege conceded to a few only of the most fortunate communities, and to no other entire nation but their own. So early did this people manifest their aversion to the use of arms, which has been disregarded even in our own times only by the most despotic of rulers.¹

But Agrippa, notwithstanding the kindness he exhibited to his favourites, could manifest, it would seem, no slight

Harsh treatment of the people of Ilium.

capriciousness, when provoked, however unreasonably. The story of his treatment of the people of Ilium may be taken, at least, in illustration of the wanton abuses of power too common among the Roman commanders in the provinces. Julia, it seems, chose to bathe in the Scamander, a mountain stream, which, as Homer long before had signalized, was liable to the most sudden and violent rises after rain. The delicate Roman lady with difficulty escaped from the waves which had well-nigh overwhelmed the hero Achilles. The Ilians, who were not more prepared for the arrival of the princess than for the sudden inundation of their river, were surely blameless in the matter; but Agrippa thought fit to impose upon them, for their imputed neglect, a fine of a hundred thousand drachmas. The intercession, however, of Herod availed, we are told, in their behalf.²

In 741 Agrippa was recalled to Rome, after a four years' absence, or as the Orientals themselves understood it, after

Agrippa returns to Rome, and declines a triumph.

A. U. 741.
B. C. 13.

having exercised imperial power for a period of ten years, counting from his first mission in 731. At Rome he met Augustus, who had returned about the same time. During his absence in the

¹ Dion, liv. 24.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xvi. 2. 2.

² Nicolaus Damasc. ed. Orell. p. 8. Frandsen's *Agrippa*, p. 90.

East the senate had decreed him a triumph, together with a supplication. The triumph Agrippa declined; but it may be a question whether he thus meant to acknowledge that he was only the lieutenant of the imperator, or whether, as admitted to a participation in empire itself, he regarded such an honour as beneath his acceptance. Thus Augustus allowed several of his lieutenants to triumph, but never condescended to triumph himself after receiving the imperial powers.¹ Whatever was Agrippa's motive, the emperor seems to have been well satisfied with his behaviour, and desired him to resume the tribunitian power for a second five years' term. Nevertheless he could not be at ease in Rome, where Tiberius, in whom he saw a formidable rival, was now consul. It is probable, moreover, that he was annoyed by the loose conduct of Julia, whose dissolute manners had become already notorious. He could not risk offending Augustus by repudiating his daughter, but he was too proud to connive at irregularities committed under his own eyes. Before the end of the year he quitted the city once more for Pannonia, where serious disturbances had again broken out.²

A. U. 742.
B. C. 12.

The year which followed forms an important epoch in the life of Augustus. It beheld his elevation to the chief pontificate, the last of the great offices of the republic which remained to complete the cycle of his functions as monarch of Rome. At the same time it left him alone in the possession of all their honours and burdens. The death of Lepidus removed his scruples against wresting the sacred office from a living occupant, how ever despicable, and early in 742 he became formally invested with the direction of the national rites, which he had long vir-

Augustus becomes chief pontiff on the death of Lepidus.

¹ All authorities agree that the powers deputed to Agrippa in the provinces were in some respect greater than those of any mere imperial legate. Dion, liv. 28., says expressly, *μεῖζον αὐτῷ τῶν ἐκασταχόθι ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρχόντων ἰσχύσαι ἐπιτρέψας*.

² Dion, liv. 28. He went to Pannonia, Dion says, with greater powers than any Roman officer had ever exercised abroad before him.

tually exercised.¹ Meanwhile Agrippa had crossed the Adriatic, and proceeded with undiminished energy, to attack the Pannonians, though in the depth of winter. The barbarians, surprised at the suddenness of the assault, made speedy submission, which seems to have been accepted without any solid guarantees. Agrippa returned to Italy without delay; but he fell sick while on his journey, and Augustus, who hastened from Rome to Campania to meet him, found him already dead.² He conveyed the body himself into the city, and pronounced over it a funeral oration in the forum, with a curtain drawn before him, because the eyes of the pontiff might not rest upon a corpse.³ The honoured remains were then consumed in the Campus Martius, and the ceremonies observed on the occasion were carefully noted as a precedent for the obsequies of the emperor. The ashes were laid up, not in the tomb which Agrippa had designed for himself, but in the mausoleum of Augustus, which thus opened the second time for his second son-in-law.⁴ Whatever jealousy may at times have existed between the two confederates (and it seems impossible but that the sharing of their prize must have caused some heart-burning between them), it was now buried in the family sepulchre, and Augustus lived to feel acutely, and to lament sincerely, the loss of so faithful a servant and so useful a colleague. He was not displeased at the accents of popular admiration which pronounced his friend the best man of his generation. From the estates of

¹ On the 6th of March, "prid. non. Mart." Kal. Maff. in Orell. *Inscr.* ii. p. 386.; Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 415.; Seneca, *de Clem.* i. 10.

² Agrippa died probably before the end of March. Augustus received the news of his sickness while celebrating the festival of the Quinquatrus, "xiv.-x. Kal. Apr." Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 809.; Dion, liv. 28.

³ It is curious that the meaning of this ceremonial should have been forgotten in the time of Dion. It is explained by Seneca in relation to a similar scene forty years later. *Cons. ad Marc.* 15.: "Ipse (Tiberius) pro rostris laudavit filium, stetitque in conspectu posito corpore, interjecto tantummodo velamento, quod Pontificis oculos a funere arceret." But Augustus and Tiberius were both pedantic in their observances. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 62.

⁴ "Condidit Agrippam quo te, Mareelle, sepulchro."

Consol. ad Liv. 67.

the deceased, which devolved upon himself, he gratified the citizens with munificent largesses. Agrippa had bequeathed his baths and gardens to the people, whose concern may be estimated perhaps by the report of omens and evil prodigies which were supposed to attend the catastrophe.¹

There can be little to regret in the loss of the funeral panegyric which Augustus pronounced over his friend, which has sunk into the oblivion to which all such pieces have been speedily consigned. It was more re-^{Character of Agrippa.} markable, assuredly, for what it disguised than for what it revealed of his character. Yet it is with reluctance that we let the curtain drop upon a man so eminent in public life, yet so much less known to us than from his public career he deserves. There is no statesman of the best known period of Roman history who filled a large space in the eyes of his countrymen, with whom we are so little acquainted as Agrippa. His energy, bravery, and conduct, both in military and civil affairs, marked him for the first place; yet he was always content with the second. His countenance, as to which existing monuments agree with the description of the ancient writers, was stern and rough, yet his tastes were liberal and elegant.² If we possessed any notices of his private habits and conversation, we might acquire perhaps the key to these apparent inconsistencies: but no anecdote is preserved of his domestic life; we know not what were his relaxations, or who were his companions in them.³ The only saying attrib-

¹ Dion, liv. 29. The district of the Thracian Chersonese (Gallipoli) was a private domain of Agrippa, which he bequeathed along with the rest of his possessions to Augustus. Dion, who mentions the fact, can give no account of how he came by this estate.

² Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 4.) characterizes his countenance by the expressive word "torvitas," and calls him "vir rusticitati propior quam deliciis;" at the same time he remarks the taste he showed in decorating the city, and making the finest works of art accessible to the people. See above, chapter xxviii.

³ The story told by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xiv. 28.), that Cicero, the orator's son, once in a drunken fit threw a cup at him, is hardly an exception to this remark.

uted to him, marks, if genuine, the great spring of his actions, and the bent of his character. *By union, he used to say, small things become great ; by division the greatest fall to pieces.*¹ Such was indeed the maxim of his life ; such the motto which might fitly be inscribed upon his tomb. His whole career was devoted to consolidate the empire of his patron ; and the small beginnings of the two youthful adventurers waxed, through his self-control as much as by his energy, into the widest development of all human history. To this he sacrificed the objects which a more selfish man would alone have regarded. The only token of personal feeling he exhibited was his vexation at being apparently postponed to Marcellus. He resented being made the third person in the empire, but he was satisfied to continue always the second.² He gained his reward in the well-earned honours of his life, and the unanimous voice of posterity in his favour ;³ nor less perhaps in the seasonableness of his death, which removed him at the age of fifty-one from the perils of the second place, and the risk of succeeding to the first.⁴

¹ Seneca, *Epist.* 94. : “ M. Agrippa, vir ingentis animi, qui solus ex his quos civilia bella claros potentesque fecerunt, felix in publicum fuit, dicere solebat, multum se huic sententiæ debere : nam concordia res parvæ crescunt, discordia maximæ dilabuntur.” The sentence is in Sallust’s *Jugurtha*, c. 10.

² Vell. ii. 79. : “ Parendi, sed uni, scientissimus, aliis imperandi cupidus.” ii. 88 : “ Nec minora consequi potuit, sed non tam concupivit.”

³ Seneca, *l. c.* Dion, liv. 29. : ἄριστος τῶν καθ’ αὐτὸν διαφανῶ γενόμενος.

⁴ Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* vii. 6.) supposes him to have been unhappy, and connects his sufferings with the inauspicious phenomenon of his birth : “ In pedes procedere nascentem contra naturam est ; quo argumento eos appellavere Agrippas, ut ægre partos : qualiter M. Agrippam ferunt genitum, unico prope felicitatis exemplo in omnibus ad hunc modum genitis. Quamquam is quoque adversa pedum valetudine, misera juventa, exercitæ ævo inter arma mortisque, ad noxia successu, infelici terris stirpe omni, sed per utrasque Agrippinas maxime, quæ Caium et Domitium Neronem principes genuere, totidem faeces generis humani : præterea brevitate ævi, quinquagesimo uno raptus annus, in tormentis adulteriorum conjugis, socerique prægravi servitio, luisse augurium præposteri natalis existimatus.” The passage of course is only important from the sense it evinces of the misery attendant upon the highest human fortune.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE CHILDREN OF AGRIPPA.—CHARACTER OF THE CLAUDII: TIBERIUS AND DRUSUS.—MARRIAGE OF TIBERIUS AND JULIA.—POLICY OF THE EMPIRE ON THE RHINE AND DANUBE.—EXPEDITION OF DRUSUS IN GERMANY, AND TIBERIUS IN PANNONIA.—DEATH OF DRUSUS, A. U. 745.—EXTENSION OF THE EMPIRE IN THRACE AND MŒSIA.—TIBERIUS INVADES GERMANY.—INTRODUCTION OF CAIUS CÆSAR TO PUBLIC LIFE.—DEATH OF MÆCENAS, AND FINAL REMARKS ON HIS CHARACTER. A. U. 742–747. B. C. 12–7.

AGRIPPA left two sons, Caius and Lucius, who have been already mentioned, of the age of eight and five years respectively, and more than one daughter.¹ A third son was born some months after his decease, ^{The family of Agrippa.} to whom Augustus gave the name of Agrippa Postumus. The favour with which the emperor had distinguished his daughter's offspring, and which he promised to extend to the yet unborn infant, was their natural right as scions of his own race; the claims of Livia's children on his affections, though educated under his guardianship, could not really come in competition with those of Julia. But while the idea of a family succession was assuming consistency in the minds both of Augustus and his subjects, the weight of empire was becoming daily more burdensome to the ruler, who knew not indeed, till he lost Agrippa's support, how overwhelming it

¹ The daughters of Agrippa were Vipsania, the child of his first marriage, when yet a private citizen, with a daughter of Atticus; and by his Cæsarean princess, a Julia and an Agrippina. Of these two, more will be said hereafter. Vipsania soon recedes from the view of public history; but it is remarked of her, that she alone, of all the children of Agrippa, died a natural death, without even a suspicion of violence. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 19.

must prove for a single arm. That untoward event advanced by another step the intrigues of Livia, and this time, at least, without suspicion of a crime. While condoling with her husband on the loss of his trustiest friend, she could now urge the necessity of seeking aid from an active and tried associate, and represent that by the union of her eldest son with his own twice-widowed daughter, he might reconcile the claims of blood with the exigencies of the public weal. Tiberius was, indeed, already married to Vipsania, the daughter of Agrippa by a former consort, and to her he seems to have felt a strong and genuine attachment.¹ Some struggle

Tiberius betrothed to Julia, and despatched before marriage to Pannonia.

A. U. 742.

B. C. 12.

there may have been in his mind between feeling and ambition, but the demands of Augustus and the importunities of his mother, whose influence over him was at all times overwhelming, silenced every scruple. The youngest of Agrippa's children had not yet seen the light when the mother was betrothed to her third husband. But the Pannonians had resumed their arms on the news of their conqueror's death; and in the decent interval which was yet to elapse before the marriage could be completed, Tiberius was directed to conduct a fresh campaign against these inveterate enemies.²

The elder of the emperor's stepsons is destined to occupy a large space on our canvass, and it will be well to take this

Figure and character of Tiberius in early life.

opportunity of presenting ourselves with a sketch of his figure and character, as they appeared to his countrymen in the earlier stages of his career. If we may trust the testimony of a noble sitting statue, discovered in modern times at Piperno, the ancient Privernum, near Terracina, and now lodged in the gallery of the Vati-

¹ Suet. *Tib.* 7.: "Non sine magno angore animi, quum et Agrippinæ (Vipsaniæ) consuetudine teneretur, et Juliæ mores improbaret."

² Vell. ii. 96.: "Mors deinde Agrippæ. . . admovit propius Neronem Cæsari; quippe filia ejus Julia, quæ fuerat Agrippæ nupta, Neroni nupsit. Subinde bellum Pannonicum," &c. Comp. Dion, liv. 31., who speaks of the emperor's reluctance: *Τιβέριον καὶ ἄκον προσέλετο*. The campaign of Tiberius took place in the summer of this year (A. U. 742.).

can,¹ which has been pronounced to be a genuine representation of Tiberius, we must believe that both in face and figure he was eminently handsome, his body and limbs developed in the most admirable proportions, and his countenance regular, animated, and expressive. In accordance with this description the biographer of the Cæsars assures us that he was tall and big of bone, with ample chest and shoulders; it is added that he was left-handed, and such was the firmness of his joints, that he could drive, it is said, his extended finger through a sound apple, and draw blood from a slave's head with a fillip. He was fair in complexion, and the abundance of hair at the back of his head, which he suffered to fall over his shoulders, was reputed to be characteristic of the Claudian family.² The statue, above mentioned, preserves something of a sinister expression in the mouth and eyes; the glance is unquiet and scowling, but it is not impossible that this may be owing to a peculiarity of vision, which enabled him, it is said, to see clearly in twilight on first awaking, though this power did not continue more than a few minutes.³ His gait, we are told, was ungraceful, his head being generally thrown stiffly backward. He was habitually grave and silent, and when he condescended to address his attendants, his words were few, slow, and measured, which gave an unfavourable impression of his temper. Augustus, who did not fail to notice this demeanour, and was feelingly alive to the policy of conciliation, excused it as a fault of manner, rather than of disposition. Pride and reserve, indeed, were the well-known qualities of the Claudii, and in many chiefs of the house they had been known to issue in a gloomy ferocity,

¹ Bunsen's *Rom.*, ii. 2. 69. (account of the Museo Chiaramonti in the Vatican) 492.: "Sitzende statue des Tiberius, von Kolossaler Grösse, gefunden zu Piperno im Jahre 1796. Neu ist der rechte Arm, die linke Hand, der rechte Fuss und der vordere Theil des linken." I have described it myself, I fear imperfectly, from personal recollection. There is another well-known statue of Tiberius in the Louvre.

² Suet. *Tib.* 68.

³ Suet. *l. c.*; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xi. 37.; Dion, lvii. 2.

nearly allied, at least, to madness.¹ If Tiberius inherited any seeds of this fatal disposition, no atmosphere could be more adapted to develop them than that of a precarious and upstart court. Surrounded by secret dangers; dubious of his own position, with a different part to act to every creature about him, impelled to suspicion of his nearest attendants and distrust of his dearest kinsmen, with a master and patron exacting from him the strictest obedience, but requiring at the same time the most vigorous action, conscious, finally, that his mother, his only ally, was using him for her own ambitious projects rather than devoting her influence to his real advantage, how little chance could he have of escaping the doom of his race? Nor do we know how early he began to indulge in the vicious gratifications, to which, at a later period at least, he was supposed to have abandoned himself without restraint, and which, if truly ascribed to him, must undoubtedly have tended to precipitate any natural proneness to mental alienation. Against all these evil influences might be set the consummate education he enjoyed in common with the nobles of his time, combining the grace and strength of scholarship with a practical training in affairs.² His deep feeling for his wife Vipsania, when required against his will to part from her, commands our sympathy and respect. Some time after the divorce, on casually meeting her, he betrayed, we are told, so much emotion, that the politicians who watched him at every moment found it necessary to prevent another interview.³ Meanwhile, the wretched Julia, whose

¹ Mr. Landor, in his dialogue "Tiberius and Vipsania," has suggested that a taint of madness was hereditary in the Claudian blood, and refers to the excessive pride and perverse licentiousness of some of the name in earlier Roman history. But we must not lay too much stress on this, for there were many families of the Claudian gens, and the Neros had formed a distinct race for some centuries.

² In his youth he was nicknamed "Old Tiberius," for his precocious discretion. Philo Judeus, *Ley. ad Caium*, 23.: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι νέος ὢν ὁ πρεσβύτης ἐλέγετο, δι' αἰδῶ τὴν περὶ τὴν ἀγχίνοιαν.

³ Suet. *Tib.* 7: "Sed Agrippinam (Vipsaniam) et abegisse post divortium doluit; et semel omnino ex occurso visam adeo contentis et tumentibus oculis prosecutus est, ut custoditum sit ne unquam in conspectum ejus postea veniret."

bridal torch had twice been lit at the pyre of a deceased husband, indemnified herself for the laceration of whatever delicacy she may have once possessed by licentious indulgences, and outraged the prudery of Tiberius, a man of antique austerity in pronouncing, at least, upon the vices of Roman matrons.¹

Of the younger brother, Drusus, we are not in a condition to present so complete a portrait, whether physical or moral. Though he has met with at least one fluent flatterer, who has sung his praises through a courtly panegyric of five hundred verses, there is no trait of individual character or feature to be drawn from them, except it be a hint that his qualities of feeling and genius were lodged in a form of ample proportions.² We learn indeed from other sources that the disposition of the younger Nero was gentle, his manners courteous and popular, so that both citizens and soldiers might forget in his presence the prince of an imperial family. Hence perhaps the rumour, which obtained currency at a later period, that he was not indisposed, if ever he attained to power, to restore the liberties of the Roman people.³ It was asserted that he had actually avowed such an intention to his brother. This fond rumour may indeed be justly consigned to the same limbo of popular imaginations in which we must bury the counsels ascribed to Agrippa; though it is more credible that such advice should be hazarded by the prop and champion of the imperial power, than by the youthful aspirant to public honours, whose interests and even life depended on the confidence reposed in him by his step-father.

¹ Suet. *L. c.*: "Quum Juliæ mores improbare, ut quam sensisset sui quoque sub priore marito appetentem, quod sane etiam vulgo existimabatur."

² See the *Consol. ad Liv.* ascribed to Peto Albinovanus, 262.:

"Pectoraque ingenii magna capaxque domus."

³ Suet. *Claud.* 1. Tac. *Ann.* i. 33.: "Credebaturque, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem redditurus." Comp. ii. 82. It must be remarked that the praises of Drusus were all posterior to his premature death, and might in some cases be stimulated by the general hatred towards the brother who survived him.

If any such generous anticipations reached the ears of Augustus,—and Tiberius, we are assured, himself denounced them,¹—we should hardly hear, as the constant tradition of the Romans, that Drusus was the favourite, and so manifestly preferred to his elder brother, that he was surmised to be the emperor's actual son.² On the whole, it must be allowed that the character we have received of Drusus depends on too uncertain testimonies to build any hypothesis upon it; otherwise we might readily fancy him heir by blood to the gallant disposition of a Julius, while Tiberius displayed in every feature the harsher lineaments of the Claudian house.³

Such were the two pillars of the imperial throne, on which, during the minority at least of his immediate descendants, the hopes of Augustus seemed now to rest. He required of both an entire devotion to his interests and those of the state; he demanded of both the sacrifice of ease and comfort, retaining them in distant provinces and on savage frontiers, at the head of his armies, far from the pleasures of the capital, and the temptations it afforded to unpopular arrogance. At a distance, he well knew, their martial bearing and exploits would secure them the favour of the people, which they might easily forfeit in closer intercourse with them. Accordingly, while Tiberius was sent to quell the insurrection in Pannonia, Drusus had been already charged with the administration of the Gaulish provinces on the emperor's departure to Rome.⁴ The nations beyond the Alps had not yet learned resignation to the exactions of the Roman officials; the impunity accorded, as they believed, to their oppressor Licinus rankled in their bosoms;⁵ and the inquisition into their means,

Drusus de-
spatched to
Gaul.

¹ Suet. *Tib.* 50.; *Claud.* 1. Hoeck very reasonably discredits this anecdote: *Roem. Gesch.* i. 2. 14.

² Suetonius notices, but only to discredit it, a rumour that Augustus caused Drusus to be poisoned out of jealousy at his republican sentiments.

³ Tac. *Ann.* i. 4.: "Vetere atque insita Claudiae familiae superbia."

⁴ Dion, liv. 25.

⁵ The story of the enterprise of a noble Gaul who proposed to assassinate Augustus in his passage through the Alps, refers, perhaps, to the odium this transaction excited. Suet. *Oct.* 79.: "Vultu erat adeo tranquillo serenoque,

together with the fiscal exactions consequent upon it, which resulted from the census now held at Lugdunum, must have fanned the flame of their discontent. The Germans, ever watching their opportunity, were preparing again to cross the Rhine when Drusus invited his subjects to display their loyalty to Augustus by erecting an altar at the confluence of the Rhone and Saone. Sixty of the Gaulish communities united in this work of flattery. It was dedicated to Augustus and Rome conjointly; the names of the sixty states were inscribed upon it; and the colossal statue of the emperor before which it stood was surrounded by smaller figures representing so many abstract nationalities.¹ On the first day of the month of August Drusus consecrated this tribute to the majesty of the empire, and instituted at the same time a festival, which continued to be annually solemnized on the spot with shows and music for several centuries. To impress a still more imposing character on the ceremony, he invited the chiefs of every state to attend it, and prevailed on a noble Æduan to accept the office of pontiff, assisted by a ministry of Gaulish flamens.² The worship of Cæsar Augustus, thus inaugurated in the province, became extended throughout it, and at one place at least Livia Augusta was associated in divine honours with her husband.³ It was necessary to confront the religious principle

Altar of Augustus and Rome at Lugdunum.

ut quidam a primoribus Galliarum confessus sit inter suos, eo se inhibutum ac remollitum quominus, ut destinarat, in transitu Alpium per simulationem colloquii propius admissus, in præcipitium impelleret."

¹ Strabo, iv. 3. p. 192., following Groskurd's reading, which seems necessary for the sense. Hoeck, i. 2. 18. This may have suggested the allegorical figures of the French cities which surround the obelisk and fountains on the Place de la Concorde at Paris.

² Liv. *Epit.* cxxxvii.: "Ara D. Cæsari ad confluentem Araris et Rhodani dedicata, sacerdote C. Julio Vercundaridubio Æduo." Supposing the epitomist to have found Divus Cæsar in his copy of the original, this has been thought to prove that Livy had not completed his work till the reign of Tiberius. The altar was undoubtedly dedicated to Augustus during his lifetime, not to the deceased Julius. See Suet. *Claud.* 2.; Dion, liv. 32. Gruter, *Inscr.* p. 13.: "Sacerdos Rom. et Aug. ad aram ad confluentes." Thierry, *Gaulois*, iii. 266., refers to other inscriptions.

³ Thus we read "Dea Augusta Vocontiorum: Liviae Aug. Deæ munic."

of the Druids by another equally imposing; and the genius of the mighty emperor and the fortune of the all-conquering Republic might exercise on the imagination of the cowering Gauls no less potent a spell than the blasts of Circius and the thunders of Taranis.

Such were the politic measures of Drusus to quell disaffection in his rear, while occupied in the task of chastising the Germans, and retorting on their own soil their aggressions upon the territories of Rome.

Roman fortresses on the Rhine. The Rhine we are used to consider as the permanent boundary of the great southern empire; and that such for some centuries it really was, is attested by the chain of fortified posts along its left bank, which defended the passage of the river from the spot where it escaped from the mountains of Helvetia to its mouth in the northern Ocean. These fortresses have since grown for the most part into considerable towns: Basel, Strasburg, Speyer, Worms, Mainz, Bingen, Coblenz, Andernach, Bonn, Köln, Neuss, Nimeguen, and Leyden are all probably sprung from foundations laid not later than the reign of Augustus.¹ The left bank of the Rhine has always been the richer of the two, and has shown accordingly the greater anxiety to provide for its security. The German side of the river has never been fortified so jealously as the Gaulish. But though the Romans seem thus early impressed with a presentiment that they had here reached the natural limits of their conquests, there was a time when, under the guidance of the impetuous youth who now commanded their legions, they dreamed of extending their sway into the heart of Germany, and reducing it to the same subjection as Gaul and Spain. The head-quarters of their military force in these regions were now removed from the Somme or Scheldt, where they had been fixed by Cæsar, and transplanted to the Rhine. Detachments of troops were

Inscriptions cited by Thierry. Luc in Dauphiné is *Lucus Augusti*; Die is *Dea Augusta*.

¹ The establishment of these fortresses, fifty in number, is ascribed to Drusus. Flor. iv 12.

posted in close communication with one another at all the stations above mentioned, but the two provinces of the first and second Germany, divided by the Moselle, had each its separate military establishment, its proper prætorium and legatus.

At the same time the limits of the empire had been permanently advanced in another quarter to the Danube. The victories of Tiberius over the Vindelici in the ^{On the Dan-} mountains had been followed by the advance of ^{ube.} his successor Piso through the plains which intervene between them and the river, by the foundation of the colony of Augusta,¹ the construction of military roads, connecting it both with Italy and Gaul, and the establishment of fortified posts along the course of the stream. Here again the limits of Roman dominion are marked by the position of the most ancient stations on the Roman, that is, the southern bank of the river. The sites of Regensburg, Passau, Linz, Vienna, and the little village of Hainburg, formerly Carnuntum, all sloping towards the ungenial north, were adopted for purposes of defence. But between the Rhine and the Upper Danube there intervenes a triangular tract of land, the apex of which touches the confines of Switzerland at Basel; thus separating, as with an enormous wedge, the provinces of Gaul and Vindelicia, and presenting at its base no natural line of defence from one river to the other. This tract was, however, occupied for the most part by forests, and if it broke the line of the Roman defences, it might at least be considered impenetrable to an enemy. Abandoned by the warlike and predatory tribes of Germany, it was ^{The Agri De-} seized by wandering immigrants from Gaul, many ^{cumates.} of them Roman adventurers, before whom the original inhabitants, the Marcomanni or men of the frontier, seem to have retreated eastward beyond the Hercynian forest. The

¹ Augusta Vindelicorum is the modern Augsburg, founded, it may be supposed, about the year 740, after the conquest of Rætia by Drusus. Tac. *German.* 41.: "Splendidissima Rætiae provinciæ colonia." The Itineraries represent it as the centre of the roads from Verona, Sirmium, and Treviri.

intruders claimed or solicited Roman protection, and offered in return a tribute from the produce of their soil, whence the district itself came to be known by the title of the *Agri Decumates*, or Tithed Land.¹ It was not, however, officially connected with any province of the empire, nor was any attempt made to provide for its permanent security, till a period much later than that on which we are now engaged. But as an irregular outpost of the Roman dominions it exercised considerable influence upon the neighbouring barbarians, in familiarizing them with the features of southern civilization.

When he had brought the chief men of the various states of Gaul together on pretence of paying divine honours to the emperor, Drusus required them to furnish him with means for his projected invasion of Germany. The tribes first destined for chastisement were the *Usipetes* and *Tenctheri*, whose seats were on the *Lippe*, and the *Sigambri* between the *Sieg* and *Lahn*. Behind these lay the *Cherusci* on the *Ems* and *Weser*, and the *Chauci* on the marshy plains which stretch towards the ocean, both formidable for their power and influence, against whom he meditated hostilities at a later period. South of the *Lahn* the range of the *Taunus* was occupied by the *Chatti*, who extended eastward to the *Hercynian* forest in the heart of Germany, and were perhaps a main portion of the people whom *Cæsar* knew by the more general appellation of *Suevi*. While penetrating to the *Ems* and *Weser* the Roman general would require to secure his right flank by the reduction of this tribe also; so that six nations, the flower of the Germans in the north, were included in the young *Cæsar's* grand scheme of conquest. *Augustus* had himself refrained from advancing the conquests of the empire in this direction, and

¹ Tacitus, *Germ.* 29., writing a century later: "Non numeraverim inter Germaniæ populos, quanquam trans Rhenum Danubiumque consederint, eos qui Decumates agros exercent. Levissimus quisque Gallorum, et inopia audax, dubiæ possessionis solum occupavere. Mox limite acto, promotisque præsidii, sinus Imperii, et pars provinciæ habetur."

Agrippa had speedily withdrawn from the right bank of the Rhine, and acquiesced in his master's policy. But the ardour of his favourite seems now to have prevailed over the emperor's accustomed moderation. He felt, perhaps, the importance of allowing the princes of his family to substantiate by popular exploits the claims he advanced in their behalf: and while one was employed in the reduction of Pannonia, to the other he opened a still wider field of ambition in the untrodden plains of central Europe.

On reaching the Rhine in the spring of 742, Drusus lost not a moment in throwing his army across it, and chasing the Usipetes to their strongholds. But this incursion was meant only as a feint to occupy the attention of the enemy, or to keep his own soldiers employed, while he was himself intently engaged in preparing for a bolder and more important enterprise. He proposed to carry his arms against the Chauci and Cherusci; but he was anxious to avoid the risks and hardships of a march through the forests of Germany, and preferred to embark his legions on the Rhine, and transport them along the shores of the ocean to the mouth of the Ems. The first obstacle to this novel and daring enterprise had been removed, under his direction, by cutting a communication from the Rhine to the lake Flevus, or Zuyder Zee; and the channel which Drusus opened for this purpose still continues to discharge a large portion of the waters of the river.¹ A flotilla adapted for cruising in the shallows of the North Sea was speedily equipped in the arsenals on the river side,² and

Expeditions by
sea and land.
A. U. 742.
B. C. 12.

¹ This channel is generally described as originally a canal from the Rhine, at Arnheim, to the Yssel, a small river flowing into the Zuyder Zee, which now gives its name to this eastern branch. It would be more correct to say that the canal connected the Yssel, a stream flowing into the Rhine, with the Vecht, which emptied itself into the lake. The communication thus opened, the weight of the Rhine-stream turned the waters of the Yssel into the Vecht, and carried them along with it into the ocean. Upon this subject, and the changes which have taken place in the lake Flevus, partly from irruptions of the sea, partly also, perhaps, from the increased volume of river-water thus poured into it, see Von Hoff, *Gesch. der Erd oberfläche*, i. 253. foll.

² We gather from a corrupt passage in Florus (iv. 12.), that Bonna (Bonn)

as the season for operations advanced, the legions were withdrawn from the districts they had occupied beyond the Rhine, and embarked for a more distant and extraordinary service. The Frisii, who inhabited the shores of the lake, were converted, by force or persuasion, into allies for the occasion. Drusus felt the necessity of securing their assistance in his navigation, or their succour in case of a reverse. Unpractised as the Romans were in stemming the ocean tides and currents, they met with serious disasters in rounding the coast of Friesland and Groningen, and when cast at length by the winds and waves on its sandy downs, gladly put themselves under the guidance of a Frisian escort, and made the best of their way home across the continent. The approach of winter furnished an excuse for this hasty and inglorious retreat. The invaders had ascertained the practicability, if favoured by the weather, of transporting their cumbrous armaments with ease and speed to the point they wished to reach, and not disheartened by the casual failure of their first attempt, they treasured up the experience they had gained for a future occasion.¹

Nevertheless, Drusus determined the next year to change his mode of proceeding, and return to the ordinary tactics of Roman invasion. Entering again the territories of the Usipetes and Tenctheri, he crossed them without opposition, the Germans not venturing to offer resistance in the field. He threw a bridge across the Lippe, from the right, as it would appear, to the left bank, and again struck boldly forwards, traversing the country of the Cherusci, the modern Paderborn and Detmold,

Second campaign.

A. D. 743.

B. C. 11.

was made a naval station, and apparently connected by a bridge with a town on the opposite bank. See Art. Gesonia, in Smith's *Dict. Anc. Geogr.*

¹ This expedition was celebrated in an heroic poem by Peto Albinovanus. A few of his lines have been preserved by Seneca, *Suasor*, 1. The subject furnished some obvious commonplaces for the rhetorical taste which was advancing with rapid strides: such as,

“Quo ferimur? ruit ipse dies, orbemque relictum
Ultima perpetuis claudit natura tenebris.”

till he reached the banks of the Weser.¹ The strength of the Sigambrian nation, the most bold and warlike in that part of Germany, would have been brought to oppose him, but for the timely defection of the Chatti from the league of the barbarians, which called off the force of that people in another direction. But the Germans had already learnt the imprudence of meeting their invaders in open combat. They retired steadily before them, or hovered assiduously on their flanks, trusting to the difficulty of the route, the inclemency of the climate, and the scarceness of provisions, to harass their advance, and ultimately turn them back. All these circumstances now conspired to baffle and discourage the Roman leader. Not venturing to place the Weser in his rear, he assured his soldiers that inauspicious omens forbade the further progress of their arms, and gave orders for the retreat. The Germans, who were watching their opportunity, now gradually closed upon them, and, after annoying them by desultory attacks, at last closed upon them in a narrow gorge of the hills. The danger of the legions was imminent, for, so far removed from succour, no slight or partial success would have availed to disentangle them. But the enemy, confident of a complete victory, and regardless of all discipline and discretion, rushed upon them without concert or precaution; and when received with coolness, and repelled with firm resolution, broke their ranks, and fled with precipitation. Once more the Romans could move freely; the Germans did not again attempt to elose with them; and the annoyance of their flying attacks was cheerfully borne by men who had just thrown off the whole weight of their onslaught. Drusus halted on his retreat to erect a fortress at a spot on the Lippe

¹ Dion, liv. 53.: *τόν τε Ῥῆγον ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ τοὺς Οὐσιπέτας κατεστρέψατο • τόν τε Λουπίαν ἔξευξε, καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Συγάμβρων ἐνέβαλε, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ἐς τὴν Χερουσκίδα προεχώρησε, μέχρι τοῦ Οὐδισούργου.* It would seem to have been Dion's idea, if he had any distinct views on the matter, that Drusus crossed the Rhine north of the Lippe, again crossed the Lippe from the right to the left bank, and swept with a circuitous route through the country of the Sigambri, into that of the Cherusci.

which bore the name of Aliso.¹ In the course of the same summer, but not, as it would seem, in connexion with this campaign, he established another Roman outpost in the country of the Chatti.² These sufficed for tokens of victory, and the emperor obtained for him the triumphal insignia, with the honour of an ovation, which he was now summoned to Rome to celebrate. But the title of imperator, with which his soldiers saluted him, he was not permitted to accept.

The conduct of the war in Pannonia, which lay nearer to Italy than the German frontier, may have allowed Tiberius to return to Rome after the campaign of 742, and fulfil his engagement of marriage with Julia at the commencement of the following year. But his retirement lasted only during the season of military inaction. In the spring of 743 he again crossed the Alps, and renewed his operations against the half-conquered barbarians. This campaign was not unproductive of successes, for which the young prince was suffered, on his second return, in the winter, to enjoy the same distinctions as were also awarded to his brother, and Augustus had the satisfaction of exhibiting both his stepsons to the people in the character of national heroes.³ At this moment, however, the demise of Octavia, the darling of the last generation of citizens, snapped another link which connected the Empire with the Republic.⁴ Her body was assigned to the appointed resting place of the Julian family, after the honours of a public funeral, at which orations were

Tiberius in
Pannonia.
A. U. 742, 743.

Death of Octavia.
A. U. 743.
B. C. 11.

¹ Dion, *l. c.* The spot has been supposed to be at Hamm, where the Lippe is joined by the Alse, or at Elsen, where the Alme falls into it, about two miles from Paderborn. The one is thirty, the other about fifty miles east of the Rhine.

² This fortification is said to have been on the Rhine (Dion, *l. c.*). It was probably between the Lahn and the Mayn.

³ Dion, liv. 34.; Vell. ii. 96. Dalmatia, which had joined the Pannonians, was now made an imperial province, and the senate received in exchange the peaceful regions of Cyprus and the Narbonensis.

⁴ Octavia died, according to Fischer (*Zeittafeln*), in November or December of 743.

delivered over it by Drusus and by Augustus himself.¹ She died at the age of fifty-four, being about two years older than her brother. Her praises have been already celebrated in this work, and her noble qualities are now once more referred to, only to notice the respect which the Romans could pay to female virtue, while their customs condemned it for the most part to perpetual nonage and insignificance. This was perhaps the first instance of a woman being made the subject of a national solemnity at Rome; it may be questioned, however, whether, except in the case of a sovereign, even the more chivalrous feelings of modern times have ever prompted so extraordinary a distinction.

The death of Octavia, grievous as it undoubtedly was to her brother, was felt by him as a private rather than a public loss. It does not appear that he ever consulted her on affairs of state; and since the death of her son Marcellus, she had become more than ever estranged from public life. His own popularity, supported by the merits of the young Neros, was still advancing. On the Kalends of the ensuing January the noblest citizens pressed forward with increasing alacrity to offer him the customary presents on the commencement of the new year. Such compliments he was always proud to receive, but he was careful, it is said, to return them with interest. He refused, however, to accept the sums which it was now the fashion to subscribe for the erection of statues of himself, and directed that they should be applied instead to the glory of the national divinities. The people invented another way of expressing their devotion to him, by throwing each a piece of money, on a stated day, into the Curtian lake in the Forum, as an offering for his safety.²

Continued popularity of Augustus.

¹ Drusus may have been selected for this office from his closer connexion with the deceased. He was married to Antonia, daughter of the triumvir, and sister of Julius Antonius, who was himself married to the elder Marcella, a daughter of Octavia. The body was borne by both Tiberius and Drusus. Suet. *Oct.* 61., places her death somewhat later, but the historian, who follows the order of time, is undoubtedly correct.

² Suet. *Oct.* 57.: "Omnes ordines in lacum Curtii quotannis ex voto pro

At this time Augustus began his strange custom of sitting one day in every year in the guise of a mendicant at his own palace-gate, and accepting the petty coins which passers-by placed in his hand. Of his motive in this practice no certain account could be given; but it seems to have had its origin in superstitious feeling, and was generally ascribed to the warning of an oracle or a dream.¹

Early in the year 744, Augustus once more quitted his capital to visit Gaul; not, indeed, with the purpose of urging by his nearer approach the conquest of the German tribes, for his views were still pacific, and he was anxious to shut the temple of Janus, for which he had actually issued orders, when the report of fresh disturbances on the Danube compelled him to revoke them. He charged Tiberius to defend Pannonia from an irruption of Dacians; but Drusus, at the same time, pleaded for another expedition beyond the Rhine, and the emperor yielded, perhaps reluctantly, to his instances. In 745 Drusus became consul; nevertheless he resumed the command of the legions, and directed his march through the territory of the Chatti, in which, as we have seen, he had provided already a basis for future operations. His views of conquest had now expanded more widely than ever, and the inexperience of his new enemies, who ventured to oppose his advance, and allowed him to gain some partial successes, inspired him with increased confidence. Beyond the Chatti, he reached the habitations of the Suevi; then, turning northward, he threw himself once more upon the flanks of the Cherusci, and, crossing the Weser, penetrated the Hercynian forest as far as the Elbe, the central river of the North. The Cherusci, more prudent than their southern neighbours,

Third campaign of Drusus in Germany, and his death.

A. U. 745.
B. C. 9.

salute ejus stipem jaciebant." This must be regarded as a conventional expression. The coin was placed, perhaps, on an altar which stood over the sacred spot. Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 403. says,

"Curtius ille lacus, *siccus qui sustinet aras,*
Nunc solida est tellus, sed lacus ante fuit."

¹ Dion, liv. 35.; but he doubts the story.

had declined to meet him in arms, and the advancing legions found themselves left without a visible enemy in the depths of the wilderness. Mindful of the disasters which had clouded his former retreat, Drusus might now be anxious for an excuse to turn the heads of his columns. It would have been easy to appeal to some imaginary omens; but the portent which is related does not seem, from its character, to have been a Roman invention. A woman, it was affirmed, of more than mortal stature, here crossed his path, addressing him by name, rebuking his ambition, and announcing a fatal termination to his career.¹ The invaders hastily erected a trophy on the banks of the river, and retraced their steps, still without encountering a human foe. But before they reached the Rhine, the prediction of the spectre met with its fulfilment. Drusus fell from his horse, and the injuries he received terminated, after thirty days' suffering, in his death.² The camp in which he lingered, under the protection of the Roman outposts, obtained from this disaster the name of *Seclerata*, or the *Accursed*. The body was borne along with military pomp. At *Moguntiacum*, where the army may have crossed the Rhine, a monument was erected in its honour;³

¹ Some writers resolve this supposed apparition into the actual appearance of a Druidess. Others connect it with an alleged German superstition, on which Reimar (on Dion in loc.) gives a remarkable instance: "*Augustæ Vindellicorum adhuc visitur in turri Minoritarum imago mulieris fanaticæ equo vectæ, quæ Attilæ pergenti ex Italia in Pannoniam sese furibunda objeeit, et ter terribili voce acclamavit, Retro, Attila!*" The story, I have little doubt, was a later fabrication. There is no allusion to it, or to portents of any kind, in the *Consol. ad Liviam*.

² Dion, lv. 1, 2.; Suet. *Claud.* 1.; Liv. Epit. cxl. (more properly cxlii.). With this event the history of Livy terminated, A. U. 745. Drusus was now in his thirtieth year. Vell. ii. 97.

³ Eutrop. vii. 13. Games and military spectacles continued to be exhibited here on the anniversary of Drusus's death. An altar had been already raised to his honour on the banks of the Lippe. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 7. The soldiers began now to regard themselves as a distinct people, with rites and heroes of their own. Augustus required them to surrender the body of their beloved chief, as a matter of discipline. Senec. *Cons. ad Polyb.* 34.: "*Modum tamen augendi non sibi tantum sed etiam aliis fecit, ac totum exercitum, non solum næstum sed etiam attonitum, corpus Drusi sibi vindicantem, ad morem Romani*

but it was not suffered to repose there. Augustus, who was still at Lugdunum when the news of his favourite's illness arrived, summoned Tiberius to attend his brother's couch, and when his death was subsequently announced, charged him to convey the remains to Rome, which he did, preceding it himself on foot. The emperor, who had now returned to Italy, received the mournful cavalcade at Ticinum in the depth of winter. Accompanying the body in person to the city, he pronounced over it a funeral oration; and after cremation, the ashes were deposited in the imperial mausoleum.¹ The youthful hero, baffled in his enterprises, and cut off so prematurely in his career, was more than ordinarily fortunate in the honours accorded to his memory. The regrets of his countrymen were both loud and enduring; alone of all Roman warriors he received a posthumous title to commemorate his successes; the appellation of Germanicus, which his son rendered afterwards still more illustrious, became the dearest, as it was the last, of the heroic names of Rome. The senate decreed him a triumphal arch, which still exists, for a triumph scarcely earned, and never consummated;² and the elegant though feeble verses of a courtly poet continue still to attest his virtues, or at least the popular belief in them.³

While, however, we remark the signal failure of the mighty preparations Drusus had made for a vast and enduring conquest, we must not overlook the importance of their actual results. If the Germans were neither reduced to subjection, nor even overthrown in any decisive engagement, as the Romans vainly pretended, yet their spirit of aggression was finally checked;

Permanent
effects of the
campaigns of
Drusus.

tactus redegit, indicavitque non militandi tantum disciplinam esse servandam, sed etiam dolendi."

¹ Suet. *Claud.* l. Augustus further composed an epitaph for the young Cæsar, and wrote a memoir of his life.

² Suet. *l. c.*: "Marmoreum arcum cum tropæo Appia via." This arch is, with the exception of the Pantheon, the most perfect existing monument of Augustan architecture. It is heavy, plain, and narrow, with all the dignified but stern simplicity which belongs to the character of its age.

³ See the *Consolatio* ascribed to Peto Albinovanus.

and from henceforth for many generations they were fully occupied with the task of defending themselves.¹ The Chatti and Marcomanni in the south were thoroughly impressed with a sense of Roman invincibility; the Marcomanni even quitted their homes in Suabia, to seek new abodes beyond the Hercynian forest;² while the Chatti resigned themselves to the intrusion of Roman settlers within their confines, and gradually conformed to the example of Gaulish civilization. In the north the invaders planted themselves strongly in defensible positions, and extended their inroads every year into the territories of the Sigambri and Cherusei, till the banks of the Ems and Lippe assumed almost the appearance of a Roman province, administered by a Roman proconsul.³

To achieve the work interrupted by the death of Drusus, his brother Tiberius was summoned once more to arms. He had quitted Pannonia to attend the funeral procession, but his task in that province had already been completed by a solid victory.⁴ In quelling the insurrection of the native tribes, assisted by a revolt of the Dalmatians, he had displayed activity and skill, and might already be esteemed the most consummate captain of his day. But before we accompany Tiberius to the Rhine, we must cast our eyes for a moment on another quarter, the repose of which was affected by the wars in which he had been thus employed. The districts of Thrace and Mœsia on the Lower Danube were not too distant from Pannonia to escape the contagion of its spirit of independence. While the princes who were suffered to govern nominally in these countries maintained the fidelity to Rome

Progress of the
Roman arms
in Pannonia,
Thrace, and
Mœsia.

¹ Vell. ii. 107.: "Ex magna parte domitorem Germaniæ." Flor. iv. 12.: "Germani vieti magis quam domiti erant." *Cons. ad Liv.* 457.: "Ignoti victor Germanicus orbis."

² Strabo, vii. 2. p. 290.

³ Compare the praise of Stilicho, four centuries later, in the pleasing verses of Claudian, xxi. 218. foll.:

"Ut Salius jam rura eolat, flexosque Sigambri
In faleem eurvent gladios, geminasque viator
Cum videat ripas, quæ sit Romana requirat," &c.

⁴ Dion, iv. 2.

which was necessary for their existence, the people themselves were little influenced by such politie considerations. The signal of defiance was raised by a chief of the Bessi named Vologesus, a priest of the Thracian Dionysus, to whose worship the people were fanaticly devoted. Inflamed with passionate superstition, they rose against the king Rhascuporis, a loyal servant of the empire, overthrew him in battle, and slew him. Rhæmetaces, his unele, was driven into the Chersonese, and the whole nation was at once arrayed in arms against the foreigner and all who sided with him. The Romans conducted themselves with ability and resolution. L. Piso, who commanded in Pamphylia, was summoned from the other side of the Hellespont to make head against the insurgents. For three years he continued to wage war against them from Illyricum to the shores of the Euxine, and at the close of his third campaign he could declare that order was restored and the spirit of revolt extinguished. The high honours awarded him by the emperor and senate attest the importance of the occasion and the merit of his services.¹

With the year 746, Augustus commenced a third decennial term of his imperium, which seems to have been now renewed as a matter of course, although he pleaded again his reluctance to accept it.² He still regarded the position of his Gaulish provinces with anxiety; so much so that, while he invited Tiberius to complete his brother's enterprises, he proposed to take up his own residence once more at Lugdunum, the keystone of the great arch of the Rheno-Danubian fortifications, and superintend on the spot the consolidation of his empire in the north. This was now the only quarter in which he prosecuted offensive warfare; nevertheless, the common notion of the pacific policy of Augustus is far from correct. Though he was averse from the bold adventures in which the great captains

Augustus assumes again the imperial power.

A. U. 746.
B. C. 8.

¹ Dion, liv. 34.; Vell. ii. 98; Flor. iv. 12. 17. (A. U. 741-743.)

² Dion, lv. 6.: μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταῦτα τὴν τε ἡγεμονείαν, καίπερ ἀφιεῖς ὥς ἔλεγεν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ δέκα ἔτη τὰ δεύτερα ἐξεληλύθει, ἄκων δῆθεν αὐτοῖς ὑπέστη.

of Rome perilled their own lives and the interests of the republic, and though no brilliant achievements have given a martial colour to his long administration, there were in fact few epochs in which the progress of Roman conquest was more unremitting.¹ Glancing from the Baltic to the Black Sea, his vigilant eye marked every point on which the empire was assailable in the north; and though not successful, as we shall see, in narrowing its exposed frontier to the tract between the Vistula and the Dniester, as he may once have contemplated, he completed the line of its defences along the Rhine and Danube, and advanced the bulwarks of Italy a month's march beyond the Alps.

Tiberius crossed the Rhine; but no sooner had he entered the German territories, than the tribes on the frontier, with the exception of the Sigambri, sent envoys with offers of submission. He directed them to seek the emperor in person at Lugdunum; but Augustus, who saw, as he thought, an opportunity for effecting a great conquest without further risk, refused to grant any terms unless the Sigambri combined in solicitation with them. Thereupon this people also sent some chiefs to join the deputation; and their unscrupulous assailant, having thus got hostages from every state, did not hesitate to retain them in custody, and disperse them as prisoners among his fortresses. Many of the captives, thus ill treated, slew themselves in their indignation; but their countrymen, stunned by the blow which deprived them of their best leaders, seem for a moment to have submitted in silence. Augustus gloried without shame in the happy result of a stroke in which his people, as he well knew, would equally exult. He allowed the successes of a bloodless and treacherous campaign to be magnified with the most extravagant flattery.² Though he declined to celebrate a triumph on the occasion, he permitted Tiberius to assume

Tiberius crosses the Rhine.
A. U. 746.
B. C. 8.

¹ Compare, for the policy of Augustus, the statement of Aurelius Victor, *Epit.* l. 1: "Arma nisi majoris emolumenti causa nunquam movenda esse: ne compendio tenui, jactura gravi, petita victoria, similis sit hamo aureo piscantis: ejus abrupti amissique detrimentum nullo capturæ lucro pensari potest."

² Vell. ii. 97: "Moles deinde ejus belli translata in Neronem est."

the title of Imperator and to enjoy that honour in his stead. He invested him also, now the second time, with the consulship for the following year.¹ At the same time, he gratified the soldiers with an extraordinary largess, on the pretext of his grandson Caius, then thirteen years of age, having served among them his first campaign. For himself he accepted the glorious prerogative of extending the pomerium of the city, reserved for such commanders only as had enlarged the limits of the empire. It was at this time also that he directed the month Sextilis, which had proved the most fortunate to him throughout his career, to be called by his own appellation of Augustus.²

The emperor was already advancing in years when he exhibited this activity in repeatedly visiting a distant province. Since his last dangerous sickness his constitution seems to have acquired fresh strength; and we hear no more of that defect of his physical powers, which we have so often remarked at an earlier period. But in the young and vigorous prince, who aspired to a share in his labours, and the inheritance of his prerogatives, such activity was more naturally required. Tiberius hastened back to Rome to commence his consulship with the beginning of the year 747; but he was allowed only a moment to repose from his military duties, and to discharge the civil functions of his office. Early in the spring he was once more on his route to Gaul, and with the arrival of summer, he had placed himself at the head of the legions, and was engaged in a new expedition against the German tribes. The departure of Augustus had been the

Tiberius advances again into Germany.

A. U. 747
B. C. 7.

¹ Tiberius had an ovation A. U. 745; Dion, *lv.* 2.; Vell. *ii.* 96. But on this occasion (A. U. 747) he enjoyed the full honours of the triumph, Suet. *Tib.* 9.: "Quas ob res et ovans, et curru, urbem ingressus est." See also Dion, *lv.* 8., Vell. *ii.* 97.: "ovans triumphavit," and afterwards: "tum alter triumphus cum altero consulatu ei oblatu est."

² Dion, *lv.* 6. Cassiodorus reports that, "His consulibus (C. Asinio et C. Marcio, A. U. 746) inter Albim et Rhenum Germani omnes Tiberio Neroni dediti sunt" (Hoeck, *i.* 2. 33.); but the extension of the administration beyond the Rhine took place a little later.

signal for renewed disturbances among them, such at least was the pretext put forth for the campaign; but it was evidently the policy of the Romans to seek occasion for successive attacks. Each succeeding advance of the tide of conquest gained some fresh ground; and although the legions retired every autumn within their own lines, they left behind them traces of power not easily obliterated. Tiberius had no extensive plans of conquest; he was satisfied with showing himself to the enemy, and occupying their territory for a few months. He performed, it seems, in this campaign no action worth recording; and having led his troops back to their quarters, returned to Rome before the end of the summer.'

The districts nearest the right bank of the Rhine had been utterly exhausted by these repeated invasions, in which the invader swept away every commodity he could carry or drive before him. The further the legions penetrated, the more scanty became the objects of plunder, the more slender the means of subsistence. Accordingly each succeeding campaign became more laborious to the troops, and more expensive to the government. The four expeditions of Drusus had drained the resources of the Gaulish province, and exhausted its arsenals and workshops. This was perhaps the main cause of the feebleness of the exertions made by his successor. Tiberius was indeed compelled by the necessities of his position to undertake active operations. The citizens expected their future emperor to maintain by constant warfare his claim to their suffrages; and Augustus, on his part, required him to conform to this expectation. It was not, we may presume, the wish of Tiberius to confine himself to such trifling enterprises. He must have felt the importance of earning a great reputation in the career of conquest which was opened to him, and he chafed perhaps at the want of men, money, and supplies of all kinds. Nor was he unaware, that while he thus relinquished the enjoyment of ease and luxury, he was in fact distrusted by both

Reasons of the
slowness of his
progress there.

¹ Dion, *lv.* 8. : ἐν δὲ τῇ Γερμανίᾳ οὐδὲν ἄξιον μνήμης συνέβη. Fischer, *Röem. Zeitt.* A. U. 747.

the prince and the people. The emperor already regarded with pleasing anticipations the progress of his grandsons, in popular favour; of whom Caius, the elder, was but fourteen years of age, but had already served a first campaign, and had recently appeared also in a public capacity in the city. During the absence of Tiberius, the young Cæsar had occupied his place by the side of the consul Piso, in ordering the votive games on the emperor's happy return.¹ This ceremony was followed by the inauguration of some works of Agrippa, which that industrious builder had left unfinished. He had commenced the construction of a spacious hall, in which the soldiers were to be assembled to receive their pay. Its roof had a larger span than any other in the world, though the Pantheon was already in existence. At the same time the place of exercise, which Agrippa had added to the field of Mars, was opened for public recreation, though the colonnades which were to surround it, and afterwards formed, with their fresco paintings, its principal charm, were not yet completed. Funeral games were now celebrated in honour of this great national benefactor, in order, no doubt, to conciliate the affections of the people for his children. But whether a Nero or a Cæsar filled at this moment the most space in the eyes of the Romans, it was between the scions of the imperial house that all their interests were divided; the merits of private citizens were cast into the shade, and none of them presumed to step forth and contest the palm of popularity.

Introduction of
Caius Cæsar to
public life.

In this temper of the public mind, the death of Mæcenas, the last statesman whose name and fortunes might remind the Romans of the days of the Republic, caused probably but little notice. This event had occurred at the close of the year 746. For some time previously the people had remarked a coolness between the emperor and the minister he had so long loved and trusted, whose counsels, however, as far as they tended to maintain the show of ancient forms and stay the downward progress of despot-

Death of Mæce-
nas.

¹ Dion, *lv.* 8. (A. U. 747, B. C. 7.)

ism, became less palatable as they could be more easily dispensed with. Some ascribed this decline in favour to no worthier cause than the emperor's passion for Terentia; others asserted that Augustus was disgusted at discovering the minister's weakness in allowing his wife to extort from him a state secret.¹ It is easy to suppose that he was wearied with the freedoms of a friend, who could not

A. U. 746.
B. C. 8.

forget that they had both started on their adventures together, and exercised the privilege of long and loyal service to rebuke his master's indiscretions with a frankness bordering on rudeness. We may believe that Mæcenas himself became weary of his position, which never had for him the charms which enchain more vulgar ambitions; for he had never sought to rise above the rank of knighthood, and had declined the badges of office, the trabea, fasces, and ivory chair, which still held such sway over the imagination of his countrymen. It may be questioned indeed whether any man is really the happier or the wiser for divesting himself of the common illusions of mankind. Such of the ancients as had no hope of the future, and among them must be numbered the epicurean Mæcenas, found sometimes, in the decline of life, a substitute for such anticipations in a sedate retrospect, and were consoled on the brink of the grave by the persuasion that they had fulfilled their mission. But it was not so with the minister of the rising empire. His last days of sickness were disgraced by an abject clinging to life, long after he had lost all reasonable enjoyment of it.² The disgrace of Gallus, the early death of Virgil, the failing health and approaching end of Horace (it is a question whether the minister or his friend survived for a few days only), must have

¹ Senec. *Ep.* 19.; Dion, liv. 19., lvi. 7.

² Seneca, *Ep.* 101., has preserved some well-known lines ascribed to Mæcenas, in illustration of his unworthy shrinking from death:

“Debilem facito manu, Debilem pede, coxa;
Tuber adstrue gibberum, Lubricos quate dentes:
Vita dum superest, bene est: Hanc mihi, vel acuta
Si sedeam cruce, sustine.”

combined with other losses in saddening the latter years of one who was really attached to his friends, and joined with the tastes of a Sybarite some of the happier instincts of humanity. The voluptuousness of his habits was of the most refined and exquisite character, and his manners were, for the time, a model of urbanity, without wanting in genuine kindness. But the delicacy and fastidiousness of his tastes were heightened by the irritation of a fever which constantly preyed upon him, so that for three years, he obtained no natural rest either by day or by night.¹ His only slumbers, it was said, were procured, under the direction of the physician Musa, by the distant sound of falling water, a rumour which may have been suggested by the view of his suburban residence, which rose like an exhalation above the cascades of Tibur.²

The demeanour of Mæcenás was remarkable for its apparent ease, which disarmed suspicion, and opened to him the secrets of his adversaries as well as of his friends. It was difficult to believe that a man with the air of an elegant debauchee was actually awake to every breath of popular sentiment, dived into the hearts of the citizens, and traced the aims and motives of every political cabal. There are no limits perhaps to the extent to which a cool head and artful temper may carry this kind of deception; but such catlike vigilance can never be united with any real self-abandonment, and little reliance can be placed on the description we have received of the minister's geniality in private. We shall find reason to believe, when we come to review the characters of the literary companionhood which surrounded the board of Mæcenás, that the patron was, even in his most festive hours, still

His constitution exhausted by constant tension of mind.

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 51.: "Quibusdam perpetua febris est, ut C. Mæcenati: eidem triennio supremo nullo horæ momento contigit somnus."

² Seneca, *Epp.* 101. 114., *de Prov.* iii. 9. That Mæcenás had a villa at Tibour is a constant tradition, and its supposed remains are still pointed out. See Eustace, *Class. Tour*, ii. 7.; Dunlop, *Hist. Rom. Liter.* iii. 43. There it is said, however, to be no direct authority for the supposition, which may have been derived from a misunderstanding of the lines of Horace, *Od.* iii. 29. 6.

playing a part, and governing the world from the head of his table, by the wit and wisdom of his well-trained associates. If such was the case, we perceive how his earnest activity admitted of no actual relaxation; nor can we wonder at the wearing out of the vital machine under the constant tension of thirty years of effort. The date of Mæcenas's birth is not accurately known. It is supposed that he was a few years older than his patron, and may have been about sixty at the time of his death.¹

There seems, on the whole, no reason to seek far for the motives of the minister's retirement, least of all to ascribe it, with Tacitus, to the blind agency of Fate.² The failure of health of one whose whole time and thoughts were thus absorbed in the duties of his office, is amply sufficient to account for it, with-

Causes of the
favour with
which he was
regarded by
posterity.

out supposing any jealousy or distaste on the part of his patron. But the Romans of a later age could not excuse the appearance of a slight to one, on whom they looked with fondness as a model for ministers. The views of policy they ascribed to him were eminently generous and liberal; he was supposed to have encouraged the expression of public opinion, to have opened a career to all ranks and classes, to have sought out merit wherever it was to be found, to have made the empire, to the best of his power, an administration of the best men! To him, also, they attributed the humane counsels for which the reign of the triumvir was so favourably remembered. He it was, they believed, that guided the author of the proscriptions into the path of clemency; and when he seemed about to stray from it, recalled him boldly and effectively.³ Such were the principles, they said, which

¹ Fischer places his birth, in common with other writers, between 680 and 690 of the city. *Roem. Zeittafeln.*

² Tac. *Ann.* iii. 30.: "Idque et Mæcenati acciderat; fato potentiae raro sempiternae, an satias capit aut illos, cum omnia tribuerunt, aut hos, cum jam nihil reliquum est quod cupiant."

³ The long political pamphlet which Dion Cassius has given us, as a speech of Mæcenas upon the ordering of the empire, is chiefly valuable on two ac-

disarmed disaffection, and rendered the people contented and their chief secure. This was the work of Mæcenas, and this he effected without spies or *delators*, without a law of libel or a law of majesty. True, he was only a knight, and he had succeeded to the post of consuls and senators ; but the generations which honoured him with these fond reminiscences, had been made to tremble under the sway of mistresses and freedmen.

counts : first, as representing to a certain extent the actual form of government in his own time ; and, secondly, as recording, to some extent also, the opinion his contemporaries entertained of the views and character of the speaker. Dion, lii. 14—40.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE HISTORY OF ROME ASSUMES THE CHARACTER OF A DOMESTIC DRAMA.—
 CHARACTER AND CONDUCT OF JULIA, AND OF CAIUS AND LUCIUS CÆSAR.
 —AUGUSTUS HOLDS THE BALANCE BETWEEN HIS GRANDSONS AND TIBERIUS.
 —DISGUST AND RETIREMENT OF TIBERIUS TO RHODES (A. U. 748, B. C. 6).
 —DISGRACE AND BANISHMENT OF JULIA.—DEATHS OF CAIUS AND LUCIUS.
 —RECALL OF TIBERIUS (A. U. 757, A. D. 4): HE RECEIVES THE TRIBUNI-
 TIAN POWER A SECOND TIME, AND IS ADOPTED BY AUGUSTUS.—CONSPIR-
 ACY OF CINNA AND CLEMENCY OF AUGUSTUS.—REVIEW OF THE PERSONAL
 HABITS OF AUGUSTUS IN HIS LATER YEARS. A. U. 747, B. C. 7, A. U. 757,
 A. D. 4.

AT this period we seem to enter upon a new phase of Ro-
 man history: for the remainder of the reign of Augustus,
 which extended yet twenty years further, brought
 forth no great men, and not more perhaps than
 one great event, which will be related in its place.
 Many personages of note and occurrences of
 some interest will flit before us; but these occur-
 rences will be confined, for the most part, to the affairs of
 the Cæsarean family and palace, and might indeed be repre-
 sented in a drama, the scene of which should be a chamber in
 the imperial residence, with but little aid from the machinery
 conventionally allowed for narrating what has passed behind
 it. The personages of this domestic piece should be a self-
 important and irritable father, an intriguing stepmother, two
 rival heirs—the one gloomy and suspicious, the other guileless
 and indiscreet—a daughter whose follies should serve to point
 the declamations of her sire with many grave and decorous
 maxims; while the under-plot of a detected conspiracy might
 display the real magnanimity of his character, and solve the

The history of
 Rome assumes
 the character
 of a domestic
 drama.

A. U. 747.

B. C. 7.

perplexities of his position by an act of judicious clemency. One grave and national disaster will break with a ruder shock the course of these private disquietudes, and recall us once more to the public theatre, on which the great interests of mankind are represented.

Amidst these anxieties the time was coming when Augustus would deeply lament the loss of his discreetest counsellors, from both of whom he had perhaps been partly estranged by the machinations of Livia and Tiberius.¹ On the death of the last survivor of the two, and the one to whom he was personally most attached, he expressed much genuine sorrow, though the inferior rank of Mæcenas did not allow him to make any public and notable manifestation of his grief. In the time of their mutual familiarity, he had indulged in a sort of womanish playfulness towards his elder companion, and had made his peculiarities the butt of good-humoured satire.² Mæcenas, on his part, gave the last proof of affection in making the emperor his heir; a compliment indeed which was becoming too customary to be noted as a genuine token of regard. The fortunate minister had accumulated great wealth, and among other monuments of his taste and magnificence had erected a noble mansion on the heights of the Esquiline Hill, the most commanding situation in Rome. The domain of this residence had been bounded originally by the Agger of Servius, which extended above a thousand yards along the north-eastern limits of the city, and was deemed to afford it sufficient protection, without the addition of a rampart of masonry. With the increasing security of the capital against foreign attack, this mound had ceased to be regarded as a

¹ Dion, *lv.* 7.; Senec. *de Benef.* *vi.* 32.: "Sæpe exelamavit, horum nihil mihi acceidisset si aut Agrippa aut Mæcenas vixisset . . . tota vita Agrippæ et Mæcenatis vacavit locus."

² Macrobius (*Saturn.* *ii.* 4.) has preserved an amusing specimen of the imperial banter, aimed apparently at the minister's affectation of foreign finery: "Vale mel gentium, melcule; ebur ex Etruria, laser Arretinum, adamas Supernas, Tiberinum margaritum, Cilniorum smaragude, iaspi figulorum, berylla Porsenæ, carbuneule Italiæ."

fortification, and now formed a public promenade, or at least a causeway for communication from one part of the city to another. But the prospect it embraced, the most varied and extensive in Rome, was defaced by the charnel field of the Campus Esquilinus, which lay at its feet outside the city. Here, between the roads which issued from the Esquiline and Viminal gates, was the plot assigned for casting out the carcases of slaves, whose foul and half-burnt remains were scarcely hidden from the vultures. The *Accursed field* was enclosed, it would appear, by neither wall nor fence, to exclude the wandering steps of man or beast; and from the public walk on the summit of the ridge it must have been viewed in all its horrors. Here prowled in troops the houseless dogs of the city and the suburbs; here skulked the solitary wolf from the Alban hills; and here, perhaps to the doleful murmurs of the Marsic chant, the sorceress compounded her philtres of the ashes of dead men's bones.¹ It was high time to sweep away this abomination of a barbarous antiquity, now become a source of pestilence to the habitations which daily encroached more closely upon it, as well as offensive to natural feeling. Mæcenas deserved the gratitude of the citizens, when he obtained a grant of this piece of ground, cleansed it from its pollutions, and transformed it into a park or garden, which was either thrown open for the recreation of the people, or allowed at least to present an agreeable object to the frequenters of the terrace above it.² The Esquiline mansion of Mæcenas, the roof of which towered above every other habitation in Rome, commanded on one side a prospect of the ever-falling waters of Tibur and the fertile slopes of Æsula, while on the other it looked down

¹ See Horace's Odes to Canidia, *Epod.* 5. 17.

² Horace, *Sat.* i. 8. 14.:

“Nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus, atque
Aggere in aprico spatium, qua modo tristes
Albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum.”

Upon which the scholiast remarks: “In Esquiliis Mæcenas domum instruxit, addiditque amœnos hortos perditis prius et subrutis sepulchris.”

upon the smoke, the splendour, and the turmoil of the great metropolis.¹ This domain, on becoming the patrimony of the Cæsars, was first inhabited by Tiberius, and was connected at a later period with the far extended precincts of the imperial residence ; till a new dynasty sought to ingratiate itself with the mass of the citizens, by converting it, at least in part, into a pleasure ground for the public.²

From this time, however, the affections of Augustus were wholly centred on the members of his own family. They were subject to no capricious variations, nor were they indulged in any case to an extent which can fairly be branded as weak or culpable. He might surely be excused for blindness to the failings of an only daughter, till they were forced on his observation by their notoriety, and the risk of fatal consequences ; for the fair Julia, though he had sported with her feelings for the furtherance of his settled policy, when he required her to marry Agrippa and Tiberius successively, he still felt a father's admiration. When he declared that if pure and high-born damsels could not be found to immure themselves in the cloisters of Vesta, he would devote his own daughter to tend the sacred fire, he was prepared to sacrifice all the pride of the sire to the still greater pride of the sovereign. He had carefully trained her for the throne or the temple in the austere habits which he pretended himself to cultivate ; but from

Affection of
Augustus for
his daughter
Julia.

¹ Horace, *Od.* iii. 29. :

“ Ne semper udum Tibur et Æsulæ
Deelive contempleris arvom
Omitte mirari beatæ

Fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ.”

² It is a common opinion that the public baths of Titus were within the Horti Mæcenatis, and were perhaps an enlargement of the swimming bath of warm water which Mæenas was the first to construct at Rome. Dion, *lv.* 7. The Thermæ Titi lay on the brow of the Esquiline, overlooking the Forum ; and it is not impossible that the gardens of Mæenas may have reached to this spot. But the commanding elevation on which the palace stood must have been some way further back, not far perhaps from the site of the church of St. Maria Maggiore, which is the highest spot in Rome, 177 feet above the sea level. The Campus Esquilinus is now the gardens of the Villa Negroni.

the time she had become her own mistress (and the frequent absence and constant occupation of Agrippa had given her in opening womanhood the control of her own leisure and amusements), Julia had relapsed into a scandalous levity which had caused him deep mortification. Nevertheless, the harmony of her union, and the likeness her children seemed to bear to the husband who acknowledged them, satisfied him that her follies had never degenerated into crime; and whenever he checked by word or sign the wantonness of her behaviour, she seldom failed to disarm his anger by the archness of her excuses. Thus, on her appearing one day before him brilliantly attired, Augustus made no remark, though his countenance indicated his vexation. The next day she came into his presence in the decorous habiliments of a sober matron, upon which he could not refrain from exclaiming with delight, that now she was arrayed as becomed Cæsar's daughter. *To-day*, she replied, *I am dressed to please my father; yesterday I thought to please my husband*. Again, the eyes of the whole theatre were turned on one occasion upon Livia and herself, on their appearing in public, the one attended by a number of grave seniors, the other surrounded by a troop of gay and dissolute youths. Augustus remarked to her the painful contrast between the demeanour of the empress and the princeess. *But these young men*, she replied, *will grow old along with me*.¹

Excuses such as these, and still more the grace with which they were delivered, softened the father's heart, and while at one time he playfully complained that he had two troublesome daughters, Julia and the Republic, at others he would gravely declare that she was a second Claudia, the most illustrious model of Roman chastity.² Yet he must have sighed at the difference of her demeanour from the idea he had formed to himself of a Cæsarean princess. The conduct, he had said, of every member of his illustrious family should be such as

Her accomplishments, attractions, and dangerous levities.

¹ Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 5.: "Et hi mecum senes fient."

² Liv. xxix. 14.; Suet. *Tib.* 2.

might be daily blazoned in the Acts and Journals of the state.¹ To such an extent did he carry this prudery with respect to his daughter, that even after her marriage, as it would seem, he rebuked her for receiving a visit of compliment at Baia from a young nobleman named Vinicius.² To such restrictions the temper of Julia was peculiarly averse. The beauty of her countenance is still attested by coins and gems, and the traits of wit already mentioned evince, among others, that she was not less distinguished for cleverness. The care with which she had been educated had extended beyond the mere household employments to which her father pretended to destine her. She was a woman of letters and even erudition, and we may believe that, like the Sempronia, to whom Sallust pays an equivocal compliment, she danced, played, and sang with a grace and spirit which had but lately been confined to the least honourable of Roman women.³ We cannot be surprised that she was proud of her position, as well as of her personal attractions, and courted the dangerous admiration she excited. Nor can we fail to sympathize with the magnanimity of her answer to one who objected that her manners were far removed from the affected simplicity of her father's: *He forgets that he is Cæsar; I cannot but remember that I am Cæsar's daughter.*⁴ But the memory of Augustus went farther back than Julia's. He had heard, in his younger days, how talents and fascinations, such as hers, had aided in the development of political intrigues; that such had been the painted baits with which a Clodius or a

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 64. A hundred years before it had been recorded of M. Livius Drusus that he had wished for a house of glass, that every citizen might witness every action of his life. The different way in which Augustus expressed the same idea marks the change from the time when statesmen lived in public, to that when their proceedings were only discussed in private eoteries.

² Suet. *l. c.* Velleius mentions Vinicii of three generations, and we cannot determine the precise period of this occurrence. But as Julia was first married to Marcellus at a very early age, it is not likely to have taken place while she was yet single; and if she had been a widow at the time, it would probably have been mentioned as giving some colour to the emperor's jealousy.

³ Sallust. *Catil.* 25.

⁴ Maerob. *Saturn.* ii. 5.

Catiline had caught the gayest of the young patricians, and precipitated giddy spendthrifts into grave conspiracies. Such times might once more arrive; and the rumoured amours of Julia undoubtedly caused him double disquietude, both as a father and a ruler. On Agrippa's decease the emperor was for a time undetermined how to dispose of the widow, now in the full meridian of her passionate enjoyment of life. His regard for her good name, and for the dignity of his house, forbade him to leave the thoughtless matron without the protection of a legitimate guardian; but to unite her with some noble consular would have sown discord in his own family, and excited importunate pretensions in the breast of a stranger. Such untoward results might be averted by giving her to a husband of inferior rank; and he long scanned the list of the Roman knights to find her a respectable and trusty bridegroom. The intrigues of Livia diverted him, as we have seen, from this design; but the choice to which he was finally directed failed to accomplish any of the objects he had proposed. Tiberius, compelled to separate from a wife to whom he was attached, and who had borne him an only son, and distrusting the lightness of the woman he had consented to take in her stead, was met on her part by dislike and disdain. The daughter of the emperor despised the son of the empress.¹ She was proud of the numerous and flourishing family she had borne in her earlier wedlock; she considered her own position secured by their presumptive expectations, and regarded him as an unworthy intruder within the sphere of their splendid prospects. To Tiberius the fruitful Julia bore only a single child, who died in infancy: from thenceforth the ill-assorted couple never consented to cohabit

¹ Niebuhr is reported to have remarked, in his *Lectures on Roman History* (*Hist. Rom.* v. 175.), that Tiberius despised the daughter of Augustus. But this is evidently an oversight. Tacitus had said just the reverse: "Julia fuerat in matrimonio Tiberii . . . spreveratque ut imparem." A Julia, though by adoption only, was at least an equal match for a Claudius; besides, the first and beloved wife of Tiberius had been an obscure Vipsania. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 43.: "Eques Romanus Pomponius Atticus" (the grandfather of Vipsania) "dedecere Claudiorum imagines videbatur."

again.¹ During the years which followed the husband was but little in Rome; nor do we hear of the wife accompanying him into the provinces. The imperial palace continued to be her residence; but she evaded the superintendence of an indulgent parent, and soon plunged, without restraint, into levities and vices which became the theme of every idle tongue.

Many indeed were at that time the idle tongues and the idle hands of the teeming capital. The overwhelming energy, which, but a few years before, had animated the forum, the comitia, and the tribunals, was suddenly arrested in its full career. But it required more than half a century of servitude completely to paralyse its impulses. Forbidden to rush in full volume along the broad channel of public life, it oozed away in a thousand petty interests and trifling occupations. With the age of Augustus commenced an era of personal affectation.² A graceful address, a splendid equipage, a distinguished air stamped the candidate for popular admiration. A success in the counterfeit contests of the declaimers' schools, or before the partial tribunal of a social audience, contented the most ardent aspirants for fame or notoriety. The tone of this class was indeed far more humane and polished than it had been fifty years earlier: the young nobility of Rome were no longer led by ruffians and bravos; skill in the use of deadly weapons was no longer their point of honour; while the exercises of the Campus Martius served only to exhibit a fine figure or complexion, and the last shadows of faction were cast upon the contests of the Circus. Both men and women crowded the theatres to be seen rather than to see. Love-making succeeded to arms; verse-making to eloquence; vanity to ambition; pride of notoriety to thirst for glory. The exquisites of the day were men who dangled in the train of ladies, the oracles of coteries, the observed of aristocratic reunions

The character
of the times
fatal to female
virtue.

¹ Suet. *Tib.* 7.

² Ovid, *Ars Amand.* iii. 107.:

“Corpora si veteres non sic coluere puellæ,
Nec veteres cultos sic habuere viros.”

the flattery of the drawing-room was reduced to a system, and courtship between the sexes taught as an art.¹ Success in affairs of gallantry became a title to distinction, and a score of brave young nobles laid siege to the heart of a princess, who would formerly have emulated one another in storming a royal fortress. Such were the snares which surrounded the steps of the unfortunate Julia. Reckless and daring by nature, exulting in the grandeur of her station, overflowing with animal spirits, she seemed to lead the current of fashion which was hurrying her to irretrievable destruction.

Into this fatal vortex the grandsons of the emperor were now about also to enter. Augustus, in order to adopt them as his own children, had bought them, according to ancient form, of their father, with a piece of money weighed in a balance. He had taken a deep interest in them from their earliest infancy, and had carried them with him on his progresses, and placed them at the foot of his couch at meals.² Their education had been conducted under his own direction. He once found Caius, it is said, reading a work of Cicero's, and, when the boy would have concealed it, encouraged him to continue the perusal, saying with a pensive smile, *He was a great man and loved his country.*³ The anecdote is cited in proof of the emperor's magnanimity; but it may also show that even his darling pupils could make only a surreptitious acquaintance with the noblest models of their language. An education thus restricted was at best but a counterfeit; we cannot expect that it would have trained the presumptive rulers of

Education and
character of
Caius and Lu-
cius Caesar.

The *Ars Amandi* of the poet Ovid, the liveliest mirror of the fashions of the time, came forth about the year 752, as will appear from a historical allusion which will be referred to in its place. The *Amores* was published earlier.

² Suet. *Oct.* 64., who adds a curious trait of affection: "Nihil æque elaboravit quam ut imitarentur clirographum suum."

³ Plut. *Cic.* 49. A similar trait of moderation is recorded in his saying with regard to Cato: "Quisquis præsentem statum civitatis commutari non volet, et civis et vir bonus est." Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 4.

the empire to virtues suitable to their station. Brief as their career was destined to be, there is reason to believe that they profited but little by the lessons of moderation their grandfather inculcated upon them. Lucius, the younger, intoxicated by the acclamations which had greeted him on his casual appearance in the theatre, had urged Augustus to make his elder brother consul before he had yet been numbered among the men.¹ Such had been the fortune of the young Octavius, in the midst of a revolutionary crisis, and the spoiled children of the empire would have adopted this exceptional precedent as an ordinary principle of government. *May the gods grant*, Augustus had replied, *that no such emergency shall again occur as that which made me consul before the age of twenty!* A magistracy, he added, should be given to none but such as have learned to control both their own passions and those of the people; and to this rule, at least, he might have said, I myself was no exception.

Nevertheless, favours and distinctions were rapidly showered upon the scions of the imperial house; and it was, doubtless, already intimated to them that the period of eligibility to the highest honours should be speedily abridged. Having conferred upon Caius the priesthood, and admitted him to the benches of the senate at spectacles and banquets, Augustus compensated Tiberius with the more substantial prerogatives of the tribunitian power, which was now bestowed upon him for a term of five years.² This elevation, which might be regarded technically as almost equivalent to association in the empire, would have made him, if present in the city, too decidedly superior to the younger princes. To modify its effect he was removed from the centre of affairs, under the pretext of a mission to Armenia, which, on the death of Tigranes, had been invaded by the Parthians. This nice attempt at equipoise seems, as might have been expected, to have entirely failed. The grandsons ventured to show themselves aggrieved by the predominance thus given to their

The tribunitian power for five years conferred upon Tiberius.
A. U. 748.
B. C. 6.

¹ Dion, lv. 9.

² Dion, lv. 9; Suet. *Tib.* 10.

kinsman, pre-eminent though he was for his services and experience; and the son-in-law was not less hurt at the prospect of a distant expedition, which he justly regarded as a specious banishment. It is hardly to be supposed that Tiberius cowered under the rising favour of these aspiring youths, or that he voluntarily resigned the place nearest the throne to avoid collision with them; though the one is the reason assigned by the historians, the other that pretended by himself, for his relinquishing the hardships and glories of his foreign mission, and taking up his residence in the obscure retreat of Rhodes. Still less is it credible that this abandonment of active service, with all its hopes and visions of the future, was caused by disgust at the infidelities of Julia, to which a prevalent rumour ascribed it.¹ The cloud was upon him; the dark humour of his race was at the moment in the ascendant, and prompted him to shake off with a peevish effort the restraints of his position, and the dire necessity of eternal dissimulation, which he loathed while he crouched beneath it. At the mature age of forty years, he solicited a release from active service, and pretended a wish to cultivate philosophy in retirement. Augustus was surprised and vexed. He could not but suspect that his son-in-law was irritated against the children of Agrippa, and he demanded, perhaps, some proof of the affection which ought to subsist between such near relatives. Tiberius opened his will, and showed, by the provisions he had made for their advantage, that he entertained no personal jealousy.² When he pressed for leave to depart, the emperor pretended the utmost distress, and joined his own prayers with Livia's that he would remain at Rome. Tiberius, not to be outdone in these transparent professions,

His dissatisfaction and retirement from public affairs.

¹ Tac. *Ann.* i. 51.: "Nec alia tam intima Tiberio causa cur Rhodum aoscederet."

² Dion, iv. 9. Comp. Suet. *Tib.* 10. Velleius, the flatterer of Tiberius, says, "Veritus ne fulgor suus orientium juvenum obstaret initiis, dissimulata causa consilii sui, commeatum ab socero atque eodem vitrico acquiescendi a continuatione laborum petiit."

threatened to starve himself unless his wishes were indulged. Having at last obtained his point, he went down to Ostia, leaving his wife and son behind him, and parted from his attendants in sullen silence.¹ As he sailed along the Campanian coast, he was overtaken by a report of the emperor's sickness, which induced him to halt. But when he found that this caused observation, he determined to proceed without further delay, and braved a tempest in prosecuting his voyage. This secession from affairs took place in the year 748. At Rhodes, the retired statesman seemed to abandon all concern for politics. He contented himself with a small house in the city, and a villa, not much more spacious, in the suburbs. He frequented, without attendants, the schools and lecture halls, the resort of philosophers and students, and amused himself with entering into their discussions as an ordinary visitor. The Rhodians, indeed, failed to comprehend such condescension, and incommoded the august stranger with importunate compliments. A professor, however, who ventured to respect his incognito so far as to reprehend his arguments, was soon convinced of his mistake by the blows of the lictors, whom Tiberius summoned to the spot.²

The sons of Agrippa reaped all the advantages of this ill-humour. Livia might witness with dismay the honours to which her son's rivals were now advanced, though she dared not manifest her vexation. After an interval of seventeen years, Augustus allowed himself to be invested once again with the consular fasces, and opened the year 749 with due solemnities. He was about to introduce Caius to the people, on the occasion of his commencing his sixteenth year and reaching the age to assume the toga. The senators decreed that the young man should be eligible for the consulship within five years from that time; and anxious though he was to advance his

Caius Caesar
assumes the
gown of man-
hood.

A. U. 749.
E. C. 5.

¹ This son must have been Drusus, his child by Vipsania. Julia's infant, from the account of Suetonius, must have been already dead.

² Suet. *Tib.* 11. At this place we lose for a few years the guidance of Dion, and are left to the anecdotes of Suetonius.

favourite, Augustus himself, perhaps, interposed to withhold them from designating him for it at once.¹ When the emperor appeared once more in 752, surrounded, now for the thirteenth time, with the ensigns of the chief office of the free state, the enthusiasm of all ranks burst forth with extraordinary acclamations. They had already endowed him with every power, every distinction, every dignity they had officially to give; but the man who, after so long a tenure of power, still preserved to them the forms of liberty deserved the highest title of reverent affection which human nature can bestow. The appellation of *Father of his Country* was the dearest to the feelings of every genuine Roman; it had been heard indeed sometimes to resound from the lips of the multitude among the praises of Augustus; but now for the first time it was solemnly pronounced by the voice perhaps of the tribunes, and formally recorded. It was engraved over the gateway of the imperial residence, in the interior of the senate-house, at the foot of the emperor's statue, and in the precincts of his forum.² A public festival was decreed upon the occasion. Soon afterwards Augustus led his younger grandson into the forum, and presented him in the gown of manhood to the assembled citizens. The two Cæsars received the title of *Princes of the Roman Youth*, and rode at the head of a cavalcade of noble companions, each with a silver spear and shield.³ The emperor gave an extraordinary largess of money to all the citizens who were registered at the time as recipients of the public corn; a number which he had now succeeded in reducing to about two hundred thousand.⁴ In the course of the year followed the dedication of the temple,

Augustus receives the appellation of Pater Patriæ.
A. U. 752.
B. C. 2.

Tac. *Ann.* i. 3.: "Nondum posita puerili prætexta principes Juventutis appellari, destinari Consules, specie recusandi flagrantissime concupiverat."

² *Mon. Ancy.* col. 7. gr. vers. Comp. Kalend. Prænест. in *Fast. Verrian.* p. 106. (Orelli, *Inscr.* ii. 384.): "Non. Feb. N. concordiae in arce feriæ ex S. C. quod eo die Imp. Cæsar Pont. Max. trib. potest. xxi. Cons. xiii. a S. P. q. R. pater patriæ appellatus." Fischer, *R. Z.* 422. Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 129. See above, chapter xxxiii.

³ *Mon. Ancy.* col. 3.

⁴ *Mon. Ancy.* l. c.

just then completed, of Mars the Avenger, as a threat and defiance to the Parthians; and the martial ardour of the populace was stimulated by gladiatorial shows of more than usual magnificence, with the spectacle of a naval combat in the vast basin which Augustus had excavated on the other side of the Tiber.¹

The pride, however, with which Augustus regarded his illustrious grandsons at their entrance into manhood, was dashed by the conviction he could no longer suppress of the utter depravity of his daughter.

Disgrace and
punishment of
Julia.

The orgies of the unfortunate Julia could no longer be disguised. Among the partners of her licentious pleasures were some of the noblest youths of Rome, men whose acts and manners could not fail to be the talk of the whole city. The excesses in which she indulged were not less open than profligate. She traversed the streets and public places of the city by night, attended by the young bacchanals her companions, and polluted the dignified solitude of the rostra itself with her unseasonable revels.² In vain had the founder of the empire devoted himself to the reformation of public manners; in vain had he pretended to emulate in his own person the severe virtues of the ancient heroes; the laws by which he affected to recall the pristine fame and fortune of the state were trodden under foot by his own daughter, his only child, the mother of his anticipated successors. Terrible must have been the shock to one who hoped to found an hereditary dynasty, when he was made to doubt the legitimacy of its first inheritors. In the passionate vexation which now overwhelmed every other feeling, he suffered himself to make a public avowal to the senate, by the mouth of his quæstor, of

¹ *Mon. Ancyr. l. c.*; *Suct. Oct. 43.* Dion (lv. 10.) says that water was introduced into the Circus Flaminius, and thirty-six crocodiles slain there.

² Dion, lv. 10.: ἀσελγαίνουσαν οὕτως ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ βήματος καὶ κωμάζειν νύκτωρ καὶ συμπίνειν. Seneca (*de Benef. vi. 32.*) goes still further: "Admissos gregatim adulteros, pererratam nocturnis eomissionibus civitatem, forum ipsum et rostra ex quibus pater legem de adulteriis tulerat, in stupra placuisse."

every crime imputed to the culprit. We cannot tell how far he had chosen to inquire into the truth of these charges, which some very near to him would not scruple to exaggrate; but it would seem that he adopted even the worst without qualification.¹ Nor did his spleen evaporate in words. He seized not Julia only, but the reputed partners of her crimes also, of whom there were many both of equestrian and senatorial rank, and banished them from Italy. Among them were numbered an Appius Claudius, a Sempornius Gracchus, a Quinctius, and a Scipio; men of rank so exalted that they might have been tempted to intrigue with her against the prince and the government. The emperor boasted that he was satisfied with punishing the gallants of the princess with no greater severity than if she had been merely a private matron. But the most distinguished of her paramours was Julius Antonius, the second of the sons borne by Fulvia to the triumvir, whom Augustus had spared for the sake of his sister, and eventually had elevated to the consulship. The ungrateful nobleman had corrupted the daughter of his benefactor, and induced her to conspire against his life; and the law of *majestas* or treason was invoked in this special case to aggravate the penalties of the law of adultery. Antonius suffered death. Julia herself, now in her thirty-eighth year, was exiled to the barren island of Pandateria, where she was treated with great harshness, and left in want of ordinary comforts.² The political colour of her offence was marked by the rigorous precautions taken with regard to the few visitors who were suffered to approach her. Her mother, Scribonia, was allowed, and perhaps required, to bear her company. Tiberius, on hearing of an event at which

¹ Seneca, in the passage above referred to, seems to have the official document in his eye. Julia was branded as the vilest mercenary: "ex adultera in quæstuariam versa," &c. Nevertheless she has found defenders. Ruhkopf (in loc. Senec.) refers to Wieland, *Werk*. xxiv. 338. Blackened she may have been; but in those evil times at what point of degradation was the man or woman who had once abandoned virtue likely to stop?

² Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 5. Vell. ii. 100.: "Se et Gallo Caninio Consulibus, dedicato Martis Templo." Between Jul. 1. and Oct. 1. Fischer.

he doubtless felt little concern, thought it decent to intercede for her in a letter; but his instances were sternly rejected. He had, indeed, double cause of dissatisfaction, for, not content with infidelity to his bed, she had sought to injure him with her father by attacking his character with libels, in which she was supposed to have been assisted by Sempromius.¹

The violence with which Augustus acted in this matter is not inconsistent with his character; for not only was he subject to accesses of sudden passion, but, when his feelings of anger and indignation had been long pent up and disguised, they were wont sometimes to burst out with accumulated and terrible force.² When a confidante of Julia named Phœbe hanged herself for fear of punishment, he was heard to exclaim in bitterness of spirit, *Would that I were Phœbe's father!* He was not slow, however, in recollecting himself, and perceiving that he had overstepped the limits of discretion. More than ever did he now lament the death of Agrippa and Mæcenas, whose counsels might have restrained him in the full career of his fury. He may have discovered, when too late, that, as regarded at least the treasonable practices ascribed to the lovers of Julia, he had been imposed upon by their enemies, and perhaps by Livia herself; for the name of Julius Antonius seems not to have been erased from the Fasti, the last disgrace which was ordinarily inflicted upon noble criminals.³ Nevertheless his indignation against his daughter continued immovable. It was not till the expiration of five years that he allowed any mitigation of her sufferings, nor to the last could he be further

Deep indignation of Augustus.

¹ Tac. *Ann.* ii. 53. For the circumstances of this public scandal, see Seneca and Dion, *ll. cc.*; Suet. *Oct.* 64. 101.; *Tib.* 7. 11.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vii. 46.; Vell. ii. 100. This last writer fixes the date of Julia's banishment to the summer of 752. Fischer, *Rœm. Zeitt.* p. 423.

² Aurelius Victor (*Epit.* i.) says that he was merely "paululum impatiens, leviter iracundus;" but Suetonius tells a fearful story of his violence in the case of Q. Gallius. (*Oct.* 27.) Horace intimates that he was not to be trifled with even by his courtiers: "Cui male si palpere recalcitrat."

³ Tac. *Ann.* iii. 18. See Walckenaer's *Hist. d'Horace*, ii. 395

prevailed on than to transfer her from her desolate island to the extreme point of the Italian continent. When the senators persisted in interceding for her, he truculently replied by wishing them such wives and such daughters for their own.¹

Meanwhile the world, according to the expression of the courtly Velleius, was feeling the effect of Tiberius's retirement. The Parthians, as he proceeds to explain, renouncing the alliance of Rome, laid hands upon Armenia. Tigranes, whom the Romans had placed upon the throne, had died in the year 748: the Armenians had taken advantage of this event to deliver themselves from dependence on their western protectors, and the sons of the deceased monarch had ventured to enter on their succession without seeking their crown from the emperor. Augustus, resenting this act of freedom, had equipped an expedition against them, from the command of which Tiberius, as we have seen, had withdrawn himself. But the Roman legions had proceeded, under another leader, to menace Armenia with invasion: the sons of Tigranes had been compelled to retire, and a prince named Artavasdes had been set up in their room.² A counter-revolution speedily followed. Artavasdes was expelled by his indignant subjects; the Parthians were called in to their assistance; the Romans suffered a defeat; and a second Tigranes succeeded, by the help of foreign arms, to the throne of his father.³ This hostile movement on the part of the Parthians, who had so lately cowered under the anger of Augustus, bespoke revived confidence and power. At the same time the Arab chiefs of the Syrian frontier were provoking the chastisement of the empire. It was determined to send Caius Cæsar, with a numerous force and extensive powers, for the settlement of

Mission of
Caius Cæsar to
the East.
A. U. 753.
B. C. 1.

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 65.

² Coins of the year 749 bear the legend "Armenia recepta," in reference to this event. Hoeck, i. 2. 48.

³ Tac. *Ann.* ii. 3, 4: "Jussu Augusti impositus Artavasdes, et non sine clade nostra dejectus."

the affairs of the East.¹ In 753 the young prince had reached the age of twenty, and was designated for the consulship of the ensuing year. Placed under a veteran adviser, M. Lollius, the same, however, who had been defeated by the Germans in Gaul, he might be capable of leading the Roman legions to victory, at least the glory of his name and lineage might supply the place of personal reputation in arms.² Augustus, indeed, did not anticipate any serious resistance to his demands. He intended his grandson to show himself on the frontiers, and dictate from thence the terms of capitulation. Possibly he might contemplate some extension of the limits of the empire on the side of Arabia, and a renewal of the designs which Gallus had failed in accomplishing. Geographers and men of science were to follow the course of the armament: among these was Dionysius, surnamed the Circumnavigator, who was a native of the shores of the Persian Gulf; and the Mauretanian Juba, who wrote an account of the expedition, was probably an attendant upon it.³

Flushed with the pride of youth and hopes of glory, Caius crossed the Ægean Sea on his way to his appointed province. Tiberius, who was already wearied with his retreat, and alarmed perhaps at the ease with which his place had been supplied at the head of the legions, sought an interview with the young emperor at Samos.⁴ Whatever outward marks of respect the stripling might exhibit towards the veteran who now paid court to him, it is not likely that the conversation which occurred between them gave Tiberius any real satisfac-

Interview between Caius and Tiberius.
A. U. 753.
B. C. I.

¹ Ovid, *Ars Amand.* i. 177. foll. (which seems to fix the date of publication to the year 752):

“Ecce! parat Cæsar domito quod defuit orbi

Addere: nunc, Oriens ultime, noster eris.

Parthe, dabis pœnas; Crassi gaudete sepulti . . .

Bellaque non puero tractat agenda puer.”

² Velleius, ii. 102.

³ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vi. 27., xii. 14.

⁴ Suetonius says Samos; Dion, Chios: the former island lay more directly in the proconsular route from Corinth to Ephesus.

tion.¹ Augustus had been induced to promise his grandson that his elder rival should neither be recalled to Rome, nor even suffered to return there, except with his permission; and if such permission was now sought it undoubtedly was not granted. When the exile represented to the emperor that he had withdrawn to Rhodes solely out of regard for his young kinsmen, and from anxiety to avoid causing them injury or annoyance, he was coldly bade to relinquish all concern for relatives from whom he had so perversely severed himself.²

From Samos, Caius proceeded into Syria, and from thence despatched the imperious demands he was instructed to make upon the Parthian monarch, enjoining him to remove his creature Tigranes, and allow the return of Artavasdes to the throne of Armenia; but while he left these potent spells to operate in his absence, he made a progress himself in an opposite direction. The throne of Judea had been recently rendered vacant by the death of Herod.³ The latter years of this prince's life, whose successful dexterity, rather than any grandeur in his designs or brilliancy in his exploits, had earned him the title of the Great, had been marked with more bloody and repeated atrocities than even his earlier career. Ten wives had borne him a numerous progeny, to poison every moment of his existence with fear and hatred. His jealousy had latterly been roused against the children he had brought back from Rome, and exalted so high in his

Caius goes to Jerusalem, and confirms Herod's disposition of his possessions.

A. U. 753.

B. C. 1.

¹ Velleius Paterculus, whose flattery of his patron Tiberius is everywhere transparent, wishes it to appear that even in disgrace and exile he was treated by Caius as his superior: "Convento prius Tiberio Nerone, cui omnem honorem ut superiori habuit," ii. 101. Dion, on the contrary, says, *ἐπέπιπτεν οὐχ τι ὅτῳ Γαίῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ οὖσι*, iv. 11. Suetonius speaks even more strongly of the contempt into which Tiberius had fallen.

² Suet. *Tib.* 11.: "Ultro admonitus est dimitteret omnem curam suorum, quos tam cupide reliquisset."

³ The death of Herod was marked by an eclipse of the moon just before the passover in the year u. c. 750, B. C. 4; therefore towards the end of March (Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* iii. 256.) or the beginning of April (Ideler, *Chronol.* ii. 391. foll.). Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xvii. 8. 1. See Fischer, *Roem. Zeit.* p. 420.

favour, and he had caused them both to be put to death with a vast number of their friends and presumed adherents. Antipater, another son, the instigator of these enormities, had soon after shared the same fate. He had fallen under a charge of treason to his father; but Herod seems to have asked permission of Augustus to punish him capitally. The emperor, after some delay, thought proper to leave the young man's fate in his parent's hands, and, well aware as he was what that fate would be, he may have then made the unfeeling jest recorded among his witty sayings by Macrobius, *I had rather be Herod's swine than his son*.¹ Other sons, however, still survived to ascend the blood-stained eminence. The will of the deceased monarch appointed, subject to the approval of the Roman power, that Archelaus and Antipas, the children of Malthace, should assume authority, the one in Judea, the other in the district of Galilee, while Philip, the offspring of Cleopatra, should bear rule in the Trans-Jordanic region of Iturea. Caius may have gone to Jerusalem to confirm these dispositions. When there, he offended the Jews by refusing to enter their temple, and assist at their national worship, an act of haughty reserve, of which, however, the emperor signified his approval. Agrippa, indeed, had offered vows and sacrifices on that same spot; but Augustus remembered that he had himself refrained from visiting the shrines of the Egyptian divinities. He considered it unseemly in the chiefs of the Roman religion to betray any token of interest in the rites of the foreigner.²

Caius entered upon his consulship in Syria at the commencement of the year 754. During his progress among the states and potentates of the East, his tutor

Caius in Syria.
A. D. 1.
A. U. 754.

Lollius was chiefly intent on exactions and plunder. The charge of avarice which had been for-

¹ Macrobi. *Saturn.* ii. 4. : "Porcum quam filium : " but Augustus undoubtedly used the Greek, *ἔν τῃ ὑίῳ*.

² Suet. *Oct.* 93. Oros. vii. 3. This Christian writer, who assigns this event to 752, the year in which he places the birth of our Lord, declares that the great scarcity which afflicted Rome six years after was a punishment for this insult to the true God.

merly made against him in Gaul, and which he had then succeeded in defeating or evading, was now redoubled, and with a different result. The Parthians divulged his guilt in receiving bribes for betraying the secrets of the republic. He was denounced by Caius to the emperor, and if he escaped public disgrace and punishment, he owed it perhaps to the opportuneness of his death, which was not without suspicion of violence.¹ When Augustus discovered that his grandson's opposition to the return of Tiberius had been prompted by this worthless adviser, he became himself more amenable to the entreaties of Livia. With the consent, it is said, of Caius, he now summoned the exile to Rome, requiring, however, the condition that he should abstain from taking part in public affairs. At this restriction Tiberius may have smiled in secret: the fortunes of the Imperial house, flourishing as they seemed at the opening manhood of Julia's children, were not yet beyond the stroke of an adverse fate.² Scarcely had he regained his place by the side of the emperor, after eight years of absence, than the second of the young Cæsars fell sick and died. Lucius had been sent on a mission into Spain; but he got no further than Massilia, where his brief career was arrested in the summer of 755, in the course of which season the elder brother proceeded also to enforce his orders with regard to the affairs of Armenia, as to which he had received no satisfaction.³ Caius summoned Phraates to an interview, which took place on an island in the Euphrates, where the two great empires which divided the world were represented by the sovereign of the one and the presumptive heir to the other.⁴ The Roman officers and soldiers, drawn up on the bank, acknowledged themselves the

Mission of Lucius Cæsar to Spain, and death at Massilia.

A. D. 2.
A. V. 755.

¹ Suet. *Tib.* 13.; Vell. ii. 102.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* ix. 35.

² Velleius, ii. 99., after the event, says, "Magna nec incerta spe futuro rum."

³ Vell. ii. 102.; Suet. *Oct.* 65.

⁴ The passage in Velleius is corrupt, and it is not quite clear whether the Parthian monarchy was represented by its king Phraates or by his son Phraataes. Comp. Dion, lv. 11.

instruments of a military monarchy, and might already, perhaps, anticipate the time when they should in turn be acknowledged as its masters.¹ Sufficient explanation or submission having been offered by the Parthian, who promised henceforth to desist from interference with the affairs of Armenia, the two chiefs entertained each other alternately on the opposite banks of the river. The death of Artavasdes, however, at this moment, opened to Tigranes another chance of maintaining himself, by which he profited, and succeeded by adroit flattery in securing the favour of the Roman rulers. Augustus condescended to accept his submission; but in the mean time, either apprehending a refusal, or hoping to extort better terms by force, he defied the young Cæsar to a trial of arms.² In 756 Caius advanced, but on arriving before the walls of Artagira, and admitting the governor Addon, on his offer of capitulation, into his presence, he received from him a treacherous wound. From the effects of this injury his constitution, which was perhaps, like his brother's, weakly, was never able to rally. Bodily suffering seems to have affected his temper. During the brief remnant of his life he indulged the petulance of his humour and his natural bias to idle and frivolous amusements.³ There were now no matters of importance to detain him in the East. He requested permission, however, to remain in Syria, and to throw off for a time the cares of his august station. To the latter part of this request Augustus consented, though with great reluctance, communicating it, as a matter of imperial

A. D. 3.
A. U. 756.

¹ Vellecius, who was an eye-witness, seems to have felt that this event constituted an epoch in history. "Quod spectaculum stantis ex diverso, hinc Romani, illinc Parthorum exercitus, cum duo inter se eminentissima imperiorum et hominum coirent capita, perquam clarum et memorabile, sub initia stipendiorum meorum tribuno militum mihi visere contigit." (ii. 101.)

² This is the statement of the *Excerpta de Legationibus*, inserted in this place by Ursinus (Dion, edit. Tauchnitz), but not admitted into Sturz's edition. There is much confusion in the remains of Dion's work at this place. iv. 11.

³ Sach, I think, is the insinuation of Velleius, whatever it may be really worth: "Ex eo ut corpus minus habile, ita animum minus utilem reipublice habuit." ii. 102.

concern, to his obsequious senate : but he earnestly exhorted the prince to return at least to Italy.¹ Caius prepared to obey, and passed by sea from Syria into Lycia. But his health was now rapidly sinking, and at the town of Limyra he finally succumbed, eighteen months after the death of his brother. The citizens were startled as well as distressed at this recurring fatality. Their sus- Death of Caius Caesar. picious had been already more than once excited, and now, when the tardy return of Tiberius to Rome so nearly coincided with the removal of both his most prominent rivals, it was not unnatural that they should revive with redoubled force.² It might be difficult to connect the death of Lucius in Gaul or of Caius in Asia with Livia and Tiberius at Rome ; but poison operates in secret, and such secret operations, in the estimation of the vulgar, may dispense with the ordinary laws both of time and space.³

But the race of Agrippa was not yet exhausted, and the rival branch of the imperial house can scarcely have contemplated wading deliberately through the blood of so many competitors. Agrippa Postumus, born after the death of his father, was now in his fifteenth year, and might prove worthy of succeeding to the place of his deceased brothers in the affections of Augustus, and the hopes of the peo- Augustus recalls Tiberius, and invests him with the tribunitian power for a second term of five years.

A. D. 4.
A. U. 757.

¹ The affection of Augustus for his grandson is attested by the book of letters he addressed to him while absent on this expedition, some fragments of which have been preserved by Aulus Gellius, xv. 7. 3. “Ave mi Cai, meus ocellus jucundissimus, quem semper medius fidius desidero cum a me abesse præcipue diebus talibus qualis est hodiernus, oculi mei requirunt meum Caium ; quem ubieunque hoc die fuisti, spero lætum et bene valentem ecelebrasse quartum et sexagesimum natalem meum (Sept. 24. 754.) . . . Deos autem oro, ut mihi quantumcunque superest temporis, id salvis vobis traducere liceat in statu reipublicæ feliissimo, ἀνδραγαθούντων ὑμῶν καὶ διαδεχομένων stationem meam.” Both the princes were at this time alive.

² Dion, lv. 11. ; Tac. *Ann.* i. 13. ; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vii. 46.

³ The Cenotaphium Pisanum, a monument still in existence, erected in memory of the young Cæsars by the townspeople of Pisæ, who had recently chosen Lucius as their patron, exhibits a long and curious inscription in their honour. Orelli, *Inscr.* i. 162. Caius died in February, 757.

ple. But whatever the emperor's inclinations might be, he felt the claim his countrymen had upon him, and was too magnanimous to sacrifice the welfare of the state to a private partiality. He was deeply distressed at the loss of the youths in whom he had anticipated, not only props for his own declining strength, but powerful protectors of the public interests. Amidst all the outward appearance of power and magnificence which surrounded his administration, he could not fail to perceive how precarious was the foundation on which the prosperity of the empire now rested. Every year resistance sprang up, in some shape or other, on one of the extended frontiers of his dominions, and a presentiment might sometimes intrude on his thoughtful mind, of a dire reverse to be one day experienced by his arms. The moral force of his government was founded on its success, and he was nervously sensible to the consequences which might ensue upon a great public disaster. Tiberius alone could now supply to him the place of his trusty Agrippa. He determined accordingly to devolve openly upon him a share in the government, and for this purpose insisted, notwithstanding his pretended reluctance, that he should accept, in conjunction with himself, the powers of the tribunate for a second quinquennium.¹ When Tiberius had before been honoured with this distinction, it had been accompanied with dismissal to the provinces, and followed by removal from affairs. But with the death of the young Cæsars, and his own readmission to the cares of state, the position of Tiberius had become materially changed. This formal investiture now placed him at once on the same footing as that enjoyed by the veteran Agrippa during his latter years: and there can be no doubt that it was universally regarded as a virtual introduction to the first place in the empire. *I do it*, said the

¹ Suet. *Tib.* 16 Dion, *lv.* 13., says ten years. Vell. *ii.* 103.: "*Quod post Lucii mortem adhuc Caio vivo facere voluerat, atque vehementer repugnante Nerone erat inhibitus, post utriusque adolescentium obitum facere perseveravit.*" The adoption which took place at the same time is dated June 27 A. U. 757. A. D. 4.

emperor, perhaps with a sigh, *for the public weal*. At the same time he adopted Tiberius into his own family, and together with him the young Agrippa, to learn the duties of his station under the auspices of his step-father. Tiberius was required, moreover, to adopt in his turn Germanicus, the eldest son of his late brother Drusus. Whatever were the anxieties and intrigues of Livia, they might now, for a time at least, be allayed. The programme of the succession was significantly shadowed out: Tiberius had been ordered to assume his place at the head of the senate, the people, and the army, and was now exhibited before the eyes of the citizens as the partner of the emperor's honours as well as of his counsels.¹

After the ceremony of his adoption, Tiberius departed for the German frontier, to undertake a third expedition, the fortunes of which will be presently related, for the honour of the empire in that quarter.² Meanwhile Augustus, though saddened with dis-

Tiberius is adopted into the Julian family.

Continued labours of Augustus.

appointments, and sated perhaps with the gratification of his ambition, still plodded on with admirable industry in the career of civil reformation. The constructive and administrative tendency of the Roman mind was developed in none of the great men of the republic more remarkably than in the founder of the empire. The security of his own power he felt to be now thoroughly established: he had entered, not long before this period, without an audible murmur, upon the fourth decennium of his imperial rule.³ He could not have required the senate any longer as an essential instrument of his policy; its actual power was gone, and with its power its consideration had collapsed; yet blinded by his ruling idea of constitutional renovation, he still persisted in

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 65., *Tib.* 15.; Tac. *Ann.* i. 3.; Dion, lv. 12. Vell. ii. 103.: "Lætitiâ illius diei, concursûmque civitatîs, et vota pæne inferentium cœlo manus, spemque conceptam perpetuæ securitatîs æternitatîsque Rom. imperiî vix persequi poterimus, nedum hic implere."

² Vell. ii. 104, 105.

³ Towards the end of the year 756. Dion, lv. 12.

decking the victim he had already sacrificed. In fact, it was in irritating the pride and self-love of individual nobles that his only danger now lay. The people might make tumultuary assemblies, and demand with importunate cries the recall of his banished daughter: such demonstrations he could easily repress, and would scarcely condescend to notice. But when he repeated this year, for the third time, his dreaded

Third revision
of the senate.

A. D. 4.

A. U. 757.

scrutiny of the senate, and the expulsion of its unworthy members, he once more deliberately imperilled life and power merely to satisfy the sentiment of symmetry and completeness. He had now no Agrippa to stand between him and the angry passions of the degraded senators; he even allowed Tiberius to take his departure from Rome before he committed himself to the task. Acting through a board of some influential members of the body, he caused an investigation to be again made into the lives and means of the whole: all such as had reason to fear the result of the inquiry he invited, as on a former occasion, to retire of their own accord; but when few were found to make this spontaneous abdication, he acted with indulgence towards them, expelling only a small number, while he qualified others, by adding to their fortunes from his own bounty.¹

The violence indeed of the magnates of the last generation had been quelled or moderated in their children. Augustus

Conspiracy of
Cinna.

A. D. 4.

A. U. 757.

tus needed not now to conduct his inquiry with a breast-plate under his gown in the midst of the senate house. Nevertheless the covert designs of the ambitious or the offended never allowed his vigilance to slumber. A plot was formed for his destruction, at the head of which was a Cnæus Cornelius Cinna, described as a son of Faustus Sulla by a daughter of the great Pompeius.²

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 53. Dion, *lv.* 13.: *πρῶτερός τε καὶ ὀκνηρότερος ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως πρὸς τὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν τισιν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι γεγονώς.*

² The story of Cinna's conspiracy is told by Seneca, *de Clem.* 9., and Dion, *lv.* 14. foll. They agree in the main fact; but Seneca is our authority for the details of the interview between Augustus and his enemy, while Dion has doubtless invented his long conversation between the emperor and Livia.

Although this man does not appear to have been personally aggrieved by the emperor's measures, he may have found instruments for his private ambition in the mortification and resentment of the disgraced senators. Proud of his descent and oblivious of the favours he had received at the hands of Augustus, who had made that descent no bar to his advancement (indeed it had been the uniform policy of the emperor to place the great names of the oligarchy at the head of his imperial democracy), he was vain enough to imagine that he could himself wield the powers of empire, and that the old nobility would acquiesce in his supremacy. One of his accomplices, however, disclosed to the emperor the design to surprise him in the act of sacrificing, and slay him at the foot of the altar. Time was when Augustus would have rushed impetuously to punish such an attempt in a paroxysm of fear or anger. But these passions had now cooled down: he could reason calmly with himself; he could take deliberate counsel with his advisers, how best to baffle designs which neither the certainty nor the severity of punishment had hitherto availed to repress. The Romans ascribed to Livia the merit of persuading him that mercy was also policy. A remarkable scene followed. While the chief criminal was yet unconscious that his plot was detected, Augustus summoned him into his cabinet, and ordered a chair to be set for him by the side of his own; and then, desiring not to be interrupted, proceeded to deliver a discourse, which, according to his custom in matters of importance, he had already prepared, and perhaps committed to writing. He reminded

Seneca, however, calls the conspirator Lucius, and places the event in the fortieth year of Augustus (A. U. 731.), the scene in Gaul; Dion, on the other hand, gives the name of Cnæus, and supposes the circumstances to have occurred twenty-six years later, and at Rome. It may be observed that a son of Faustus Sulla must have been at least fifty at this latter date, nor do we know why he should bear the name of Cinna, though an adoption is not impossible. Suetonius does not mention this among the conspiracies he enumerates against Augustus. But, whatever doubt there may be about the person, the period, and the place, the only point of importance, the fact, namely, of a conspicuous act of clemency on the emperor's part, may be considered as established.

his uneasy auditor of the grace he had bestowed upon him, though a political enemy and the son of an enemy; he had granted him life, had enriched and distinguished him. He had raised him to the honour of the priesthood, over more than one competitor from the ranks of the Cæsareans themselves. *After all these favours, he continued, how could you plot to take away my life?* Cinna could keep silence no longer: he vehemently disclaimed the horrid imputation. *You promised not to interrupt me,* retorted Augustus, and proceeded calmly with his harangue, unfolding all the details of the conspiracy, and finally asking what end the traitor could have proposed to himself; how could he hope to fill the place of the emperor, who could not maintain his dignity as a private citizen, but had recently suffered defeat in a legal encounter with a freedman? *Be assured,* he added, *it is not myself alone who stand in your way, if such be your ambition: neither the Paulli nor the Cossi, the Fabii nor the Servilii, will suffer you to assume dominion over them.* Thus did he continue for more than two hours, to pour forth his premeditated argument, before he arrived at the unexpected conclusion, in which he assured the culprit, not of forgiveness only, but of renewed favour. *Let this,* he said, *be the commencement of friendship and confidence between us.* Shortly afterwards he conferred on him the consulship, and found him ever afterwards a grateful and sincere adherent.¹ Cinna, at his death, bequeathed his property to his illustrious benefactor; and this, it was remarked, was the last occasion of any attempt being made against the life of the magnanimous Augustus.²

Such is the story,—the romance, should we call it?,—

¹ Cn. Cornelius Cinna was consul with Valerius Messala, A. U. 758. It was this circumstance, perhaps, that induced Dion to place the conspiracy in the year preceding.

² Senec. *l. c.*: “Hæc eum clementia ad salutem securitatemque perduxit; hæc gratum ac favorabilem reddidit; quamvis nondum subactis reipubl. cervicibus manum imposuisset; hæc hodieque præstat illi famam, quæ vix vivis principibus servit.”

which has embalmed the fame of the second Cæsar's clemency, and has served sometimes to balance in the eyes of posterity the selfishness and cruelty of his youth. It is related with ample details by two writers of authority, whose testimonies may be considered as perfectly independent.¹ One of them was living at the time, and has obtained credit, not without reason, for his notices of historical events interspersed among writings of a very different character. The suspicion which would ordinarily attach to such details of private conversation, is removed by the circumstance, elsewhere attested, that Augustus did habitually prepare and commit to writing the discourses he was about to hold; not only harangues before the senate or arguments in council, but even confidential deliberations with his own consort.² There seems, therefore, no reason to question the general correctness of the sketch of this remarkable interview, as given by Seneca; and assuming its authenticity, it confirms in a striking manner the impression we have already received of the absence of any public spirit in the opposition which the imperial regime still occasionally experienced. It is assumed without a remark, that the object of the conspirator was simply to leap himself into the seat of Augustus; that the chiefs of the old nobility would resent his usurpation, not as a public wrong, but merely as a grievance to themselves. The pretence of liberty, once sanctioned by the name of Brutus, was too transparent to be advanced again. It was no better than a pretence fifty years before; it had ceased to

Reflections
upon this story.

¹ Seneca and Dion Cassius, *ll. cc.* The philosopher is supposed to have been born a few years B. C., perhaps twenty years later than the date he gives himself for the story, but six years before that assigned to it by the historian. His father lived in Rome, and the great topics of the day were of course familiar to him. Dion, on the other hand, consulted the archives and historical writers of note; but, as a Greek, he is not likely to have made acquaintance with the second-hand speculations in moral science of a Roman.

² Suet. *Oct.* 84.: "Sermones quoque cum singulis, etiam cum Livia sua graviore, non nisi in scriptis et e libello habebat, ne plus minusve loqueretur ex tempore." It may be added that Augustus would naturally take care that an incident so much to his credit should be circumstantially detailed.

be admissible even as a pretence now. Fifty years before the commonwealth might have boasted of one enthusiast in Cicero, of a solitary fanatic in Cato : but the last of the race of heroes had left no successors, and the old fictions of the republic were no longer seriously regarded by a single citizen of Rome.

Augustus had thus obtained the licence which he had once complained was denied to him alone ; secure in the enjoyment of his power, he could now exhibit just resentment without necessarily entailing fatal consequences on its object.¹ From principle, as well as from natural disposition, he maintained in all their strictness the rules of friendship or fellowship as practised by the nobles of Rome. To admit a companion to his hours of relaxation was with him a matter of solemn ceremony, and established ever after a mutual claim to confidence and regard. These connexions were hallowed by the reciprocal attendance of the parties on occasions of family interest ; they were cemented by correspondence, by presents, and various tokens of mutual esteem or good will. Such were the *offices* or duties of friendship, which constituted a large part of Roman ethics. Such *benevolence* Augustus rigidly exacted from his living associates : it was understood that he expected it even from the dying ; and though he was said to show no avidity for testamentary bequests, and never to have accepted them from persons with whom he was personally unconnected, he was strict in requiring such marks of his friends' regard, and scrutinized them with jealous solicitude, as genuine indications of feeling. If gratified by a liberal bequest he generally waived it for the benefit of the deceased's kindred. In the treatment of his personal attendants, his slaves, or his freedmen, a class who were often more really intimate with the noble Roman than the fellow-citizens whom he admitted to his friendship, Au-

¹ On the occasion of the suicide of Gallus, "illacrymavit, et vicem suam conquestus est, quod soli sibi non liceret amicis quantum vellet irasci." Suet. Oct. 66. See above, ch. xxxiii.

Private habits
of Augustus :
his behaviour
to his freed-
men, slaves,
and to women.

gustus obtained a character for mildness and consideration.¹ Law and custom, however, gave him power of life and death over the menials of his household, and he hardly resented with greater sternness the crime of one of these who was convicted of adultery with a matron, than that of another who had opened his letters for a bribe.² His grandson's attendants in the East were still slaves of the imperial family, and upon these, on proof of their violence or peculation, he exercised extreme severity. A third class of the emperor's intimates were the women, with whom he amused his leisure. Public opinion would have tolerated any amount of licentiousness in this particular, had the amours of the chief of the citizens been confined to freedwomen or strangers. But to force a slave was reputed indecorous, while to seduce a matron was branded as a crime. The indulgences of Augustus were said to be of the latter kind. His apologists could only allege that his intrigues were a matter not of passion, but of state-craft, and that he extracted the secrets of his adversaries from the weakness of their dissolute consorts. This refers, perhaps, to the period of the great struggles of his early career; no such explanation could be offered in excuse for the weakness of his later years,³ to which even Livia, the paragon of matronhood, was supposed to have lent herself.

The vice of gaming with dice must seem a venial offence in a man whose ordinary pieces were nations, and whose stakes were empires. Yet upon this subject the Romans had also strong prejudices, and Augustus was gravely reproached for avowing that he amused himself in his family, or among his nearest associates, with games of chance for the most trifling ventures. He

Amused himself with games of chance.

¹ Yet Augustus never condescended to ask a freedman to his table, except in the peculiar instance of the traitor Menodorus. Suet. *Oct.* 74.

² Suet. *Oct.* 67.: "Proculum mori coegit; Thallo erura fregit."

³ Dion, lvi. 2.: πάντα τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτῷ ἡδέως ποιοῦσα, καὶ μήτι ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐκείνου πολυπραγμονοῦσα, καὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια αὐτοῦ ἀθύρματα μήτε διώκουσα μήτε αἰσθάνεσθαι προσποιουμένη. Comp. Suet. *Oct.* 69.

played, says Suetonius, openly and without disguise, even in his old age; nor did he confine himself to the genial month of December, but indulged in this way any day of the year, whether of business or recreation.¹ Letters have been preserved in which he recounts to Tiberius his bloodless contests at the supper table with Vinicius and Silius; how they had played, for pastime not for gain, sporting a single denarius on each die, and sweeping the modest stakes with the lucky throw of the Venus. *We played daily through the five-day feast of Minerva, and kept the table warm. Your brother was most vociferous.*² *Yet he lost but little after all I lost for my part twenty pieces: but then I was generous, as usual, for had I insisted on all my winnings, or retained all I gave away, I should have gained fifty. But I like to be liberal, and I expect immortal honour for it.* To Julia he wrote: *I make you a present of 250 denarii, the sum I gave to each of my guests to play at dice with at supper, or, if they pleased, at odd and even.*³ The biographer seems uncertain whether he ought to pass over such errors without censure: he contents himself, however, with adding that except in this matter only the continence of the emperor was signal, and he escaped the imputation of any other failing.

The moderation of Augustus in regard to the size and outward show of his residences has been remarked in our review of his public character; it may be added, that he caused even a house which Julia had erected to be pulled down, as too sumptuous and splendid.⁴ In the interior of his dwellings he might have

Peculiarities of
taste and liter-
ary style.

¹ Suct. *Oct.* 71.: "Aleæ rumorem nullo modo expavit, lusitque simpliciter et palam, etiam senex; ac præterquam Decembri mense, aliis quoque, festis profestisque diebus." Comp. Martial, iv. 14.:

"Dum blanda vagus alea December
Incertis sonat hinc et hinc fritillis."

² This allusion to Drusus shows that the letter is not of late date; and the words, "we played *γερωντικῶς*," innocently, as old men do, that is, for amusement merely, does not imply that Augustus and his party were themselves old.

³ Suct. *l. c.*: "Si vellent inter se inter cœnam vel talis vel par impar ludere."

⁴ Suct. *Oct.* 73.

indulged without invidious notice in the luxurious decorations affected by the opulent magnates. It was from a peculiarity of taste, therefore, rather than any politic calculation, that, instead of works of painting or sculpture, he was fond of collecting natural curiosities such as the fossil bones of mammoths and saurians, which were found in abundance in his island of Capreæ, and were vulgarly reputed to be the remains of giants and heroes. Thrown from his earliest years into the vortex of public action, and absorbed in a game of life and death, it was impossible for Augustus to imbibe tastes which are seldom acquired except by reflection and leisure. Nor had he the temper which affects connoisseurship without knowledge. His turn of mind was directed to the positive and practical, and he disdained, after the manner of an antique Roman, the pretence of sentiment or æsthetic refinement. Though not unversed in literature, and even a composer, like every well-bred Roman, both in prose and verse, we can hardly suppose that he took any interest in ethical speculations.¹ The companions of his leisure hours were jurists, grammarians, and physicians, rather than philosophers, and he is not reported to have lent the authority of his name to any of the still contending schools of thought. The logical habit of his mind is curiously exemplified in the statement that he insisted on writing according, not to established orthography, but to spoken sounds.² To the objection that were such a practice to prevail, it would obliterate the

¹ Suetonius (*Oct.* 85.) enumerates his pieces: a reply to Brutus's panegyric on Cato ("rescripta Bruto de Catone"); verses on Sicily, with reference probably to his campaigns there; a tragedy of Ajax, which he blotted out ("quærentibus amicis quid Ajax ageret, respondit Ajacem suum in spongiam incubuisse"); an account of his own life as far as the Cantabrian war, in thirteen books; and finally, an Exhortation to Philosophy, about the nature of which nothing is said, and which may have merely contained elementary instruction for his grandchildren. Though a reader of ancient poetry, and especially of Greek comedy, his attention was chiefly directed to extracting from it rules of life and policy: "in evolvendis utriusque linguæ auctoribus nihil æque scetabatur quam præcepta et exempla publice vel privatim salubria."

² Suet. *Oct.* 88.: "Videtur eorum potius sequi opinionem qui perinde scribendum ac loquamur existiment."

historical derivation and continuity of language, he would have been wholly inaccessible. Perhaps he would have been not less indifferent to the argument, that it would throw the great mass of existing literature into oblivion, and condemn even the remainder to be retranscribed. On the same principle, however, he was more legitimately careful to avoid affectation and curious refinement in the choice of words: his chief care, it is said, was to express his meaning clearly, and, with this view, he disregarded even grammatical rules, and took no pains to avoid repetitions. He amused himself with ridiculing the opposite vices in the style of Mæcenas, whose sentences he compared to frizzled ringlets, and whose language, he said, seemed steeped in myrrh and unguents. He called Antonius a madman, for writing to be admired rather than understood; nor did he spare his own pupil, Tiberius, for the affectation of recondite and antique phraseology. He urged his grandchild, Agrippina, to make it her aim that neither readers nor hearers should have any trouble in understanding her.¹ Meanwhile, the style of the imperial censor himself, which must have been a strange one, found happily no imitators. Nothing, however, remains to tell us how it was criticised in return: the minute particulars regarding it preserved by Suetonius show how long the Romans retained an interest in everything that related to their great emperor; but even at the distance of a hundred years, it seemed more respectful to describe his peculiarities than to reprove them.

The chief of the great empire, the head of so many departments of administration and the supervisor of all, had every minute of his day occupied to overflowing. The details of the employment of his time may indeed fill us with astonishment, when we reflect that they refer not to the overwrought exertions of a few feverish years, but to the whole course of a long life engaged in pub-

Augustus addressed to super-
stition.

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 86. There is nothing peculiar in the style of the few verses on the death of Virgil ascribed to Augustus.

lic affairs. Yet Augustus, we are told, never suffered business, even during his campaigns, to stop his daily practice of declamation, of reading and writing; and the speeches he addressed to the senate and other bodies were always carefully meditated, and even transcribed before delivery.¹ With so much method, such constancy of purpose, together with the self-control which pre-eminently marked him, it may seem strange to us to read that he was as timid as a child in all that related to the superstitions of his time. He trembled at thunder and lightning, not from the vulgar fear of their fatal effects, but from horror at their occult and mysterious causes; he marked the portents which seemed to attend on his own career not less anxiously than the weakest of his subjects; he considered his own and others' dreams with painful solicitude, and observed all signs and auguries with a serious curiosity.² He became, in fact, the victim of the excessive precision and minuteness of his observation on all subjects, which never suffered him to rest in the broad principles either of belief or scepticism, but constantly harassed him with vain and frivolous inquiries into matters on which no satisfaction could be attained.

After all, the most agreeable feature in the character of Augustus, is the good-humoured cheerfulness, which sprang apparently from a deep-seated contentment, and showed itself, among other things, in the pleasure he took in the simple sports of children, His kindness
and gentle-
ness. whom he was always glad to have about him and to play with, which overflowed also in tokens of affection towards his nearest connexions. His playful intercourse with Mæcenas and Horace, with his daughter Julia, with his grandsons Caius and Lucius, and even with the morose Tiberius, was the yearning of unaffected feeling. The recorded instances of his wit and repartee all bear this character of good humour. Some of them have been already given in the course of this

¹ Aurel. Victor, *Epit.* 1.: "Ut nullus, ne in procinctu quidem, laberetur dies quin legeret, scriberet, declamaret." Comp. Suet. *Oct.* 84.

² Suet. *Oct.* 90-92.

narrative, the rest perhaps are hardly worth repeating.¹ But, as Macrobius remarks, he deserves more admiration for the sarcasms he suffered to be addressed to himself, some of which were severely cutting, than for the gentle banter he indulged in towards others. The attainment of his utmost desires had left him placable in his animosities, and element from temper as well as policy. If a Roman had any true sensibility, it was in his friendships that he displayed it, and towards his friends Augustus was both constant and delicate. A generation had now grown up to whom the horrors of the proscriptions were only a whispered tale; the revolutionary triumvir had become in their eyes a kind and genial old man, grown grey in serving the commonwealth, and still the guardian genius of the country he had saved. Loudly as the blessings of his rule were proclaimed, they felt more sensibly than poets or orators could tell them that his life was the pledge of their continuance. As he grew weaker, and betrayed once more the infirmities of nature, which had caused such alarm to the Romans in his younger days, even the best of patriots must have admitted that he should either never have been born, or else should never die.² That the citizens should have forgotten, under their own vines and fig-trees, the crimes he had committed against their unhappy sires may not be hard to comprehend: it is more difficult to understand the real feelings of the man who had done such things, and betrayed to the close of life no uneasy recollection of them.

¹ See especially the collection of his jests in Macrobius *Sat.* i. 4. In some there is an ingenious play upon words which could not be expressed in another language. Perhaps the best are the following: "Vettius eum monumentum patris exarasset; ait Augustus; Hoc est vere monumentum patris colere;" and, "Cum multi Severo Cassio aecusante absolverentur; et architeetus fori Augusti exspectationem operis diu traheret; ita jocatus est, Vellem Cassius et meum forum aecuset."

² Such may be supposed to be the meaning of Aurelius Victor, *Epit.* 1. "Cunetis vulgo jaetantibus, utinam aut non nasceretur aut non moreretur alterum enim pessimi exempli, exitus præelari alterum."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

TIBERIUS, ON HIS RETURN FROM RHODES, AT FIRST TAKES NO PART IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS.—AFTER THE DEATH OF CAIUS HE COMES AGAIN FORWARD.—HIS MISSION TO GAUL IN 757.—HE REACHES THE ELBE.—THE MARCOMANNI AND THE KINGDOM OF MAROBODUUS.—EXPEDITION OF TIBERIUS AGAINST THE MARCOMANNI IN 759.—FRUSTRATED BY THE REVOLT OF THE PANNONIANS.—ALARM AT ROME.—BANISHMENT OF AGRIPPA POSTUMUS.—THE PANNONIANS ARE REDUCED BY TIBERIUS AND GERMANICUS, A. U. 759-762.—INTRIGUES AGAINST AUGUSTUS.—BANISHMENT OF THE YOUNGER JULIA.—BANISHMENT OF THE POET OVIDIUS NASO, 761.—DISCONTENT OF THE CITIZENS.—THE ROMAN PROVINCE BETWEEN THE RHINE AND ELBE.—OVERTHROW OF VARUS AND LOSS OF THREE LEGIONS, 763.—CONSTERNATION AT ROME.—TIBERIUS SENT TO THE RHINE.—OLD AGE OF AUGUSTUS.—TIBERIUS RECEIVES THE PROCONSULAR POWER, AND IS VIRTUALLY ASSOCIATED IN THE EMPIRE.—HIS HOPES OF THE SUCCESSION.—RUMOURED RECONCILIATION OF AUGUSTUS WITH AGRIPPA POSTUMUS.—RECORD OF THE ACTS OF AUGUSTUS.—MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM.—LAST DAYS AND DEATH OF AUGUSTUS.—CONCLUSION (A. D. 4-14, A. U. 757-767).

THUS reinstated in the highest consideration to which a citizen could attain beneath the shadow of the imperial power, Tiberius might look with horror on the humiliation, not unmingled with personal danger, from which he had so recently emerged. He had experienced, as the fruit of his perverse resentment, how short is the step from retirement to oblivion, how precarious the condition of a royal exile, how nigh, in the case of the most exalted fortunes, disgrace ever borders on destruction. As the conviction was gradually forced upon him, that his moody abandonment of his duties had been an act of fatal impolicy, he had become disgusted with the retreat

Gloomy prospects of Tiberius at Rhodes

which he had chosen, he had buried himself in the recesses of his narrow prison-house, had thrown aside the garb of a senator, and waived the visits of the officers who still halted on their route at Rhodes, or turned thither out of their way to pay court to the emperor's son-in-law. From year to year these visits of compliment and policy became more rare. The displeasure of Augustus was more generally known, and the courtiers took their cue from the indications he gave of his sentiments. Tiberius was made aware that if the citizens still spoke of him at all, it was with an affectation of pity or resentment. One of the Gaulish states actually voted that his statue in their forum should be overthrown. In the tent of Caius Caesar officious persons were found to speak of him contemptuously as *the exile*, and even offer to lay his head at their young patron's feet.¹ This tone was encouraged, perhaps, by the arrogant demeanour of the prince himself in the interview they had had at Samos; and the enmity of his tutor Lollius towards Tiberius, whatever its motive, was sufficiently notorious among the legions. Tiberius meanwhile, uneasy in mind and dissatisfied with his own conduct, yet unable to abate the emperor's resentment, fell into deep despondency. Able as he undoubtedly was, he was deficient in a manly reliance on his abilities, and under discouragement or perplexity his faint-heartedness took refuge in dreams and omens. From his childhood, indeed, like many a scion of a ruling house, he had been pampered with auguries of his future greatness, in the contemplation of which his native strength of character may have been partly enervated. He now devoted himself

He addict
himself to
astrology.

still more eagerly to the study of the future, in which he consulted the skill of the astrologer Thrasyllus. The post of seer in the household of so wayward a patron must have been one of peculiar difficulty, nor was it devoid of danger. Its occupant was the unwilling depositary of many perilous secrets. He was employed to cast the horoscope, not of his master only, but of his master's enemies or rivals,—of the young Cæsars, Caius

¹ Suet. *Tib.* 13.

and Lucius, possibly of Augustus himself. He was made the reluctant accomplice of investigations which either were already treasonable, or might hereafter become so. Among the horrid stories regarding the recluse of Rhodes, which were now noised abroad to the dismay of the citizens, it was said that he kept an attendant of Herculean strength, to hurl into the waves beneath his villa the wretches whom he had thus possessed of his secret thoughts and practices. Among these none was so eminent as Thrasyllus, and accordingly the position of none was so perilous. The astrologer saved himself by an ingenious device. Undoubtedly it required no occult science to divine the cruel intentions of so jealous a patron, nor in his moody humours to read the thoughts which occupied him. One day Thrasyllus was observed to betray sudden perturbation and terror. When Tiberius inquired the cause, he declared that his art had just revealed to him that he was at that moment in imminent peril. Tiberius, conscious that he had just been meditating his companion's destruction, was struck with this proof of his skill in divination, embraced him with transports of delight, and gave him increasing marks of his confidence. When his own turn came to watch anxiously from the cliffs the arrival of a messenger from Rome, whom he expected to bring his own death-warrant, Thrasyllus, on descrying the vessel, declared that, on the contrary, he was the bearer of good tidings. The conjecture was again fortunate. Tiberius was suddenly summoned from his exile to the favour of Augustus, and even to the prospect of empire.¹

Conscious of his error in pretending for once to act with independence, Tiberius now sought to retrieve it by entire submission to his chief's wishes. At Rhodes he had entreated that an officer might be appointed to watch him, and report

¹ These stories are referred to by Suetonius, *Tib.* 14., and Dion, iv. 11. They are gravely attested also by Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 20, 21. The appearance of an eagle, a bird which was never known to visit Rhodes, was hailed as a favourable omen. The occurrence is ingeniously handled in an epigram of Apollonidas, *Anthol. Græc.* ii. 135., ed. Brunck.

all his words and actions. On his return, under the condition imposed by Caius that he should abstain from public affairs, he renounced the mansion of Pompeius, which he had formerly occupied in the frequented quarter of the Carinæ, and courted seclusion in the more distant gardens of Mæcenas.¹ His only public act was to introduce his son Drusus, on coming of age, to the citizens in the forum; he surrendered himself to complete retirement, associated with the poets and grammarians, studied sentimental and erotic versifiers, and employed himself in composing an elegy on the death of Lucius Cæsar.² But when the demise of the surviving brother opened to him again a public career, and he was to believe that the republic demanded his assistance, his long-restrained activity quickly revived. He accepted a mission to the German frontier along which a general war of attack and defence on either side had been raging for three years.³ Since the last campaign he had conducted in this quarter, the Romans had acquired substantial advantages beyond the Rhine. The command of the legions had devolved upon Domitius, the son of the Antonian renegade, a man of energy and boldness, who had plunged into the heart of Germany, crossed the Elbe, and planted on its further bank an altar to Augustus, as a pledge of the amicable relations he had succeeded for a moment in establish-

On his return from Rhodes, he abstains from all public affairs.

Expeditions of Domitius in Germany,

¹ Suet. *Tib.* 15.: "Romam reversus statim e Carinis et Pompeiana domo Esquilias in hortos Mæcenatis transmigravit." This fact deserves to be noticed as a trait of manners. The life of public men in Rome was so thoroughly public, their doors standing open from the earliest hour for the throng of clients and attendants, that the removal of a few hundred paces from the centre of social movement was not without political significance. The dwellings of the great men of the republic had always been in the immediate vicinity of the Forum. It was part of Mæcenas's modest policy to make choice of a suburban locality.

² Suet. *Tib.* 70.: "Composuit et lyricum carmen ejus est titulus: conquestio de L. Cæsaris morte." For his taste in poetry, and his admiration of the Greek writers of the class of Parthenius and Rhianor, see the same author, *l. c.*

³ Vell. ii. 104.: "Bellum quibusdam in locis gestum, quibusdam sustentum feliciter."

ing with the natives.¹ By the construction of a road across the heaths and morasses of the Lippe valley, he had connected the frontiers of Gaul with the outposts of the empire on the Weser. He had also transplanted the Hermunduri into the vacant seats of the Marcomanni, who had quitted their old habitations about the sources of the Danube, for a domicile in the remoter region of Bohemia. It seems, however, that Domitius had been unsuccessful in his demand on the Cherusci, to receive back some exiles of their nation; and in quitting the province without chastising this affront, he had perhaps subjected the Roman authority to contempt. Vinicius, who succeeded to his command, found himself involved in a formidable war, for the conduct of which he was rewarded with the triumphal ornaments; but had he performed any considerable exploit it is not likely that a favourable historian, such as Velleius Paterculus, would have failed to specify it.²

Tiberius quitted Rome for the frontiers in the summer of 757, and entered at once on the work before him. The events of this invasion are not known to us; but the powerful force he commanded seems to have speedily quelled resistance, and the only record of his exploit remains in the names of the tribes which are said to have now submitted to him, the Bructeri, the Caninefates, the Attuarii, and Cherusci, lying between the lower Rhine and the Weser, a district which the Roman arms had already penetrated in every direction. His operations were prolonged, perhaps, by the means he took to secure conquests so often partially effected, until the middle of December, some months beyond the usual military season in that severe cli-

Tiberius in
Germany.
A. D. 4.
A. U. 757.

¹ Tac. *Ann.* iv. 44. : "Domitius flumen Albim exercitu transcendit, longius penetrata Germania quam quisquam priorum." Velleius, it will be seen, assigns this honour to his hero Tiberius.

² Dion, lv. 10.; Vell. *l. c.* M. Vinicius was the grandfather of the friend to whom Velleius addresses his work. It is to be observed, however, that he seems systematically to depreciate the predecessors of Tiberius in the German command.

mate; and when he left the army to revisit Rome, he fixed its winter quarters at the sources of the Lippe, on the confines of the forest of Teutoburg.¹ From this point he meditated a deliberate advance in the ensuing year, and his object in now recrossing the Alps may have been to extort from the growing timidity and reluctance of Augustus permission and means for an enterprise on a grander scale. Returning accordingly to his legions early in the spring of 758, he organ-

A. D. 5
A. U. 758.

ised a combined expedition by land and sea, by which the wants of the invading army might be supplied, and its baggage and machines of war transported by water into the heart of the enemy's country. Reserving for himself in person the conduct of the main body of his forces in light array across the wilderness, he directed a numerous flotilla, long since prepared on the Rhine, to follow in the course explored by Drusus, along the shores of the Northern Ocean; to penetrate to the mouth of the Elbe, and ascend its yet unknown waters, till the armaments should meet together in an appointed latitude.² This remarkable combination was actually carried into execution according to the directions prescribed; and the praises lavished upon it by Vellcius, who shared himself in its hazards, cannot be regarded as too warm for so memorable an achievement, the most remarkable for the success of its far-sighted arrangements of any recorded in ancient military history. It is much to be regretted that we should know so little of its

¹ Vell. ii. 105.: "In mediis (Germaniæ) finibus ad caput Luppiæ fluminis:" advanced, therefore, considerably to the east of Aliso.

² Vell. ii. 106. This remarkable statement deserves to be given in full: "Denique quod nunquam antea spe concepit, nedum opere tentatum erat, ad quadringentesimum milliarius a Rheno usque ad flumen, Albim, qui Semnouum Hermundurorumque fines præterfluit, Romanus eum signis perductus est exercitus; et eodem mira felicitate et eura duis, temporum quoque observantia, classis quæ oceani circumnavigaverat sinus, ab inaudito atque ineguito ante mari flumine Albi subveeta, plurimarum gentium victoria, eum abundantissima rerum omnium copia, exercitui Cæsarique se junxit." The point of junction is left quite indeterminate. It seems hardly credible that the Roman flotilla can have ascended the stream to the latitude of the Lippe, or the confluence of the Elbe and Saale.

details, which, if fully presented, would give us ample insight into the resources of the Roman power.¹ We only know that the advance of Tiberius had been triumphant, and perhaps unresisted. In the lack of victories to celebrate, his encomiast vaunts the merit, unusual in a Roman general, of sparing the lives of his soldiers, and exposing himself to no unnecessary risk.² But to Velleius the future emperor was a demigod, and his deeds divine;³ and he records with enthusiasm the veneration with which the barbarians regarded him.⁴ While the army was encamped on the left bank of the Elbe, and the natives, retreating before them, were collected in force on the other, an aged chief put off from the further side in a canoe, and from the middle of the stream addressed the strangers, demanding leave to cross in safety, and behold the person of their leader. Conducted to the tent of the emperor, he surveyed him for a time with silent admiration, and exclaimed, *What madness is this of ours, to contend against the unseen divinities, and not humbly to seek their presence and make submission to their benign authority! But I, by the grace of Cæsar, have this day seen a god, a privilege I never before attained nor hoped to attain.* Thus saying, he sought permission to touch the hand of the divinity; and as he paddled back across the stream still turned his face towards the Roman bank, with his eyes fixed constantly upon him.⁵ It is obvious to remark, that if the story be true,

¹ The battering train of a Roman army was generally little less cumbrous than modern artillery: but in moving through a country where there were no stone fortifications, it is probable that this was in a great degree dispensed with. Nevertheless the provision for the conveyance of the men's baggage must have been on an immense scale, even in their lightest array.

² Vell. l. c.: "Sine ullo detrimento commissi exercitus."

³ Vell. ii. 94: "Cælestissimorum ejus operum per annos continuos novem, præfectus aut legatus, spectator, pro captu mediocritatis meæ adjutor fui."

⁴ There is something far more natural, and not less interesting, in the historian's account of the joy with which the veterans hailed their old leader's return to military life. (ii. 103.) "Videmus te, imperator? salvum recepimus? ac deinde, ego tecum, imperator, in Armenia, ego in Rhætia fui; ego a te in Vindelicis, ego in Pannonia, ego in Germania donatus sum!"

⁵ Vell. ii. 107. Compare an epigram of Martial, v. 3.

the scene might have easily been arranged, by the prince's flatterers, to confirm the allegiance of the native chiefs attending in his camp. But the children of the German forests were fully prepared to accept the divine character of the great and powerful among men, and the altar recently erected on their soil had already attracted votaries among them. This expedition, however remarkable in its circumstances, had no more important results than those which preceded it. Once only had the Germans ventured to measure their strength with the advancing legions, when they paid for their rashness by a signal discomfiture: nevertheless the Romans, on retiring in the autumn, had left behind them no permanent impression of their successes.

These repeated advances, however, with the speedy retreat and proffered submission of the natives, though far from

The influence of Rome extended by these repeated invasions.

having the character of conquests, could not altogether fail in extending the influence of Rome throughout a great portion of central Europe. They inspired a strong sense of her invincibility, and of her conquering destiny; at the same time they exalted the respect of the barbarians for the southern civilization, which could marshal such irresistible forces at so vast a distance from the sources of its power. Accordingly the young chiefs of the Rhine and Elbeland crowded to Rome, to learn her lessons of government on the spot; while many of their followers and dependants settled within her walls. The views of Tiberius extended to the complete subjugation of the whole country before him; but he had not the military ardour of the conqueror of the Gauls, nor was he pressed for time like the rival of Pompeius: he could afford to wait upon events, and leave the consummation of his policy to be developed hereafter. Meanwhile, the position to which he had been elevated rendered him almost independent of the scruples of Augustus, whose discreet and dilatory system he was able, when he chose, to overrule. This hesitation, indeed, on the emperor's part was not inadequately justified by the circumstances of the time. Augustus perceived but too

clearly the goal to which affairs were tending, the unchecked preponderance of the military power. The mercenaries now enlisted under the Roman eagles began to clamour for increased pay and privileges, and to remonstrate against the protracted servitude to which they were condemned by the reluctance of the citizens to embrace the profession of arms. The nobles and men of fortune, the strength of the ancient legions, were fully employed, by the cautious but self-defeating policy of the emperor, in the civil business of the state; while the populace, from whom Marius and Cæsar had not disdained to recruit, were contented with the dole of public corn, and refused to earn their bread under the austere discipline of the camp. Augustus, when he looked around him, might perceive that this was but one of many symptoms of the decline of national spirit, and the failure of his elaborate scheme for reconstructing the nation. To many it might seem a trifling matter, that he was now obliged, for want of legitimate candidates for the Vestal priesthood, to admit the daughters of freedmen to that dignity; nevertheless it betrayed, but too plainly, to the clear view of the imperial reformer, the loss of an element of power in the decay of a venerable tradition.¹ At such a moment the acquisition of a new province with its burdens and obligations was hardly a matter of felicitation; but the Jews had complained so loudly of the tyranny of Archelaus, that Augustus was induced to summon him to Rome, and thence relegate him to Vienna in Gaul, while he satisfied the demands of his people by annexing his dominions to the empire.² It was now necessary to keep a regular force stationed in the strong places of Judea; but even the means of paying the soldiery at home had become a question of difficulty. Augustus largely contributed to the public service from his private resources; he encouraged his allies also to bestow

Augustus hesitates in the prosecution of the conquest of Germany.

¹ Dion, lv. 22.

² Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 2., xviii. 2. 1. Judea was made a province in the last half of the year 759; in the tenth year of Archelaus's government Dion, lv. 27.; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 7. 3.

their liberality in the same manner; yet he refrained from soliciting, nor would he even accept, the subscriptions of individual citizens. He was glad perhaps to profit by a transient necessity for the imposition of a permanent charge on the Roman people, who, since they had been relieved from the land-tax, were jealous of any encroachment on their cherished immunity. While he decreed the levy of one twentieth upon the succession to property, he invited the senators to recommend any other tax they deemed more eligible; well assured that while many of them would be eager to submit to his own view, those who ventured to dissent from it would neutralize their opposition by the conflict of opinions among themselves.¹

To return, however, to the northern frontiers, to which our eyes have been so frequently directed, we may observe that, within a very recent period, a remarkable revolution had taken place in the interior of Germany, which must be ascribed to the influence of a single chief. The designation of Marcomanni had been given by the western tribes to a Suevic clan, settled, as their name imports, on the march or border of the German territory.² They formed the advanced guard of the nation in its struggles to extend westward, and to penetrate through the defiles of Helvetia into the pastures of Gaul. But the restoration of the Helvetii by Cæsar, and the subsequent intrusion of Gaulish and Roman settlers on the right bank of the Rhine, seem to have harassed the Marcomanni, and made them dissatisfied with possessions which they could not main-

Movements of
the Marcomanni.

¹ Dion, l.v. 25.

² This is one of the earliest and clearest indications of the radical identity of the German language of the first and the nineteenth century. The Marcomanni are evidently the men of the *marea* or *limes*, the line which divides one territory from another. Zeuss, *die Deutschen*, &c., p. 114. Another derivation assigned, is from *markir*, a wood. But this word is itself derived from *marea*. Zeuss refers to Grimm, *Rechtsalterthüm.* p. 497. Some writers Germanize Maroboduus into Marbod. But the meaning of this word is not obvious, and here and elsewhere I have generally preferred the Latin as the only authorized form.

tain inviolate. They were induced by the authority of their chief Maroboduus, or Marbod, to remove in a body eastward : crossing the Mons Gabreta or Erzgebirge, they poured into the district of Boiohemum, the *homes of the Boii*, and established themselves in the broad, lozenge-shaped valley of the Moldau and Upper Elbe. Within this territory, entrenched in a circumvallation of mountains, and doubly defended by rocks and forests, the great South-German empire was rapidly reared under the sway of its spirited chieftain, who had profited by the lessons he had learned in an early residence at Rome.¹ Flanked by the Narisci on one side and the Quadi on the other, the Marcomanni and their allies confronted, along the whole line of the Upper Danube, the garrisons of Noricum and Vindelicia. Maroboduus maintained a regular force of seventy thousand foot and four thousand horse, armed and disciplined after the Roman model ; and these troops, while still unmolested by the southern invaders, he had exercised in reducing his German neighbours, and consolidating his wide possessions. If at an earlier period the Marcomanni had retired before the aggressions of the Roman power, they now no longer pretended to fear it : the provincials who fled from the tyranny of the proconsuls found an hospitable reception beyond the Danube ; while in the discussions which ensued, the envoys of Maroboduus were instructed to alternate a tone of deference towards their formidable rivals, with the boldest assertions of equality and independence.²

The kingdom of Maroboduus, in southern Germany.

The German nations placed themselves for the most part under the lead of a single chieftain, whom the Romans were accustomed to describe by the general designation of king. But the power of this chief was limited on all sides by prescriptive usage, and the authority of force and numbers. A political education

Maroboduus compared to Pyrrhus and Antiochus.

¹ Vell. ii. 108. : "Maroboduus certum imperium vinque regiam complexus animo."

² Vell. ii. 109. : "Legati quos mittebat ad Cæsares interdum ut supplicem commendabant, interdum ut pro pari loquebantur."

at the capital of the empire was ill-suited to the heir of such a sovereignty as this. No sooner had Maroboduus returned to his own country, than he aspired to a loftier eminence above the jealous control of his armed peers. The crisis in the fortunes of his nation furnished an opportunity for securing the object of his ambition, and he seems to have acquired a much more absolute sway than his people had before admitted. This was the circumstance which made him peculiarly formidable to the Romans. The imperators on the frontiers had hitherto profited far more by the divisions of their enemies, than by the vigour of their own arms. Accordingly, when they beheld for the first time a nation of warriors arrayed under the control of a single hand, they felt deprived of their wonted advantage, and reduced to contend on equal terms with an opponent whose strength and courage might compensate for inferior discipline. Hence it was that they compared the king of the Marcomanni to Pyrrhus and Antiochus, and declared that he was not less dangerous to their own empire than the Macedonian Philip had proved to Athens.¹ They added that the frontiers of his kingdom and dependencies extended to within two hundred miles of Italy: it was more important to observe that the interval was occupied by half-conquered foreigners, ready to hail with acclamations the advance of a German deliverer. But the despotism of Maroboduus was in fact a source of weakness rather than of strength; for it tended to separate his interests from those of the brave warriors of the north, and divided into two jealous camps the great Teutonic nation.

At the commencement of 759, Tiberius had exchanged his post on the Rhine for the command of the legions on the sister-stream of the Danube. Preparations had been made for a grand attack on the Marcomanni, whose insolence, as the Romans designated it, had afforded sufficient pretext for a declaration

Campaign of
Tiberius
against the
Marcomanni.
A. D. 6.
A. U. 759.

¹ Tacitus (*Ann.* ii. 62.) puts this declaration, at a later period, into the mouth of Tiberius.

of war. The chief station of the Romans in this quarter was at Carnuntum, the gate of western Europe, where her greatest river issues from the hills of the Celt and Teuton into the plains of the Scythian and Sarmatian. At this important post, which served to overawe both Noricum and Pannonia, a force, which may be estimated at six legions, was collected for the projected invasion. Tiberius, placing himself at their head, proceeded to lead them westward, in order to meet an army of not inferior strength which Saturninus was bringing from the Rhine, cutting his way with spade and axe through the heart of the Hercynian forest. The boldness of this movement must be allowed for an instant to arrest our attention. There was not, indeed, much apprehension of any armed opposition being made to it. The Suevic tribes, through whose territories it would be directed, had for the most part abandoned their homes; and a large portion of the track it followed lay within the undisputed domain of the wilderness. But when we consider how ignorant the Romans were of these savage regions, the rudeness of their methods of exploration by sea or land, and the gloom of the pathless forest which they had to traverse without even the compass for their guide, we must confess that the forethought and methodical arrangement which could insure the meeting of two armies from such distant points at an appointed spot, was not less admirable than the just self-confidence which ventured to rely on them. It is not quite clear, from the meagre account of our historian, whether this spot was on the right bank of the Danube or the left. The latter seems, however, the more probable. Tiberius crossed the river at Carnuntum, and struck in a north-westerly direction towards the frontiers of Bohemia. He had arrived within five marches of the enemy's border; and Saturninus was at the same moment at no greater distance from it on the opposite side. Whatever might have been the further result of the arduous campaign in prospect, this combination, which for its magnitude and precision

He is recalled
by an insurrec-
tion in Pan-
nonia.

deserves to be compared with that which we have recently

admired, had, in fact, virtually succeeded, when Tiberius was disconcerted by the report of an insurrection in Pannonia. The provincial garrisons had been drafted from their camps, and the natives, who had groaned under the exactions of the Roman administration, finding themselves relieved from the accustomed pressure of military force, sprang with vehemence to arms. With his prey almost in his clutches, and a victory in prospect more magnificent than any since those of Aquæ Sextiæ and Vercellæ, Tiberius was too discreet to hazard for his own glory the peace and safety of the empire. He offered terms to Maroboduus, who, with less discretion, was eager to accept them. The Roman armies were ordered to retreat simultaneously, and they regained their provinces at least without dishonour.¹

The nations through which the flame of rebellion had spread counted, according to a loose calculation, eight hundred thousand souls; the warriors in arms, whose force might be more accurately estimated, were computed at two hundred thousand infantry and eight thousand horse.² Their numbers, however, were not so formidable as the union they maintained among themselves, and the concert which might be apprehended between them and the various tribes from the Adriatic to the Euxine. The immediate cause of this revolt was the raising of levies by Messalinus, the imperial legate, for enlistment in the army of the Danube. But the warriors of the northern provinces were not generally averse to the risks and glories of Roman service, and it was rather the tyranny of the government which always pressed most harshly on the subjects whose loyalty was least assured, that drove them to the

General outbreak of the Pannonians, Dalmatians and Illyrians.

¹ Dion, lv. 28.; Vell. ii. 112.: "Tum necessaria gloriosis præposita, neque tutum visum, abdito in interiora exercitu, vacuum tam vicino hosti Italiam relinquere." Tac. *Ann.* ii. 46.: "Conditionibus æquis discessum."

² This, it will be remembered, is nearly the same proportion of fighting men to a whole population as that which was recorded among the Helvetians. These provinces had been for several years under the Roman dominion, and the population may have been numbered for purposes of administration. In such a case the slaves were probably omitted from the account.

desperate resource of insurrection. The Dalmatians and Illyrians, the nearest to Italy, whose long resistance, though productive of few great men or great events, was deemed worthy of detailed recital by the historiographer of the enemies of Rome, were led by chiefs whose names, Bato and Pinnes, have been preserved to us.¹ They attacked and overpowered some cohorts stationed in their own country, then turned southward, assaulted Salona on the Adriatic without success, and marched southward as far as Apollonia, to check perhaps the advance of reinforcements from Greece. At the same time a Pannonian chief, named also Gato, attempted to carry the strong post of Sirmium; and though he was repulsed and defeated by Cæcina on the Drave, the loss of the Romans was such as almost to convert his defeat into a victory. The readiness with which the Pannonians had learnt, not only the habits and language, but the tactics of their conquerors, made them peculiarly formidable. No nation, it was affirmed, that had ever opposed the Romans, had so well weighed its resources, or seized more warily the moment for exerting them. The rout of the local garrisons, the extermination of the Roman colonists, the abortive attack upon Sirmium, were only preludes to an organized and general combination against the foreign intruders. On the one hand, the Dacians and Sarmatians were encouraged to attack the extreme right of the Roman line on the Danube; on the other, preparations were made for penetrating into Italy itself by the route of Nauportus and Tergeste.²

The accessibility of Italy upon this side, where her moun-

¹ Dion, *lv.* 29. Besides the "Civil Wars" of Rome, Appian wrote the "Affairs," that is, the "contests with the republic" of the Illyrians, the Macedonians, and the Carthaginians.

² Vell. *ii.* 110.: "*Pars petere Italiam decreverat, junctam sibi Nauporti et Tergestis confinio.*" Nauportus is evidently from its name the station of a flotilla, such as the Romans maintained on some of their great frontier rivers. It must have stood on the banks of the Save, near Amona, the modern Laybach. D'Anville supposes it to be Ober-Laybach, on the eastern declivity of the Carnian Alps. The ancient as well as the modern road from Italy lay through these places.

tain barrier sinks most nearly to the level of the plains, was at all times a matter of anxiety to her rulers. Consternation at Rome. Alarm of Augustus. Augustus, shaken by years and dispirited by family losses, forgot that the rear of the enemy was pressed by the armaments of Tiberius, and exclaimed, with petulant vexation, that ten days might bring them to the gates of Rome. The consternation became general. In earlier times the republic had disdained to maintain a defensive force before the walls of the capital. Every citizen in those days was a soldier, every father of a family was a veteran of many campaigns. Rome could never be taken by surprise. But the vast change in her social circumstances had produced no alteration in her material defences. Italy was allowed to remain denuded of regular troops, and her children shrank from a service to which they were unaccustomed and averse. It required a strong appeal to their fears to support the vigorous measures which seemed requisite for their safety. The veterans were summoned from their estates; the heads of every household, male or female, were required to furnish a contingent of freedmen for military service; senators and knights were bid to unbar the doors of their factories, and pour forth their slaves, whom the state enfranchised before putting arms into their hands.¹

Whatever apprehensions the emperor may have felt at this moment, they were probably excited not so much by the hostility of the barbarians beyond the Alps, as by the disquietude which had for some time prevailed at Rome. It can hardly be said that the citizens had any particular distress to complain of, beyond the occasional recurrence of scarcities and inundations. Nevertheless, their

State of affairs
at Rome.

¹ Vell. ii. 111. Comp. Dion, lv. 31. It must be observed that Velleius speaks in much stronger terms than Dion of the anxiety of this crisis, and may fairly be suspected of exaggerating it from his known disposition to flatter Tiberius. Nevertheless, Suetonius, no flatterer of Tiberius, or of any other of the Cæsars, could declare that Rome had experienced no such dangers since the period of the Punic wars. *Tib.* 16.: "Quod gravissimum omnium externorum bellorum post Punica per quindecim legiones paremque auxiliorum copiam triennio gessit."

complaints were becoming louder and more frequent. Augustus had yielded to their outcries and redoubled his largesses. To rid the city of its superfluous consumers, he had ordered that the gladiators and the slaves exposed for sale should be removed to a hundred miles' distance. He set the example of dismissing a portion of his own household; and he gave the senators permission, long jealously withheld, to quit Rome for their estates.¹ But fresh causes of discontent arose with the same harassing results. Fires broke out in the city in quickly recurring succession. Again the people murmured, as if their chief were responsible for assaults of every element. Under despotic governments, incendiary fires have been employed to arrest the attention of the rulers to the wants of their subjects, and it is not impossible that the hands of citizens themselves may have caused the conflagrations they now resented. This, however, was the origin of the nightly watch of the city, a police formed in the first instance from the emperor's own freedmen, and meant to serve a temporary purpose, but soon found too useful, both to the public service and the imperial interests, to be abandoned.² Such long neglect of so obvious a precaution shows strongly the power of the aristocratic element in the old constitution. The nobles, secure in their isolated dwellings on the hills of Rome, had no concern for the frail and crowded tenements of the commons, and let matters take their course with frigid indifference.³ But notwithstanding these concessions made to the popular cry by the patron of the people, the discontent of the citizens was

Discontent of
the populace
manifested in
various ways.

¹ Dion, *lv.* 22, 23, 26.; Oros. *vii.* 3. A. U. 758, 759; Fischer, *Roem. Zeit.*

² Suet. *Oct.* 30.; Dion, *lv.* 26.

³ The history of this subject is given briefly by Paulus in the *Digest*, *i.* 15. 1.: "Apud vetustiores incendiis arcendis triumviri præerant, qui ab eo quod excubias agebant nocturni dicti sunt. Interveniebant non nunquam et ædiles et tribuni plebis. Erat autem familia publica circa portam et muros disposita, unde si opus esset evocabatur. Fuerant et privatæ familiæ qui incendia vel mercede vel gratia exstinguerent."—The service was thus left to the occasional energy of the magistrates or to private enterprise. "Deinde D. Augustus maluit per se huic rei consuli." Reimar on Dion, *l. c.*

little appeased. They had become tired of their favourite. Augustus had grown old and morose; his figure had lost its grace, his government its brilliancy. The smoothness with which the machine of empire moved allowed men to forget how easily it might be disarranged, and how fatal might be the consequences of disturbance. The mildness of the administration encouraged the murmurs of the discontented, and many an aimless muttering of change was heard in the familiar talk of a thoughtless populace.¹ Seditious placards were posted at night in the public places. The origin of these demonstrations was said to be traced to a certain Plautius Rufus, a noble of no personal distinction; it was believed, however, that he was only an instrument in the hands of concealed agitators.² Suspicion and apprehension everywhere prevailed; and these were increased rather than allayed by the inquiries of the government, which offered rewards for the discovery of the guilty and obtained numerous denunciations. A scarcity, with which the city was threatened, contributed to aggravate alarm, which only departed with the return of plenty and security; when good humour was restored by the games of Tiberius and the young Germanicus in honour of the still lamented Drusus.

Good humour restored by the games of Tiberius.

Still greater was the delight universally manifested when Tiberius inscribed his deceased brother's name, in conjunction with his own, on the temple he now dedicated to the twin-deities, Castor and Pollux.³

But scarcely had this cloud passed away, and Tiberius returned to the attack on Maroboduus beyond the Danube, than the news arrived of the great Pannonian revolt, which had broken out in his rear. For

Alacrity of the citizens in obeying the

¹ Dion, *lv.* 27.: καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ φανερώς νεωτερόποια διελάλουν.

² Suet. *Oct.* 25.; Dion, *l. c.*

³ This dedication (Suet. *Tib.* 20.) seems to have taken place early in the spring of 759, when Tiberius was again at Rome for a few months before proceeding to the campaign on the Danube. Dion, *lv.* 27., who adds, τὰ τε γὰρ τῶν πόλεμον ἅμα διώκει, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὅποτε παράσχοι, συνεχῶς ἐπεφόιτα, τὸ μὲν τι, πραγμάτων τινῶν ἕνεκα, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον, φοβούμενος μὴ ὁ Αὔγουστος ἄλλον τινὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ προτιμήσῃ.

tunately, abundance reigned at this moment in the city, and while the supply of their simple necessities was abundant, the populace was never dangerous to the government which maintained it in idleness. Anxious as Augustus must have been, at such a crisis, with the possibility of a domestic insurrection to complicate and aggravate it, he might be reassured by the trembling eagerness with which all classes now joined in obeying his directions for their common safety. The citizens submitted to the fresh imposition of a fiftieth on the sale of slaves; and these repeated recognitions, however trifling in amount, of their liability to share the burdens of their subjects, served to confirm an important principle. They marked, in a way which no politician could mistake, the equalization of all classes under the rising monarchy of the empire.

The new levies, hastily raised and equipped, were entrusted to the command of the youthful Germanicus, who had now nearly completed his twenty-first year.¹ The name he bore and the favour which already attached to him, marked him as a fitting leader for this popular armament: and Augustus beheld with satisfaction in the third generation of his family, qualities, both of mind and person, which augured the highest distinction. This was the more consolatory to the bereaved grandsire, as the next in years of the Cæsarean house, entitled not less from his name than Germanicus to the love of the soldiers, though placed in the same line of succession with him, seemed to offer no such happy promise. This was Agrippa Postumus, the youngest child of Julia, born after his father's decease, on whom, as nearest to him in blood, the affection Augustus had lavished on Caius and Lucius might

The young
Germanicus in
Pannonia.
A. D. 7.
A. U. 760.

¹ The younger Germanicus, son of Nero Claudius Drusus, to whom the title of Germanicus was assigned after his father's premature death, was born A. U. 739, probably in September. He was now despatched on his first campaign in the summer of 760. Dion, lv. 30. His prænomen is not ascertained; it was probably the same as his father's. Nero, which was originally a cognomen, became at this time a prænomen of the Claudian house. Suet. *Claud.* 1.

now be expected to devolve. But from some defect of breeding, if not of temper, the last of the Agrippas grievously degenerated from his kindred. Un-
Disappoint-
ment of Augus-
tus at the
defects of
Agrippa Postu-
mus. gainly in person, and awkward in every gesture, he seemed unsusceptible, both in mind and body, of the training suitable to his station. Docility, both moral and physical, was a quality to which the Romans attached peculiar importance. They considered a plastic nature the great mark of distinction between the gentle and the base, the free and the servile character; and as regarded his own family, Augustus was no doubt peculiarly sensitive on this point, which seemed to touch on his imperial mission: for the beauty of his own person, and the fineness of his intellect, constituted a powerful element in his claim, as well as in that of the divine Julius, to reign over the free Roman people. That any of his descendants, whom he had himself reared or adopted, should prove unworthy in manners or appearance of the ambrosian blood of their parent Venus, pierced him to the quick. He considered it as a personal disgrace, implying some defect on his own part; and he could not bear that such a failure should be manifested in the face of his admirers. To this sentiment the unfortunate but guilty Julia had been partly sacrificed: Agrippa, even more unfortunate, was at least guiltless. The worst that could be alleged against him was that his manners were what the Romans contemptuously designated as *servile*: he had neither the martial nor the literary spirit of the true optimate. Instead of devoting himself to the mimic war of the Campus Martius or the mimic debates of the rhetoricians' schools, he would recline in the shade of a Baian portico, and listlessly angle in the placid waters beneath it. For the triumphs of his rod and line he claimed, it was said, the attributes of Neptune, an assumption which had been deemed abominable even in Sextus, when he ruled supreme over the Tyrrhene and Ionian, and was master of a thousand triremes.¹ Doubtless vigilant enemies were not wanting to insinuate that his

¹ Dion, iv. 32.

wanton mother had played false to her husband, and suffered the turbid blood of a plebeian paramour to mingle with the Julian ichor. Of all the direct descendants of Augustus this youth remained alone to dispute with the Claudian branch of the Cæsarean stem the honours which were now almost assured to it. The intrigues of Livia did not sleep in the last crisis of the long contest she had waged against the claims of the rival race. If, as was reported, Agrippa allowed himself to use the language of exasperation against her, we may believe that he at least gave credence to the current stories of her machinations and crimes. But it is added that, in his bursts of uncontrolled passion, he did not spare Augustus himself, whom he accused of depriving him of his legitimate patrimony, by the acceptance of his father's legacy.

To make such a charge as this against the man who was able, and naturally willing, to indemnify him far beyond any loss he had sustained, was an act of stolid perversity; and such was the character generally, Banishment of Agrippa Postumus. and we must suppose not unjustly, attributed to

Postumus.¹ The emperor determined, with one last pang, to rid himself of the embarrassment of so unworthy a claimant on his favour. He caused him to be arrested and carried to Planasia, a barren rock off the coast of Ilva, and there detained as a state prisoner. This extreme act of parental authority towards a child who had already assumed the toga, and was accused of no crime, he caused the senate to ratify by a decree, in which its motives were explained, and justified no doubt by ancient precedents.² Having nerved himself with fortitude thus to violate his feelings for the common weal, as he imagined, perhaps more truly as a sacrifice to his

¹ Tac. *Ann.* i. 3.: "Rudem sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolidè ferocem." Vell. ii. 112.: "Mira pravitate animi atque ingenii in præcipiis conversus." Suet. *Oet.* 65.: "Ingenium sordidum et ferox."

² Tac. *Ann.* i. 6.: "Multa sævaque Augustus de moribus adolescentis questus, ut exilium ejus senatusconsulto sanciretur perfecerat." Dion, iv. 32. Suetonius states that he was first relegated to Surrentum; afterwards, "nihilò tractabiliorem immo in dies amentiore in insulam transportavit, sepsitque insuper custodia militum." Suet. *l. c.*

own pride, he turned with the yearnings of disappointed affection to the object on which his hopes were now beginning to centre, the fair promise of the gallant Germanicus.

High promise
and first suc-
cesses of Ger-
manicus.

The appointment of this young prince to his first military command gave scope to talents and a disposition not unworthy of Drusus the well-beloved. Before the end of the year he had worsted one of the Dalmatian tribes, while Tiberius, returning from the Danube, reoccupied Pannonia with an overwhelming force. The chiefs of the insurgent armies had taken advantage of his absence to move eastward, in order to intercept the forces which Severus, who commanded in Mœsia, was bringing up from that quarter. They had succeeded in meeting him, and had compelled him to await their onset in his camp, near the Palus Volcea, or lake of Balaton, but they were unable to force his well-defended entrenchments. Failing in this attempt, they found themselves pressed by the Roman arms on three sides, and falling back on a country which was no longer able to support them, they suffered the extremes of famine and pestilence; yet when at last they sued for peace, they still sued with arms in their hands, and in an attitude of defiance, with which the Roman leader disdained to parley. More than once, it was asserted, did Augustus declare himself satisfied, and exhort Tiberius to conclude a war which he suspected him of purposely protracting.¹ But Tiberius

Final subjugation of the Pannonians and their allies.

A. D. 9.
A. U. 762.

knew, perhaps, the inveterate hostility the Roman government had provoked, as well as the resolution of his opponents. When the Dalmatian Bato was led captive into his presence, and was asked what had induced him to revolt, and to persist so long in a desperate struggle, *It is your own doing*, he boldly answered, *who send not dogs or shepherds to protect your sheep, but wolves to prey on them.* Dalmatia, however, says

¹ Suet. *Tib.* 16.: "Quamquam sæpius revocaretur, tamen perseveravit, metuens ne vicinus et prævalens hostis instaret ultro cedentibus." Comp. Dion, *lv.* 31.: ὑποπτεύσας ἐς τὸν Τιβέριον, ὥς δυνηθέντα μὲν διὰ ταχέων αὐτοῦ κρητῆσαι, τρίβοντα δὲ ἐξἐπίτηδες.

the historian, returned to her obedience, partly by conquest and partly on capitulation.¹ Nevertheless the gallant Bato, who seems to have been released on his pretended submission, once more defied the conquerors. When another Bato, the chief of the Pannonians, sought the favour of the Romans by betraying his colleague Pinnes, the Dalmatian turned his arms against the traitor, and speedily overpowered and slew him. The Pannonians now rose once more against the invaders; but, exhausted and dispirited by their own divisions, they were easily reduced. Bato himself did not refrain from plundering allies who could serve his hopeless cause no longer. Keeping hold of the passes of the mountains between Pannonia and his own country, he continued to maintain his personal independence; but it was the independence of a brigand chief, no longer of a national leader. The war dwindled into the chase of a cunning fugitive from post to post, and ceases from henceforth to occupy a place in history. The pacification of the great province between the Adriatic and the Danube was not finally completed by Germanicus till the autumn of the year 762.²

Meanwhile, deprived of the consoling presence of all his nearest kinsmen, the emperor had begun, in the solitude of his palace, to find the cares of sovereignty insupportably onerous. He ventured by degrees to Mortifications of Augustus. cast aside a portion of the overwhelming responsibilities to which he had subjected himself. The senators, at whose meetings he had attended with scrupulous punctuality, were now allowed to determine many matters in his absence; he desisted from the habit of appearing in person at the mock elections of the Comitia; while from the year 760, when the votes had been interrupted by popular disturbances, he directed all the magistrates to be chosen on his own immediate nomination. The anxieties of the Pannonian war drew him from the city as far as Ariminum, and the citizens offered vows for his safety on his departure, and of thanksgiving on

¹ Dion, lv. 33, 34.; Vell. ii. 110-116.

² Dion, lvi. 11-17.; Zonaras, x. 37.

his return, as if he had undergone the perils of a foreign campaign. Satiety had left him weary and restless: his cheerful and collected temper gave way under repeated alarms and accumulated vexations. After disarming the animosity of noble intriguers by unexpected clemency, he found himself struck at by the hands of bondmen and adventurers. His life was attempted by an obscure slave named Telephus, whose brain was heated with the imagination that he was destined to reign. Audasius, a convicted forger, and Epicadus, a foreign freedman, sought to carry off Agrippa Postumus and Julia from their exile, and put them at the head of a seditious movement.¹ This event, the date of which, however, cannot be fixed precisely, may have determined the emperor to inflict banishment upon another member of the same hapless family. Julia had left behind her at Rome, besides Caius and Lucius, and the wretched Postumus, two daughters, a Julia and an Agrippina. The first of these had been married to L. Æmilius Paulus, grand-nephew of the triumvir Lepidus, the head of the house which might still be considered the noblest in Rome; while the other, who was younger, perhaps by some years, was united to her kinsman, Germanicus, apparently about her own age. The Æmilii continued for several generations to betray the pride of race which could ill brook the ascendancy of a Julius or a Claudius.² The son of the trium-

Fresh conspiracies against him.

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 19.

² The irregular ambition hereditary in the Æmilii is noted in some lines of a very late writer, which the historical student may do well to remember. Rutil. *Itiner.* 295.:

“Inter castrorum vestigia sermo retexit
Sardoam, Lepido præcipitante, fugam . . .
Ille tamen Lepidus pejor, civilibus armis
Qui gessit sociis impia bella tribus . . .
Insidias paci moliri tertius ausus
Tristibus exegit congrua fata reis.
Quartus Cæsareo dum vult irrepere regno
Incesti pœnam solvit adulterii.”

The last of these cases refers to a later period, and will be recorded in its place.

vir had perished, as we have seen, for aiming at the subversion of the emperor's power; and the husband of Julia was now doomed also to suffer on a charge of conspiracy. The exact period of this treason is not known, nor is its punishment specified. The culprit was confined or banished: his wife, whose irregularities were numerous and notorious, allied herself with D. Julia. Banishment of the younger Julia.
A. D. 9.
A. U. 762. Silanus, and was convicted of adultery. Silanus was in turn charged with treasonable aspirations, with what result we know not; but the crime of Julia, which brought scandal as well as danger on the imperial house, was punished by relegation to an island. Augustus was deeply affected at this outbreak of the evil blood of the mother in the next generation. Though it was recorded, as a proof of parental feeling, that he never suffered one of his own race to be put to death, he forbade the offspring of this hateful amour to be reared, and, reflecting with indignation on the vices of both the Julias, exclaimed, in the language of Homer, better he had never been married and had died childless.¹

The silence of history throws a veil over the latter years of Augustus, and has, doubtless, buried many acts of morose severity, on which no citizen ventured to consign his comments to writing. The recollection, however, of one example of the kind, which may be regarded as a type of the imperial tyranny at this period, has been casually preserved. If the personal freedom of the citizen was Banishment of the poet Ovid.

The Æmilius of whom we are now treating is not mentioned in these lines, because he bore the cognomen Paulus. See the stemma of the Æmili in appendix to chapter I.

¹ Tac. *Ann.* i. 6.: "In nullius unquam suorum neem duravit." Suet. *Oct.* 65., quotes from the *Iliad*, iii. 40.:

αἴθ' ὕφελον ἄγαμός τ' εἶμεναι, ἄγονός τ' ἀπολέσθαι.

In the original the expression is addressed by Hector to Paris,—

αἴθ' ὕφελες ἄγονός τ' εἶμεναι, ἄγαμός τ' ἀπολέσθαι:

the word ἄγονος evidently meaning "never born;" but Augustus, I presume, or at least his biographer, understood it differently. The date of the younger Julia's banishment is fixed to 761 by Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 71.; and Suetonius tells us that her place of confinement was the island of Trimerus, off the coast of Apulia.

still guarded by the laws, and the accused still competent to defend himself before the ordinary tribunals; if advocates were still bold and judges honourable, there were, nevertheless, powers beside the laws, which had found a way of dispensing with their application, in cases where their interference might prove inconvenient. When the emperor wished to rid himself of a disagreeable citizen, he directed him to remove from Rome to some distant spot indicated to him; and such was the authority of his mere word, that without defence, without trial, without sentence, without the use or even threat of force, the culprit at once obeyed, and plunged silently into oblivion. The emperor might, if he pleased, appease public curiosity by declaring the cause of this sudden removal; but the mere act of his will required neither the concurrence nor the ratification of any legal tribunal. Such was the celebrated exile of Publius Ovidius Naso, a popular favourite, whose abuse of his noble gifts might seem calculated to disarm a tyrant's jealousy, and even secure his approbation. This illustrious poet, familiar to our childhood under the cherished name of Ovid, was a man of fashion and figure, the son of a Roman knight of Sulmo, who had been introduced to the best society of the capital, and had succeeded in establishing himself there by the charm of his writings and the dexterity of his adulation. He was undoubtedly a writer of uncommon genius, of a fertility and invention unsurpassed by any of his countrymen, and little inferior to any in language and versification. His various compositions comprehend many pieces of unsullied purity and grace, which are still the first pages of antiquity we put into the hands of our children, and among the last on which we turn the retrospect of our own declining years. But Ovid had desecrated his abilities by the licentiousness of many of his subjects, and the grossness with which he treated them: he had thrown himself on the foul track of far inferior men who sought the favour of the government by inculcating frivolity of sentiment, and degrading the character of their countrymen. It may be said, perhaps, in excuse for Ovid,

Character of
his poetry.

that he erred from mere gaiety of heart, stimulated by the applause of greatness and beauty : he says of himself, and his protestations are not unworthy of belief, that his verses were purer than those he imitated, and his manners purer than his verses.¹ His amatory poems were principally the work of his earlier years, and the maturity of his powers had been devoted sedulously, nor with less felicity, to subjects of wider scope and higher interest.² While thus honourably engaged, suddenly, at the close of the year 761, he was bade to depart from Rome, and the obscure town of Tomi, on the wild shores of the Euxine, was denoted as the place to which he should transport himself.³ A few hours only were allowed him to prepare for the journey, which was to remove him for ever from his home, his friends and family. He was exiled, unheard and unarraigned, and the cause of his banishment was only vaguely indicated by a complaint against the pernicious tendency of his love verses. The poet of intrigue and gallantry had a wife, to whom he was as tenderly attached as

¹ See his elaborate but by no means satisfactory excuses in the second book of the *Tristia*.

² Since the publication of the *Ars Amandi*, which may be fixed to the year 752, he had laboured on the wonderful epic of the *Metamorphoses*, in which, though he never veils the licentiousness of mythological story, he had at least no immoral purpose; and on his versified rationale of the national calendar, which, with a few incidental blemishes, is on the whole a model of Roman dignity. The former of these works was completed but not finally corrected at the moment of his banishment, and was given to the world with some imperfections; of the latter, the six books we possess were probably finished, and the remaining six perhaps only rudely sketched out. Though Ovid speaks of the twelve books as written, "Sex ego fastorum scripsi totidemque libellos," he says, nevertheless, that the work was interrupted by his disgrace; and, as he complains that he had no books with him at Tomi, and was unable to study, it seems very improbable that a work which required so much research could have been resumed under such unfavourable circumstances. Nor in all his writings at Tomi does he ever allude to it as in progress.

³ Ovid, *Trist.* iv. 10. He had at this time, as he informs us, completed his fiftieth year: "decem lustris omni sine labe peractis." He was born March 20. 711, at the epoch of the battle of Mutina, and his banishment took place in December of 761. *Tris.* i. 11. 3. See Fischer in *Ann.* Clinton is to be understood in the same sense, though, from some confusion in his arrangement, it requires considerable attention to detect his real view.

the severest of the old Roman censors; but she was forbidden to accompany, or to rejoin him. A single friend ventured to break the agonies of parting, by attending him during the first days of travel; and he too fell a victim, not long afterwards, to the tyrant's fatal suspicions. While the scions of the imperial family, who might perhaps some day be recalled, were retained in durance within sight of the Latian coast; the unfortunate knight, as if to preclude all hope of pardon, was cast out on an unknown frontier, many hundred miles distant. We observe with an awful sense of the emperor's power, that the island of Planasia or Pandateria, past which whole fleets sailed daily, was deemed a prison out of which no criminal could break: but our awe is enhanced on hearing that a citizen condemned to banishment on the frontiers of the empire should simply receive an order to repair there, and be left to find his way, perhaps even unattended, without fear of his lingering on his route or diverging from it.¹

The cause of this cruel punishment was surely not that which Augustus thought fit to assign. It seems to have been of a nature which he could not venture to declare openly: had it been an offence against public morality, he would have claimed merit for making it the subject of a public arraignment. Though the sufferer bows to his sentence, and acquiesces discreetly in the charge which he knows to be fictitious, his allusions point plainly to some other cause, well known to Augustus and to himself, the possession apparently, and possibly, as he protests, the innocent possession, of some fatal secret. The conjectures which have been made regarding it may be readily dis-

Fruitless speculations on the cause of this banishment.

¹ Ovid records with some minuteness the stages of his long journey by sea and land, but gives no intimation that even a single officer was deputed to guard and conduct him. Nor does he seem to have been under any restraint at Tomi. The inhospitable character of the neighbourhood may have been considered a sufficient pledge for his not attempting to escape. It seems, however, that some exiles contrived to avoid going to their places of banishment. Augustus animadverted with no great severity upon them. Dion, lvi. 27.

missed as groundless. The surmise that he had been detected in an intrigue with the elder Julia, and that she was in fact the lady to whom he addressed his love verses under the name of Corinna, though derived, perhaps, from nearly contemporary sources, is refuted by the evidence of dates.¹ The only clue, as it appears, to guide our inquiries is the coincidence of the time with the disgrace of the younger Julia, and with the treasonable attempts with which that event seems to have been connected. When, at a later period, Fabius Maximus, a man of political consequence, falls under the emperor's displeasure, the unfortunate exile, in a burst of sorrow, would fain take the blame on himself, as if his own error had been important enough to involve in its consequences the fate of his noblest friend. Putting these circumstances together, it seems natural to surmise that Ovid, though no public man himself, got unwittingly implicated in the political intrigues of the time, and suffered as an accomplice in projects, of the scope of which he was perhaps actually unconscious.² From

¹ The only ground for this popular but untenable hypothesis, is the misinterpretation of a passage in Sidonius Apollinaris :

“Et te carmina per libidinosa
Notum, Naso tener, Tomosque missum,
Quondam Cæsareæ nimis puellæ
Falso nomine subditum Corinnæ.”

Even could it be shown that Julia was meant by the name of the poet's mistress Corinna, and that he did really intrigue with her, it would not follow from this passage that he was banished on that account. The punishment of Julia preceded that of Ovid by nine years. But he had sung the praises of Corinna almost twenty years before the first of these dates. The name was probably a mere poetical abstraction. It may be admitted, however, that Sidonius refers to a tradition of great antiquity, derived from the appearance of the *Art of Love* about the period of the elder Julia's disgrace.

² See the well-known deprecation, *Trist.* ii. 103., quoted below, and *Epist. ex Pont.* ii. 2. :

“Nil nisi non sapiens possum *timidusque* vocari ;”

which, taken together, seem to imply that he had shrunk from divulging some important circumstance which had come accidentally to his knowledge. Dunlop. *Hist. Rom. Lit.* iii. 363. The extravagant adulation of Augustus and expressions of personal devotion which abound in the writings from Tomi, may have been meant as an atonement for a political fault.

the scene of his punishment, on the verge of the inhospitable Dobrudscha, dreary and pestilential now, but then alternating the frosts of the Neva with the fevers of the Niger, the wretched victim poured forth his misery in verses of grace and sweetness, though of little power: he murmured at the loss of every friend and amusement, at the rudeness of the people, and hostility of their savage neighbours, while he shuddered at the sight of the frozen Euxine, or shivered in the agues of the Danubian marshes.¹ A gleam of reviving cheerfulness induced him at more favourable moments to cultivate the hospitality of the natives, and to flatter them by acquiring their language and even writing verses in it: but neither lamentations nor industry availed to soothe the bitterness of his sorrows, which were only for a moment allayed by anticipations of future celebrity; and he continued in vain to solicit with abject humiliation the compassion of the offended emperor. Though his punishment was not strictly exile, but only the milder form of relegation, which allowed him to retain his fortune and his citizenship, and admitted the hope of eventual pardon, he never obtained remission of his sentence, though he survived Augustus three years.²

So well known and so deeply feared was the emperor's resentment, from whatever cause it proceeded, that the sufferer's friends seem to have been deterred from interceding for him. They cowered with the rest of the citizens under the suspicious tyranny which pretended to have done the state a service in robbing them of the favourite ministers of their pleasures. The

Silent discontent of the people.

¹ Tomi, the spot of Ovid's exile, is supposed to have been at, or very near to, the modern Costendje.

² See this explained in the *Tristia*, v. 11.:

“Nec vitam nec opes nec jus mihi civis ademit . . .
Nil nisi me patriis jussit abire focis
Ipse relegati, non exsulis, utitur in me Nomine.”

The date of Ovid's death, A. U. 770, or early in 771, in his sixtieth year, is established by Euseb. *Chron.* ii. p. 157., and the *Anctor Vitæ Ovid.* Fischer in *Ann.* 767. Comp. Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* iii. 275., *Fast. Rom.* i. 5.

Loves and Graces might seem to have fled from the city of Venus with the banishment of Ovid and the Julias, the one the high priest of Gallantry and Dissipation, the others the most distinguished of their devotees. The pretence of a regard for public morals was derided in secret by the rising generation of sensualists and triflers. They thought it hard to be deprived of their amusements to satisfy the scruples of a worn-out debauchee, or to glorify the cold correctness of an unamiable prude. When Ovid, in an unguarded moment of mythological reverie, chose to liken his mysterious crime to the misfortune of Actæon, who had startled the shiftless Diana, the Romans were too clever in pasquinade not to seize on an obvious innuendo; nor could it be left to the ingenuity of a modern to be the first to suggest that he had discovered the empress naked in her bath.¹ It is not improbable that some of the bitter lampoons against the emperor's private habits, specimens of which have been preserved by Suetonius, date from this reign of mortification and terror.

The closing years of a long and prosperous reign have not unfrequently been clouded with popular discontent. Even the

¹ Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 103.:

“Cur aliquid vidi, cur noxia lumina feci?

Cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi?

Inscius Actæon vidit sine veste Dianam:

Præda fuit canibus non minus ille suis.”

Dryden has the merit of the conjecture founded on these lines, but it seems impossible it could have escaped the malicious wit of Ovid's own contemporaries. Another notion is, that he had surprised the emperor himself in some grave indecorum. I have seen a disquisition to prove that his real offence was his having too nearly divulged the meaning of the Eleusiian mysteries. The peccant passage is in the *Metamorphoses*, xv. 368.:

“Pressus humo bellator equus crabronis origo est.

Concava litoreo si demas brachia cancro,

Cætera supponas terræ, de parte sepulta

Scorpius exhibit, caudaque minabitur unca:”

The reader will rather be inclined to complain that if he really knew the secret, he has been only too successful in concealing it.

State of popular feeling at this period.

subjects and courtiers of a despotism become wearied at last with hearing their sovereign styled the Just, the Beneficent, or the Fortunate. The court of Augustus indeed had never pandered by meretricious brilliancy to the tastes of vulgar gentility, and accordingly, in respect to show and ornament, the setting of the imperial sun suffered no eclipse. The prince of the Roman people had presided over the national intelligence. He had sought to educate his subjects by the patronage of literary merit, and by his graceful recognition of some of the best objects of national interest had even created a genuine appreciation of them. But the era of Virgil and Horace, of Varius and Pollio, had quickly passed away; the Cæsar no longer blandly countenanced, with Mæenas at his side, the social intercourse of the wisest and most genial of the Romans. The last years of the age, familiarly styled the Augustan, were singularly barren of the literary glories from which its celebrity was chiefly derived. One by one the stars in its firmament had been lost to the world: Virgil and Horace, Tibullus and Propertius, Varius and Plotius had long since died; the charm which the imagination of Livy had thrown over the earlier annals of Rome had ceased to shine on the details of almost contemporary history; and if the flood of his eloquence still continued flowing, we can hardly suppose that the stream was as rapid, as clear, and as fresh as ever. And now the youngest of its race of poets seemed to extinguish in his disgrace the last spark of its admired brilliancy. If the remembrance of their early enthusiasm for the beauty and genius of Octavius, the father of his country and the saviour of the state, still survived to temper the dissatisfaction of the Romans at the gloom of his declining years, no such tender feelings interfered to modify their disgust at the pretended virtues of his consort, or the ill-disguised haughtiness of her son. Their feelings were lacerated by the successive loss of so many amiable princes, in each of whom they beheld a victim to the machinations of this detested pair; they murmured at the untoward destiny of the

still living children of Agrippa; but they turned with the freshness of a hope which no disappointments could blight, no evil auguries overshadow, to the opening promise of the gallant Germanicus, the last of the national favourites. A spring, summer, and autumn had passed with nothing to dispel the general dissatisfaction except an occasional rumour of successes in Pannonia, and assurances, often repeated, but never yet fulfilled, of speedy pacification. At last, to the delight of the citizens, the young hero brought in person the news of the final subjugation of the enemy, from which they hoped for a long relief from levies and exactions. The senate decreed the honours of a triumph to Tiberius, and appointed two triumphal arches to be erected at conspicuous spots within the conquered territory. The triumphal ornaments were at the same time granted to Germanicus: he was placed in the rank of prætors, and invited to speak in the senate next in order to the consulars.¹ The restrictions of age were relaxed in his behalf, that he might attain the consulship without delay. But the celebration of the imperial triumph, and the jubilee of the Roman people, were frustrated by the disaster which is now to be related.²

The uneasiness of the popular mind might be taken as a presentiment of the calamity which was impending. Within five days from the restoration of tranquillity on the Save and Drave, the empire sustained a shock in the north, which, had it happened but a little sooner, must have torn from it either of its Rhenish or its Danubian possessions. The countries between the Rhine and Weser, or even the Elbe, the ocean and the Mayn, had been reduced by the repeated enterprises

Extension of
the Roman
government be-
tween the
Rhine and the
Elbe.

¹ The triumphal ornaments, the empty distinction henceforth accorded to the emperor's successful lieutenants, consisted in an ivory staff surmounted by the figure of an eagle, a curule chair or stool, a golden crown, the triumphal mantle, a laurelled statue. Sacrifices were offered, with a *supplicatio*, on the occasion, and the victor was allowed to receive the title of Imperator.

² Dion, lvi. 17. Suet. *Tib.* 17.: "Triumphum ipse distulit, mœsta civitate clade Variana."

of Drusus and Tiberius to complete subjection. When Tiberius quitted this region, in the year 758, the tribes comprised within these ample boundaries appeared to have submitted placidly to the yoke. It only remained, apparently, to establish among them the system of provincial administration, according to the forms which had proved so generally efficient elsewhere. The success indeed of the Roman arms in this quarter had been such as to prove that they had lost none of their ancient temper in the hands of the existing generation. The legions had penetrated the whole country in every direction; the war-galleys had swept the coast and stemmed the current of the fleetest rivers; military posts had been established in proper localities, and their communications secured by permanent roadways.¹ The courage and conduct of the soldiers, the firmness of the Romans, and the devotion of the allies, had shown no decline, while the means of armament and supply had been brought to such perfection, that their movements had been more extended, their combinations more unerring, than in any previous campaigns. Bold and obstinate as the Germans had proved in their long resistance to such well-appointed adversaries, the effect of this organized valour had been overwhelming. By force or persuasion all the northern tribes seemed to be gained to the empire. The Frisii and Chauci had merited the distinction of admission to alliance with Rome, which knitted them more firmly to her interests, by making them objects of jealousy to their less fortunate brethren. The Batavi, in the island between the Rhine and Waal, served with ardour as cavalry in the Roman armies. Their neighbours the Caninefates were subdued. The Usipetes and Tenctheri on the right bank of the Rhine were overpowered; while the Bructeri, the Che-

¹ Such were the fortresses of Aliso on the Lippe, and Burehana (Borkum) at the mouth of the Ems. Vestiges of Roman fortifications are still traced in the range of the Taunus-gebirge in Nassau. Niebuhr believed that remains of the original Roman roads still exist in the north of Germany, in the wooden causeways of great antiquity which crossed the marshes and heaths in that quarter. *Rom. Hist.* v. lect. lviii.

rusci, the Chatti, and the Sigambri had only escaped this fate by the care with which they had avoided a conflict with the invaders, who had established themselves as conquerors throughout their territories. Emigrants and colonists had followed in the wake of the legions; various channels of commerce had been opened with the natives, who began to relax from their attitude of defiance, and showed a desire to imbibe the lessons of civilization; Germans, noted for their big limbs, blue eyes, and fair complexion, became conspicuous among the nations which thronged the streets of Rome; and the Sigambrian women ministered to the caprice of fashion by selling their flaxen locks to decorate the sallow brows of the Italian matrons.¹

The vigilance of Augustus seems for a moment to have slumbered in allowing his latest conquest to remain in an anomalous, and, as it proved, a precarious position. There were two ways in which, according to the maxims of the time, such an acquisition might be governed. The one was the policy of coercion, exemplified in the case of the Pannonians and Dalmatians, whom the conquerors sought to crush into obedience by riveting on them the weight of the provincial administration, with its civil and military governors, its judicial and fiscal intendants, and the whole apparatus of official tyranny. There was the policy of severe exactions, rigorous conscriptions, and wholesale confiscations. We have just witnessed the fearful result which might follow from such a system in the desperate revolt which had thrown Rome into consternation. This, however, was the method not unusually adopted wherever the Romans feared the martial spirit of the conquered; and though, as in Spain, it gave rise to repeated outbreaks, it was nevertheless generally successful, at least in the end. The other was the policy which Cæsar had adopted in Gaul. His own views indeed were personal rather than national; he aimed at making the Gauls useful servants to

Fancied security of the Roman administration in Germany.

¹ Ovid, *Amor.* i. 14. 49.:

"Nescio quam pro me laudat nunc iste Sigambram."

himself, rather than submissive subjects to Rome. But the lenity with which he treated them, the amount of freedom he allowed them, the lightness of the tribute he imposed on them, sufficed to effect both his own object and that of the state he professed to serve. The Gauls continued faithful from gratitude, or at least from contentment, not to Cæsar only but to Rome herself. But the Transrhenane territory was governed on neither of these principles. It was neither crushed as a province nor cherished as an ally; certainly no peculiar harshness was exercised upon the Germans. They had offered little opposition to Drusus or Tiberius; if they had not voluntarily submitted, they had at least retired before their advancing legions. Some of them had evinced a temper more than usually tractable. The Romans felt themselves secure in the heart of Germany, as they had never felt in Gaul, Spain, or Pannonia. While year by year the proconsuls were waging interminable war against the obscure barbarians of Mœsia and Mauretania, the Germans, whose strength and courage, and not less their genius and understanding, were especially vaunted, seemed not only to submit without resistance, but to conform with unexampled alacrity to the ideas of the invader. Such was the security of the Romans that their cohorts were suffered to be scattered, through a number of petty posts far asunder. Their winter stations grew from the concourse of new settlers to the dimension of colonies, but without their defences. The Germans flocked to the stated markets; and though not without a sense of uneasiness and vexation, seemed prepared to abandon one by one every feature of their native habits.

It was the part of a prudent ruler to encourage this self-abandonment, but by no means to precipitate it by pressure.

Quintilius Varus, commander in Germany.

The utmost discretion was required in the commander who should succeed Tiberius, and receive the subjugated Germans from their conqueror to instruct and civilize. No more important selection had the emperor had to make since he appointed Mæcenus to the government of Italy, or sent Agrippa to control the turbu-

lence of the mob in the city. And not only was it important to choose the legate well; it was necessary, moreover, to give him distinct instructions, and while allowing him latitude in the choice of his means, to prescribe definitely to him his mode of treatment. In all these particulars Augustus seems to have failed. The prefect he selected was a man of no special ability; as the recent governor of the tranquil province of Syria, where he had too quickly enriched himself, he had learnt by easy success to despise both the provincial subject and the imperial government, the one for submitting to his extortions, the other for conniving at them.¹ L. Quintilius Varus was an official pedant. Transplanted to the heart of Germany, placed at the head of an army, but without the ordinary machinery of civil government, he conceived the idea of forcing the formalities of the provincial administration, its tribunals, its police, and its fiscal charges, on people who had hitherto been allowed to tax and govern themselves.² Had the emperor given him specific instructions to this effect, he would at least have guarded the experiment by proper military precautions. Had he, on the other hand, forbidden such an experiment to be hazarded, Varus would not have ventured to disobey. But left, as it would seem, to his own caprice by the oversight of his aged chief, he chose to disregard the usual habits of the service, and pretended to sheathe the sword while he imposed upon the Germans the yoke of servitude. While the ancients throw all the blame of what followed upon the incapacity of Varus, and some moderns impute it rather to the indiscretion of Augustus himself, we shall be more correct perhaps in dividing it between them.

Notwithstanding the ardour or levity with which the German chiefs had accepted service under the foreigner, and the satisfaction they had felt in partaking of its glit-

¹ Dion, lvi. 18. Vell. ii. 117. : "*Pecuniæ quam non contemptor Syria, cui profuerat, declaravit, quam pauper divitem ingressus, dives pauperem reliquit.*"

² The command of Varus in Germany dates from A. U. 759.

His indiscretion irritates the Germans.

A. D. 9.
A. U. 762.

tering distinctions, many doubtless among them still watched an opportunity of rising against their masters. The precipitation with which

Varus threw off the mask which concealed the harsher features of Roman domination could not fail to inflame their thirst for independence. The tedious and intricate forms of Roman law perplexed and disgusted them; but personal freedom, and exemption from blows, still more from capital punishment, was the birthright of the free German; and when a Roman official in the reckless exercise of power inflicted dishonour where he meant no more than a slight admonition, the stroke of the lictor's rod left a rankling wound. Still the spirit of the Germans might have been gradually tamed, had not their own mutual jealousies hastened the outbreak. It was usual for the ruler of a province to make a summer progress through his dominions, fixing his camp and tribunal at various spots successively, to acquaint himself with his subjects and their resources, and brandish over all in turn the terrors of the axe and rods. During these excursions the troops which occupied a secure and peaceful country were allowed for the most part to remain in their quarters, the safety of the proconsul not requiring their attendance on himself. But Varus was not so neglectful of his own security. He led forth the three legions under his orders; and as he advanced from place to place he was attended by the chiefs of the country, who either commanded auxiliary cohorts or played the courtier in his prætorium. Among the most distinguished of these were the leaders of the Cherusci, the brothers Segimerus and Segestes. Segimerus had a son named Arminius, who had offended his uncle Segestes, by carrying off his daughter.¹ They had all enrolled

Segestes and Segimerus, chiefs of the Cherusci.

¹ Of Arminius, almost the only German of this time whom we can invest with a distinct personality, there will be much to record hereafter. The Germans take a pleasure in designating him as Hermann, (Heer-mann), "the general;" but this derivation does not seem certain enough to induce me to forego the satisfaction of attaching a proper name to so distinguished a hero.

themselves in the Roman service; Arminius had received the citizenship, and been promoted to the equestrian order. But Segestes was much in the proconsul's confidence, and Arminius, conscious of his animosity towards himself, might apprehend the effect of his hostile representations. While his father, his uncle, and a brother, who had caused himself to be adopted into a Roman house, all attached themselves with sincerity to the party of the foreigners, Arminius devoted himself to their overthrow. He was the favourite of his countrymen, not for his bravery only but for his conduct: he was both eloquent in speech and prompt in action, qualities in which the Germans were inferior to both the Gauls and Romans. He was a man of bold and lofty spirit, capable of imparting the enthusiasm which he felt himself. He intrigued with the chief men of various tribes, and brought them readily into his views. They besieged the proconsul with demands for military aid in various quarters, to overawe their unconquered neighbours or to repress the outrages of banditti. Varus was persuaded to detach cohorts and squadrons from his main body, which were speedily overpowered and cut off. But before these disasters were known Segestes had detected and denounced the conspiracy. Varus had advanced to the Weser, and was meditating perhaps an incursion in the broad plains extending to the Elbe, through which Tiberius had recently carried his eagles. At this moment the enemy, who had laid their toils in his rear, spread the report of an outbreak in the south of the province, and induced him to turn his front in that direction.¹ From the confluence of the little stream of the Werre with the Weser, or the entrance perhaps of the gorge known by the name of the Westphalian Gates, he had to retrace his steps across a wild tract of wooded hills which separates the Weser from the sources of the Ems and Lippe, the last offset from the mountains of central Europe, before

Arminius intrigues against the Roman power.

¹ That this reported outbreak was in the south, among the Chatti, is conjectured from that being the direction of the expedition of Germanicus at a later period. Hoeck, *Roem. Gesch.* i. 2. 96. foll.

they die away in the sandy flats of Lower Germany. The general elevation of this region is inconsiderable, but its eminences are separated by narrow valleys, the bottoms of which were choked with morasses, while their summits were clothed with dense forests.¹ The tracks which traversed it, for the Romans had not taken the precaution of building a permanent way through it, were sufficiently practicable in dry weather, but with the close of summer the season of storms and rain was at hand. Varus was unconscious of these perils. He announced his intention of marching in quest of the reputed delinquents. The night before he was to set out, Segestes, who was at supper with him, declared that the report was false, and that he was falling into the snare of traitors in his own camp. He desired to be kept in custody himself till the truth of his disclosures should be proved. But the proconsul paid no regard to the warning. The conspirators, to lull him into security, pretended to quarrel among themselves, and flattered him by appealing to his decision between them.

The rain had set in before the march began, and the advance of the troops was from the first impeded by the elements. The hostility of the natives, no longer disguised, soon added to their difficulties. At this critical moment Varus had the weakness to let Arminius and other chiefs quit the camp, under pretence of bringing up reinforcements. They quickly marshalled the swarming hordes, and pressed the rear and flanks of the enemy with repeated assaults. The proconsul, still blind to the treachery around him, contented himself with summoning the disturbers of his repose before his tribunal. The

Varus advances into the forest of Teutoburg.
Varus is attacked on his retreat,

¹ The Teutoburger and Lippischer Wald, the *Saltus Teutoburgensis* of Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 60.), extends N.W. a space of seventy or eighty miles, and may be described as a tract of parallel hills in broken chains with flat marshy hollows between them, so that in crossing them from N.E. to S.W., more than one stage was to be traversed, each consisting of a level swamp with a defile at either end.

answer to his childish menaces presently arrived in the news that the insurrection had spread through the country, and that the establishments of the Roman power had been forced in every direction. The army was encumbered with quantities of baggage, besides women and children, which it was soon out of its power to protect. This ignominious loss served at last to awaken Varus to a sense of his peril. While still involved in the swamps and woods through which he was making for the open country to the south, he felt the necessity of striking directly westward, so as to reach Aliso, and his communications with the Rhine. Aliso lay but a few days' march to his right, but the tracks of the forest were probably guarded against him, and he must either explore a more circuitous path or force his way through all obstacles. The carriages and remaining baggage he ordered to be burnt, and pushed hastily forward. The weather continued unpropitious. The soil was soft and slippery; the rain rusted the men's spear-heads, soaked their leathern accoutrements, and swelled their wooden shields; the wind threw limbs of large trees across their path, which possibly the enemy had sawn half through beforehand.¹ Before they had pitched their first encampment, the Romans had been roughly handled by the enemy, who now closed upon them to prevent their escape. That night they traced their lines with failing strength and spirit. In the morning they staggered on with diminished numbers, and already they had almost lost the appearance of a legionary force. They had emerged, however, now from the woods, and had gained the open upland of swamp and moor, which slopes from the hill-country to the valleys of the Ems and Lippe. But the enemy meanwhile had increased in numbers and confidence. Redoubling their attacks, they pressed the fugitives on every side. The soldiers had no reliance on their emperor, and as he lost his control over them, Varus lost equally all command

¹ Dion, lvi. 20.: καὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν δένδρων καταθραύμενα καὶ καταπιπτόμενα διετάρασσον. The explanation is a conjecture of Luden's (*Gesch. Deutschlands*, i.), which is perhaps superfluous.

over himself. Remembering the example of his father and grandfather, who, it seems, had both put an end to their own lives,¹ he threw himself in despair on his sword. So did many of his officers. The soldiers, deprived of their leaders, were butchered without organized resistance. The cavalry escaped from the field only to be hunted down at a distance. The Germans had taken their measures well. Not more than a few stragglers escaped from the terrible destruction.² In the space of three days, three entire legions, horse, foot, and auxiliaries, were annihilated; their arms, stores, and accoutrements, were destroyed; their eagles were retained as trophies.³

The incompetence of Varus for his post is manifest from his having left no reserve at Aliso. We have seen how, under circumstances nearly similar, the remnant of the legions of Crassus was saved by the arrival of succours in its rear, and similar aid should have now too been at hand. But the triumph of the Germans was secure. They could afford time to gloat over their trophies, to slaughter their captives on altars erected in the woods, with every circumstance of cruelty and derision, and to search for the body of Varus, whose head they sent to Maroboduus, as an incentive to rise against the common enemy. Aliso, which was held by a handful of men, together with the few fugitives from the bloody field, was invested with overwhelming numbers; but the Germans had not the means of conducting a siege. The Romans were soon pressed with hunger; but they deceived the enemy by a stratagem, and threw him for a moment off his guard, by which they profited to sally from their entrenchments and make a rush for the Rhine. The temptation of booty diverted the victors

A small remnant escape to the Rhine.

¹ Vell. ii. 119. The occasions are not mentioned.

² There is a gap in the 22nd chapter of Dion, which is to be supplied from Zonaras, x. 37.

³ Florus, iv. 12., says that one of the three eagles was saved: but we read of the recovery of two in Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 60. ii. 25., and of the third in Dion, lx. 8.

from the pursuit, and thus the last fragment of the Roman power in Germany was saved from the general wreck.¹

Terrible as was the loss of so many officers and so fine an army, with the destruction of flourishing settlements, and the slaughter of multitudes of citizens and allies, the Romans on the Rhine had no time for mourning. Spirited conduct of Augustus. The shout of triumph on the one bank was sure to find an echo on the other; the victory of Arminius might be expected to raise a general revolt both of Germans and Gauls within the Gaulish provinces. The energy of Asprenas, who commanded two legions in this quarter, averted this anticipated disaster. Flying to the river bank, and receiving with open arms the straggling fugitives from Aliso, he assumed so bold an attitude as to daunt both the Germans in his front and the Gauls behind him. Arminius contented himself with effacing from his own soil the traces of Roman domination; but he met with no encouragement to cross the border, nor did Maroboduus respond to his summons by arming. This supineness saved the Romans. The news of the disaster roused Augustus once more to energetic action. Alone, or at least supported only by his son Tiberius, he manfully confronted the danger, and prepared to overcome it. He caused the city to be patrolled by guards, or placed it, as we should say, in a state of siege, as a precaution against domestic disturbances. He directed the prefects throughout the provinces to retain their imperium, lest a change of administration might shake in any quarter the tottering fabric of the empire. At the same time he sought to reassure the citizens by vowing solemn games to Jupiter for the public security, an act of faith such as was deemed to have protected

¹ Frontinus, *Strateg.* iv. 14. Aliso was probably destroyed. It is one of the very few historical stations of the Roman armies which it is impossible to identify with any modern locality. Roman remains have been found in some spots of this neighbourhood, particularly, it is said, at Elsen, a small village on the Lippe near Paderborn. I should be inclined, however, to look for it a good deal nearer to the Rhine, and Hamm has been already mentioned as a not improbable locality.

the state from the assault of the Cimbri and the Marsi.¹ The citizens, however, seem for the most part to have been sunk in the profoundest apathy. They had already ceased to feel either for the successes or the disasters of the chiefs who had usurped all the pleasures as well as the pains of sovereignty. They hesitated to inscribe their names on the roll for military service, and the emperor was forced to stimulate their patriotism by fines, and even by threats of capital punishment. The levies which he was enabled to raise by ballot from the veterans and freedmen, were sent forward as fast as they could be collected. Yet it was not without some misgivings that Rome saw herself thus denuded of defenders. Such was the panic of the government that even the handful of Gauls and Germans residing within the walls caused it grave disquietude. Some squadrons of these foreign auxiliaries had been admitted into the ranks of the imperial body-guard. These were all now disarmed and dismissed from the city, while such as seemed most obnoxious to suspicion were removed to the state prisons.²

The year 763 opened in gloom and amidst all the bustle of these extraordinary preparations. On the 16th of January, Tiberius dedicated a temple of Concord, inscribing on its front the names of himself and his brother Drusus, an act which the citizens may have construed as a pledge of his parental care for Germanicus.³ In the course of the spring he reached himself the head quarters on the Rhine. Even in Gaul some symptoms of insubordination had manifested themselves, but these Tiberius quelled as he advanced. It was a work of time to replace the material of war which had been annihilated in the late

Tiberius goes
to the Rhine.
A. D. 10.
A. U. 763.

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 23.: "Vorit et magnos ludos Jovi Opt. Max. si respublica in meliorem statum vertisset."

² Dion, lvi. 23. Suet. *Oct.* 49.: "Dimissa Germanorum manu quam usque ad cladem Varianam inter armigeros circum se habuerat."

³ *Kalend. Præneste.* (Orelli, *Inscrip.* ii. 383.) "xvii. Kal. Febr. Concordiæ Augustæ ædes dedicata est P. Dolabella C. Silano cos." Comp. Dion, lvi. 25. Concordia Augusta may refer to the happy harmony now established between the members of the imperial family, and between the various orders of citizens also.

disaster; the new levies required training, the old soldiers were discouraged, and could hardly be trusted in the field. The Germans, on their part, did not venture on aggression, and the year passed without hostile movements on either side.

With the commencement, however, of the following year the Roman equipments were complete, and it was necessary to adopt offensive operations, and convince the enemy that the spirit of the empire was not cowed by the blow it had sustained. Germanicus was in the camp with his uncle, burning with youthful ardour for revenge and glory. It was well for his future distinction that he was required under Tiberius to temper courage with prudence, and learn the art, most difficult to a young commander, of sparing his own men, and economizing his resources. We have admired more than once the breadth and boldness of plan which distinguished the campaigns of Tiberius, though his operations were always conducted with caution, and he never risked defeat by presumptuous temerity. But now his army was not perhaps thoroughly to be relied on; a single check might completely demoralize it, and it was the last force the state could send into the field. The excessive care and anxiety he now showed in his preparations, limiting the amount of baggage, enforcing the strictest discipline, exercising the utmost personal activity and vigilance, yet seeking constantly the support of councils of war, proves how deeply he felt the gravity of the occasion. With so large a province to recover, so many nations to reduce, so great a disaster to avenge, he confined himself to ravaging a few fields and burning a few habitations, in which he lost not a man.¹ The Germans, on their part, were not seduced into rashness by sudden success. They declined to meet the invader in the field, while he abstained from attacking them in their strongholds. After traversing the open country, for a few weeks perhaps, in various directions, Ti-

Bloodless campaign of Tiberius in Germany.
A. D. 11.
A. U. 764.

¹ Comp. Vell. 120. Suet. *Tiber.* 18, 19. This writer observes particularly, "semper alias sui arbitrii, contentusque se uno, tunc præter consuetudinem cum pluribus de belli ratione communicavit."

berius withdrew slowly behind the Rhine, only careful to secure his retreat from interruption. Tiberius had already earned a triumph for his victories in Pannonia; he forfeited it by no misadventure in Germany. On his return to Rome

A. D. 12.

A. U. 765.

he was at last enabled to celebrate the solemnity which had been so long delayed.¹ The citizens, assured that their arms had penetrated again into the recesses of the formidable North, and that every foe had fled before them, were satisfied with this new proof of their reputed invincibility, while the conqueror himself was doubtless well aware how much their resources for conquest were really exhausted. The Romans had recovered the fame of superiority, but the actual loss they had sustained could not be replaced without some years of repose. The frontiers of the empire, as it seemed to the eyes of statesmen, had permanently receded to the Rhine.² The aged emperor, after the immediate necessity for action had passed, sank into a state of nervous despondency. For many months after the news of the *Varian massacre* he allowed his hair and beard to grow untrimmed, and was even known to dash his head against his chamber walls, exclaiming with frantic impatience, *Varus, Varus, restore me my legions!* To the end of his days he continued to observe with solemn mourning the anniversary of that fatal disaster.³

We are now drawing to the close of the long domination of the second Cæsar, the splendour of which, though clouded towards its setting, was never wholly obscured. The year 765 opened auspiciously for the emperor with the triumph of Tiberius and the consulship of the brave Germanicus, who was perhaps the secret object of his pride,

¹ Suet. *Tiber.* 20.: "Tiberius a Germania in urbem post biennium regressus, triumphum egit." The triumph took place on the 16th January, *Kalend. Prænest.* (Orelli, ii. 382.) Fischer, in *Ann.* 765. Germanicus was this year consul.

² Florus, iv. 12.: "Hæc clade factum, ut imperium, quod in litore Oceani non steterat, in ripa fluminis Rheni staret." Possibly Tacitus alludes in *Ann.* i. 38. "limes a Tiberio ceptus," to some outposts that were still retained beyond that river.

³ Suet. *Oct.* 23.

and on whom the people undoubtedly rested their best hopes for the future. Great we may believe was the satisfaction, both in the palæe and the city, when, later in the year, the union of this young hero with Agrippa's daughter, Agrippina, produced a son to inherit, as might be fondly anticipated, the virtues of his progenitors on either side.¹ The prænomen of Caius, which

Augustus, in his old age, appears less in public.

was bestowed upon him, unknown as it was to the branch of the Claudii from which he was lineally descended, might serve to remind the emperor of the favourite grandson he had lately lost, while it would recall to the people the remembrance of the great dictator, the conqueror of the Gauls, the destroyer of the Sullan oligarchy. With the politic courtesy which rarely abandoned him, Augustus addressed a letter to the senate, in which he recommended Germanicus to its favour and protection, while at the same time he recommended the senate itself to the respectful care of Tiberius. This letter he excused himself from reciting in person on the plea of increasing debility: it was read for him by Germanicus from the consul's chair. Failing as he now was in strength and spirits, he desired his kind friends, the senators and knights of Rome, no longer to incommode him by their officious salutations in the curia and the streets, in his own hall and private apartments, and to abstain from inviting him to their entertainments, which he had hitherto sedulously attended. He was gradually withdrawing himself from the most irksome obligations of his station, and relaxing the cords which bound the burden of his honours upon him. He was more anxious, however, to relieve himself from the pains or responsibilities of authority than to surrender its substance.

A. D. 13.

A. U. 766.

Though he required the senate to renew the tribunitian power of Tiberius, and at the same time to decree him the proconsulate throughout the provinces, he did not hesitate to accept for himself in the year 766 a fifth decennial term of the Imperium. To his privy council, now raised from

¹ Caius Germanicus, known afterwards by his nickname of Caligula, was born on the 30th of September, A. U. 765, at Antium. Suet. *Calig.* 8.

the number of fifteen to twenty, and always embracing among its members the consuls actual and designate, together with other high magistrates, he reserved the right of discussing all state affairs, and deciding them without recurring to the senate itself. He had come but rarely of late into the curia: he now relinquished his attendance there altogether, and conducted his deliberations under his own roof, and frequently in his bed-chamber. It was only when he wanted the confirmation of some unpalatable measure, such as his tax on successions, that he required the senate to set to it the seal of its collective authority.¹

This communication of proconsular power abroad could hardly admit of any other interpretation than that the son was thereby formally associated in the empire with his father. The only question that now remained for solution was whether the emperor would designate others to share the succession in like manner with Tiberius hereafter. On this point the jealousy of Livia and her son's despondent apprehensions could not even yet be tranquillized. In vain did the expressions which dropped from Augustus himself throughout his intercourse with Tiberius assure him of his esteem and affection. Whether earnest or playful, his letters continued always to abound in tokens of admiration. No one, they declared, could have conducted the late campaign with more consummate prudence. Tiberius alone, they said, had restored the public weal, not by delay, as Fabius of old, but by wariness and discretion.² No matter whether or not the aged emperor were well, provided only the brave Tiberius were not ill. Such was the flattering tenor of every imperial epistle. Nevertheless

Tiberius becomes assured of the succession.

¹ Dion, lvi. 28. The council of fifteen had been renewed every six months; the twenty now retained their office for a year. Augustus, we see, was still far from confining the supervision of affairs to a mere cabinet. To the last he was not unfaithful to the principle, "quo plures partem administrationis reipublicæ caperent." Suet. Oct. 37.

² Quoting the well-known line of Ennius, "Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem," Augustus altered *cunctando* to *vigilando*.

rumours were not wanting that in conversation with his nearest associates, Augustus had used very different language; that he had expressed his fears, not indeed of the ability, but of the temper of his future successor; that he had muttered with a sigh, *Alas for my people! to be ground between jaws so slow and so relentless.*¹ On the other hand, it was insinuated by some that he was induced to leave the conduct of affairs to Tiberius, that the contrast he anticipated between his own rule and his successor's might make his end the more generally regretted.² He had been heard to murmur at the moroseness of his stepson's temper, and been seen to check the cheerful flow of his own spirits in company, when the gloomy shadow of Tiberius darkened his threshold.³

Agrippa Postumus still lingered in banishment. It was possible that, at the last moment, his grandfather's heart might relent towards him. If this distrust of his stepson was truly imputed to him, Augustus Reported visit of Augustus to Agrippa in banishment. hoped to qualify the evil by making Agrippa his associate in the imperial inheritance. Under the shades of despotism whatever men begin to think likely to be done, is straightway reported to have actually been done. Some writers mentioned it only as a rumour, others stated it as a fact,—at least it was very generally believed,—that Augustus had visited his grandson in exile.⁴ Adopting every precaution to baffle observation, and attended, it was said, by a few trusty servants and with Maximus as his only confidant, he had quitted the shore of Italy. The interview had been marked by emotion and tears on either side. Thus much, it was added, was revealed by Maximus to his wife Marcia, by

¹ Suet. *Tib.* 21.: "Miserum pop. Rom., qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit." The metaphor is taken from the circus. Suetonius elsewhere characterizes the disposition of Tiberius as "sævam et lentam."

² Tac. *Ann.* i. 10.; Suet. *l. c.*

³ Suet. *l. c.* But even Suetonius gives no countenance to these rumours.

⁴ Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 5., with Dion, lvi. 30., and with Plutarch (*de Garrul* 11.), who tells the story still more dramatically.

Marcia to Livia. The emperor discovered his companion's indiscretion, and when shortly afterwards Maximus was found dead under suspicious circumstances, his wife was heard to accuse herself as the cause of his decease. Such rumours soon acquired consistency in the mouths of the citizens, and became repeated as history at a later period. But Ovid, in one of his desponding letters from the Euxine, drops a similar accusation against himself, as in some mysterious way the unworthy means of his friend's disaster. It will be remembered that the exile of Ovid was nearly simultaneous with that of Agrippa, and hence some colour has been given to the idea that a political connexion existed between them.¹ The mystery which attached to the end of so distinguished a personage shows at least the irritable state of the public mind at this period. Its morbid feelings were displayed in a craving for excitement which overcame every restraint. The passion of men of birth and figure to encounter the perils of the arena for a round of popular applause rose higher than ever; and Augustus, wearied and disgusted, relaxed at last the opposition he had so vigorously maintained to the practice.²

Had Augustus, indeed, survived some years longer, a more formidable rival to Livia's son than Agrippa would have arisen in Germanicus. Even now, since the last campaign of Tiberius, the most important frontier of the empire was intrusted to his defence; his conspicuous ability, and the popularity he earned or inherited, would doubtless have recommended him to the emperor for still stronger tokens of confidence.³ But the old man, now reaching the completion of his seventy-sixth year,

The census of
the year 767.
A. D. 14.

¹ Ovid, *Ex Pont.* iv. 6. 11.:

"Occidis ante preces, causamque ego, Maxime, mortis,
Nec fueram tanti, me reor esse tuæ."

² Dion, lvi. 25.: καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, ὃ καὶ θανατάσειεν ἂν τις, μονομαχεῖν ἐπετρέπη· αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγοῦρά τινες τὴν ἀτιμίαν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπικειμένην ἐποιούντο . . . καὶ οὕτως ἀντὶ τῆς ἀτιμίας θάνατον ὠφλίσκανον.

³ Suet. *Calig.* 8.: "Germanicum exacto consulatu in Galliam missum:" therefore at the commencement of the year 766.

could not but feel his end approaching. His health, which in his youth had required constant care and unusual precautions, had certainly become more confirmed in the latter half of his life; nevertheless he was subject to harassing infirmities, and his strength failed under the weight of suffering no less than of years.¹ He was anxious to leave his great work complete, as far as human hands could make it so, and to retire from the scene with the assurance that he had provided for the future. As an appropriate close to his career he proposed to hold now a census of the people, the third he had undertaken since his accession to power, in order that the exact state of the commonwealth, its wealth and population, at the moment of his quitting it, might be certified to the latest posterity. So much, indeed, was he impressed with the belief that his decease was at hand, that on the occurrence of an unlucky omen, which was thought to portend that he would not survive an hundred days, he desisted from the work himself, leaving it to be completed by Tiberius, lest it should suffer an unlucky interruption by his death.

The census, however, was completed, and the lustrum closed, before the middle of 767, and Augustus still lived. He employed the next few months in compiling a succinct

¹ Suetonius, *Oct.* 80-83. gives some curious details of the habits of a Roman valetudinarian. Weakness of the hams and thighs was relieved by bandages and splints; the forefinger of his right hand, being liable to numbness, was cucased, when he wrote, in horn. In the winter he wore four under-garments and a thick gown over them, besides guarding the chest with wool; the legs were also wrapped up. In the summer he slept in a chamber with open doors, often under an open colonnade, with fountains of water playing beside him, and a slave to fan him. He always, even in winter, wore a covering for the head when exposed to the sun. His journeys were made in a litter, generally at night, slowly and by short stages, taking two days to reach Tibur or Præneste, at the distance of fifteen or twenty miles. He preferred going by sea when possible. His precautions for preserving his health were chiefly, refraining from much bathing, anointing frequently, and sweating himself before a fire. For exercise, instead of the athletic sports of the palestra, he was content with gentle riding and walking, or swinging his limbs in sitting. His amusements were the languid excitement of fishing, or playing dice with children.

Augustus
leaves a record
of his actions :
the Monumentum
Ancyranum.

memorial of his public acts, to be preserved in the public archives, a truly imperial work, and probably unique in its kind. The archives of Rome have long mouldered in the dust, but a ruined wall in a remote corner of her empire, engraved with this precious document, has been faithful to its trust for eighteen hundred years, and still presents us with one of the most curious records of antiquity. The inscription, which may still be read in the pronaos of a temple at Ancyra, attests the energy, sagacity, and fortune of the second Cæsar in a detailed register of all his public undertakings through a period of fifty-eight years.¹ Commencing with his nineteenth year, it bears witness to his filial piety in prosecuting his father's murderers ; it touches lightly on the proscriptions, and vaunts the unanimity of all good citizens in his favour, when 500,000 Romans arrayed themselves under the banner of the triumvir. It records his assignment of lands to the veterans, and the triumphs and ovations decreed him by the senate. It signalizes his prudence in civil affairs, in revising the senate, in multiplying the patricians, and in thrice performing the lustrum of the people. It enumerates the magistracies and priesthoods conferred upon him, and boasts of his three times closing the temple of Janus. His liberality is commemorated in his various largesses both of corn and money, and the contributions he made from his private treas-

¹ The celebrated *Monumentum Ancyranum* is a Latin inscription in parallel columns, covering the walls of the pronaos, or exterior porch, of a Temple of Augustus at Ancyra. It was first copied by Busbequius in 1544, and has been transcribed often since : the traces of the letters have become fainter, but the greater care of recent explorers has more than balanced this misfortune. In the present century some fragments of the Greek text of the same inscription have been discovered at Apollonia in Pisidia, which have served to supply some defects and verify some corrections. See the history of the Monumentum in Egger, *Historiens d'Auguste*, p. 412. foll. The record purports to be a copy from the original statement of Augustus himself, engraved on two brazen pillars at Rome : "Rerum gestarum divi Augusti exemplar subjectum." It runs throughout in the first person : "Annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi," &c.

ures to relieve the burdens of his subjects. His magnificence is made to appear in the temples and public structures he built or caused to be built ; in his halls and forums, his colonnades and aqueducts ; nor less in the glorious spectacles he exhibited, and the multitude of beasts he hunted in the circus. The patriotism of Octavius shone conspicuously in the overthrow of the pirate Sextus, with his crew of fugitive slaves. Italy, it was added, swore allegiance to him of her own accord, and every province in succession followed her example. Under his auspices the empire had reached the Elbe, a Roman fleet had navigated the Northern Ocean, the Pannonians and Illyrians had been reduced, the Cimbric Chersonese had sought his friendship and alliance. No nation had been attacked by him without provocation. He had added Egypt to the dominions of Rome ; Armenia, with dignified moderation, he had refrained from adding. He had planted Roman colonies in every province. Finally, he had recovered from the Parthians the captured standards of Crassus. For all these merits, and others not less particularly enumerated, he had been honoured with the laurel wreath and the civic crown ; he had received from the senate the title of Augustus, and been hailed by acclamation as the father of his country.

Such are the most interesting statements of this extraordinary document ; but to judge of the marvellous sobriety and dignity of its tone, the suppressed anticipation of immortal glory which it discovers, the reader Last days of Augustus. must refer to the work itself. Certainly, whatever we may think of the merits of Augustus, no deed of his life became him so well as the preparation he made for quitting it. The grave satisfaction he exhibits shows in a wonderful manner the triumph in the mind of the Roman of the citizen over the man. For if in public affairs his career had been eminently prosperous, and a vast ambition had been gorged with unexampled gratification, not the less had his latter years been embittered beyond the ordinary measure of humanity, by private chagrins and disappointments. The *fortune of*

Augustus, proverbial as it became, related only to the one side of his history ; the other served not less to point a moral, and betray the vanity of all earthly splendour and success.¹ It is important to notice these indications of the calmness with which Augustus contemplated the approach of death, and the preparation he made to meet it, for the estimate they enable us to form of the reports which ascribed it to the secret machinations of Livia. Such foul surmises obtain circulation but too commonly on the demise of an autocrat ; engendered in darkness, it is generally impossible to trace their sources, or pronounce on their authenticity. But in the instance before us our means of judging are fortunately more satisfactory. Tiberius, after completing the lustrum, prepared to resume the command in Illyricum, where the attitude of the enemy, or rather, perhaps, of the legions themselves, might cause some uneasiness. On his quitting the city in midsummer, the emperor, who generally spent the hot season in the cool retreat of Campania, proposed to accompany him towards the Apulian coast. The Cæsars proceeded leisurely together, halting at various spots on their route, and showing themselves with good-humoured condescension to the inhabitants. But at Astura, Augustus contracted a dysentery, from incautious exposure to the night air. On recovering partly from the disorder, he proceeded to Caprææ and Naples, and finally accompanied Tiberius as far as Beneventum, where he took leave of him. Tiberius went on to Brundisium, and took ship for Illyricum, while the elder traveller returned towards the lower coast, but on reaching Nola was attacked with a fatal relapse of his recent sickness.²

¹ The readers of Gibbon will remember how, at a late period of the empire, the best wish that could be solemnly expressed for each emperor on his accession was, that he might be "*felicior Augusto*," as well as "*melior Trajano*." But compare the very striking passage in Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* vii. 46.) on the mortifications of Augustus : "*In divo Augusto . . . si diligenter æstimentur euncta, magna sortis humanæ reperiantur volumina*," &c.

² Suetonius gives some interesting details of this last journey, showing the cheerfulness and self-possession of the invalid to the last. *Oct.* 97, 98. *Comp.* Dion, lvi. 29., Vell. ii. 123. The death of Augustus is dated the 19th

Thereupon messengers were despatched in all haste to Tiberius, by the order of Livia, or of the emperor himself. The expectant successor returned without delay; and it was announced that he came in time to see his father-in-law while yet alive, to receive his parting injunctions in a long interview, and to discharge towards him the last offices of filial piety.¹ But the real moment of the sick man's decease was never accurately known. The empress, it may be presumed, would not have chosen to reveal it while her son was yet absent, and before all requisite preparations had been made to secure the recognition of his claims. We may readily excuse her for taking such precautions to ensure the object of her life's ambition; but the Romans were not content with ascribing to her a little venial deceit; they gravely represented her to have murdered the poor old man her husband, by giving him poisoned figs. From what has been said, however, it will be apparent that there was no adequate motive for the crime: the fortunes of Tiberius, if not assured against all remoter contingencies, were at the time at least fully secure; absent as he was from the court and city, the moment was not such as would be seized for striking a blow in his behalf; Augustus, now arrived on the verge of seventy-seven, had already lived in safety with his reputed murderess for more than half a century, and had never been led to waver an instant in the confidence he reposed in her; finally, we have seen how evidently he was himself impressed with the anticipation of a speedy dissolution, which is so often the

of August, 767, within thirty-seven days of his seventy-seventh birthday, *i. e.* September 23. Suet. *Oct.* 100. His power, counting from the battle of Actium, Dion, lvi. 29., had lasted forty-four years all but thirteen days; or, counting from his triumvirate, fifty-six years all but two months.

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 99.: "Revocatum ex itinere Tiberium diu secreto sermone detinuit, neque post ulli majori negotio animum accommodavit." Vell. ii. 123.: "Revocavit filium. Ille expectato revolavit maturius," &c. But Tacitus insinuates a doubt, *Ann.* i. 5.: "Vixdum ingressus Illyricum Tiberius, properis matris literis accitur; neque satis compertum est, spirantem adhuc Augustum apud urbem Nolam, an exanimem repererit." And the latter view is maintained by Dion, lvi. 31.: ταῦτα γὰρ οὕτω τοῖς τε πλείοσι καὶ ἀξιοπιστοτέροις γέγραπται.

effect of an inward consciousness of decay. To exculpate Livia or Tiberius from such a crime may be hardly worth the endeavour; but it is important to mark the weakness of the grounds upon which historians of high character could venture to insinuate it against them.

The closing scene of this illustrious life has been portrayed for us with considerable minuteness. It is the first natural dissolution of a great man we have been called upon to witness, and it will be long, I may add, before we shall assist at another. Let us observe it and reflect upon it. On the morning of his death, being now fully sensible of his approaching end, Augustus inquired whether there were any popular excitement in anticipation of it. Being no doubt reassured upon this point, he called for a mirror, and desired his grey hairs and beard to be decently arranged.¹ Then asking of his friends around him whether he had played well his part in the drama of life, he muttered a verse from a comic epilogue, inviting them to greet his last exit with applause.² He made some inquiries after a sick grandchild of Tiberius, and falling at last into the arms of Livia, had just strength, in the last moment of expiring, to recommend to her the memory of their long union.³ His end was perfectly tranquil. He obtained the euthanasia he had always desired, very different, but not less in harmony with his character, from that of his predecessor.⁴ There was no cynicism, at least to my apprehension, in the gentle irony with which, at the moment of death, he sported

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 99.: "Capillum sibi eomi, ac malas labentes corrigi præcepit."

² Suet. *l. c.*: "Eequid iis videretur nimium vitæ commode transegisse adjecit et elausulam: εἰ δὲ πᾶν ἔχει καλῶς, τῷ παιγνίῳ Δότε κρότον καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς μετὰ χαρᾶς κτυπήσατε." Comp. Dion, lvi. 30.

³ Suet. *l. c.* The child was named Livilla, daughter of Drusus, the son of Tiberius by Vipsania. See Suet. *Claud.* 1.

⁴ Suet. *l. c.*: "Sortitus failem exitum et qualem semper optaverat. Nam fere quoties audisset eito ac nullo cruciatu defunctum quempiam sibi et suis εὐθανασίαν similem, hoc enim et verbo uti solebat, precabatur." The reader may remember Cæsar's expression, that the best death is that which is least expected.

with the vanities of a human career. Though cheered with no religious hope for himself, nor soothed with any deep-felt yearnings towards his survivors, he was supported on the verge of the abyss by the unfailing power of national sentiment, and the strong assurance that he had confirmed by a great achievement the fortunes of the Roman state.

The history of the emperors will afford us abundant materials for estimating the strain upon the heart and brain of the fatal possession of unlimited power.

Some men it puffs up and intoxicates with pride, as we have seen was the case with the bold and

Effect of success upon the character of Augustus.

magnanimous Cæsar; others, of vehement and ill-regulated passions, it may drive to raging madness; some it crazes with fear, others it fevers with sensual indulgence; others again, whose intellects are weak, though their natures are susceptible and kindly, it may reduce to absolute imbecility. But there is still another class of characters, self-poised and harmoniously developed, in whom it breeds a genuine enthusiasm, a firm assurance of their own mission, a perfect reliance on their own destiny, which sanctifies to them all their means, and imbues them with a full conviction that their might is right, eternal and immutable. At the close of his long career, Augustus could look back on the horrors in which it had commenced without blenching. He had made peace with himself, to whom alone he felt himself responsible; neither God nor man, in his view, had any claim upon him. The nations had not proclaimed him a deity in vain; he had seemed to himself to grow up to the full proportions they ascribed to him. Such enthusiasm, it may be argued, can hardly exist without at least some rational foundation. The self-reliance of Augustus was justified by his success. He had resolved to raise

His enthusiasm and belief in his own divinity.

himself to power, and he had succeeded. He had vowed to restore the moral features of the republic, and in this too he had, at least outwardly, succeeded. While, however, the assitude of the Romans, and their disgust at the excesses of the times, had been the main elements of his success, another

and more vulgar agent, one which it might seem to need no genius to wield, had been hardly less efficacious; and this was simply his command of money. Throughout his long reign, Augustus was enabled to maintain a system of profuse liberality, partly by strict economy and moderation in his own habits, but more by the vast resources he had derived from his conquests. He was anxious to keep the springs of this abundance ever flowing, and he found means to engage the wealthiest of his subjects to feed them with gifts and legacies. The people were content to barter their freedom for shows and largesses, to accept forums and temples in place of conquests; and while their ruler directed his sumptuary laws against the magnificence of the nobles, because it threw a shade over the economy which his own necessities required, he cherished the most luxurious tastes among the people, and strained every nerve to satiate them with the appliances of indolent enjoyment, with baths and banquets, with galleries and libraries, with popular amusements and religious solemnities.

Yet the secret of his power escaped perhaps the eyes of Augustus himself, blinded as they doubtless were by the fumes of national incense. Cool, shrewd, and subtle, the youth of nineteen had suffered neither interest nor vanity to warp the correctness of his judgments. The accomplishment of his desires was marred by no wandering imaginations. His struggle for power was supported by no belief in a great destiny, but simply by observation of circumstances, and a close calculation of his means. As he was a man of no absorbing tastes or fervid impulses, so he was also free from all illusions. The story that he made his illicit amours subservient to his policy, whether or not it be strictly true, represents correctly the man's real character. The young Octavius commenced his career as a narrow-minded aspirant for material power. But his intellect expanded with his fortunes, and his soul grew with his intellect. The emperor was not less magnanimous than he was magnificent. With the world at his feet, he began to conceive the

Concluding reflections.

real grandeur of his position ; he learnt to comprehend the manifold variety of the interests subjected to him ; he rose to a sense of the awful mission imposed upon him. He became the greatest of Stoic philosophers, inspired with the strongest enthusiasm, and impressed the most deeply with a consciousness of divinity within him. He acknowledged, not less than a Cato or a Brutus, that the man-God must suffer as well as act divinely ; and though his human weakness still allowed some meannesses and trivialities to creep to light, his self-possession both in triumphs and reverses, in joys and in sorrows, was consistently dignified and imposing.¹

¹ The deep impression this ruler's character made upon a hundred millions of subjects, is strongly marked in the eloquent though high-flown panegyric which Philo the Jew pronounces upon him : ὁ διὰ μέγεθος ἡγεονίας αὐτοκρατοῦς ὁμοῦ καὶ καλοκάγαθίας πρῶτος ὀνομασθεὶς Σεβαστὸς, οὐ διαδοχῇ γένους ὥσπερ τὴ κλήρου μέρος τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν λαβὼν ἀλλ' αὐτὸς γενόμενος ἀρχὴ σεβασμοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα' κ. τ. λ. Philo. *Leg. ad Caium*. 21.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

UNITY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.—CONTRAST BETWEEN THE THREE GREAT DIVISIONS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD, THE EAST, THE NORTH, AND THE WEST.—VARIETY WITHIN THE ROMAN EMPIRE: 1. OF LANGUAGES; 2. OF RELIGIONS; 3. OF CLASSES: CITIZENS, SUBJECTS, AND ALLIES, ALL GRADUALLY TEND TO A SINGLE TYPE.—ELEMENTS OF UNITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE FROM ITS GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES.—ITALY AND THE MEDITERRANEAN.—COMMUNICATIONS BY SEA AND LAND.—MAP OF THE EMPIRE: SURVEYS: CENSUS AND PROFESSIO.—BREVIAIRIUM OR REGISTER OF THE EMPIRE.—THE POPULATION OF THE ROMAN DOMINIONS UNDER AUGUSTUS.—UNIVERSAL PEACE; PAX ROMANA.

THE conquests of Sulla and Lucullus, and still more those of Pompeius, opened a new world to the Romans, and extended their dominion, as they proudly boasted, over another hemisphere. Lords alike of the East and of the West, their sway seemed to stretch to the horizon on either side. They listened first with complacent satisfaction to the flattery of the Greeks, who sought to extenuate the shame of their own overthrow by magnifying the force and glory of their conquerors; but the orators of the forum soon caught up these exaggerated strains, and Cicero himself could venture to declare that the whole globe was shaken by the convulsion of the civil wars.¹ The establishment of the Augustan monarchy, expressing the material and moral unity of so many climes and nations, penetrated the Roman mind still more deeply with a sense of the vastness of the national power, and the boundless extent of its dominion. If any

¹ Polyb. iii. 3.: The Romans, he says, ἐποίησαν πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπάρκοον αὐτοῖς. Cic. *ad Div.* ii. 16. iv. 1.: “hæc orbis terrarum perturbatione . . . orbem terrarum ardere bello.”

realms or nations still lay beyond the tread of the proconsular legions, they were known to the mass of the citizens only as *suppliants* or *tributaries* from the delusive legends of the imperial medals. These illusions were widely propagated by the glowing language of orators and courtly versifiers; though not Virgil only and Horace, but Tibullus also and Propertius, generally speak upon this tempting theme with dignified moderation. With the lively and witty Ovid, however, there is an end of all such reserve. The author of the *Fasti* and the *Metamorphoses* indulges without scruple or reflection in the boldest assertions of the unbounded power of Rome, and its extension over all the earth. He defies great Jove himself, when he casts his eyes down from the pinnacles of heaven, to descry throughout creation any object which is not actually Roman.¹

A glance on the map of the world, as it is known in our own times, will suffice to reduce these vaunts to their proper limits. At this moment the globe contains three at least, if not four empires, each of which exceeds in size the dominions of Rome at the period of their greatest extension, and of which one only comprises a few acres of all the regions over which Augustus held sway.² It will be fairer, however, to measure the ideas of the Romans by the knowledge they themselves possessed;

Three families
of nations in
the East, the
West, and the
North.

¹ Compare the noble and legitimate aspiration of Horace, "*possis nihil urbe Roma visere majus*," with the reckless assertion of Ovid:

"Jupiter arce sua totum cum spectat in orbem,
Nil nisi Romanum quod tueatur habet."

But Horace had said, "*totum confecta duella per orbem*;" and Virgil, "*Pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem*." Seneca views the subject rather differently. If Rome did not possess the whole world she had all that was worth having. "*Omnes considera gentes in quibus Romana pax desinit; Germanos, dico, et quicquid circa Istrum vagarum gentium occursat. Perpetua illos hyems, triste cælum premit, maligne solum sterile sustentat, imbrem culmo aut fronde defendunt, super durata glacie stagna persultant, in alimentum feras captant.*" *De Provid.* 4.

² The Russian, the British, the American, and, if it still exist, the Chinese. Gibraltar, Malta, and the Ionian islands are the only fragments of the Augustan empire included in any of these vast agglomerations of territory.

though judged even by this test, the extravagance of their notions will stand reprov'd. The tripartite division of the earth's surface is a tradition of unknown antiquity, though it has been differently applied at different epochs. At one time it was usual to separate Asia from the rest by a vertical line from north to south, and again to subdivide the western hemicycle by a line drawn horizontally through the Mediterranean, into the two continents of Europe and Africa. At another the cardinal line was traced from east to west, leaving Europe, with half of Asia, as a single compartment, above it, and the rest of Asia with Africa, which were again distinguished from each other, below. But these divisions were merely arbitrary; at least they recommended themselves to the eye only. At the period we are now considering the known world admits of a more philosophical division, with reference to its social and political features, while the principle of tripartition may be still retained. At the foundation of the empire the communities of the Roman world were mass'd in three principal families, and these continued for many ages to retain their most distinctive characteristics. They may be represented as the East, the West, and the North; the realms, 1st, of the Parthian, Indian, and Arabian; 2nd, of the Roman with all his subject peoples; and, lastly, of the German, Scythian, and Sarmatian. On the one hand, a line drawn from the crest of the Caucasus across the heads of the Tigris and Euphrates, descending thence along the frontiers of Syria and Palestine, till it struck the northern extremity of the Red Sea, would separate the dominions of Rome from those of her chief rival, Parthia, and the allies the Parthian could summon to his aid, or the kindred monarchies he might pretend to influence. On the other hand, the eye following the British Channel, the Rhine, and the Danube, and glancing across the Euxine and the Caspian, till it lost itself in the steppes of central Asia, might distinguish between the unexplored realms of the northern barbarians on the left, and the two great empires of civilized humanity on the right.

The political characteristics of these three co-ordinate sections may be contrasted not less readily than their geographical positions. In the patriarchal despotism which prevailed throughout the East, all power emanated from the sovereign, and descended through the channels ordained by his sole will and pleasure. From the Parthian sultan on his throne at Seleucia, to the Arab sheikh who directed a handful of roving bandits from his tent in the desert, the same principle of government was there generally admitted. The military chiefship of the Macedonian kings became, as soon as they were settled in Asia, an uncontrolled monarchy, checked by no prerogatives of nobles or people. The successors of Alexander inherited the tiara of Darius. In the same manner the feudal principles respected by the old Parthian kings in their mountain fastnesses, where the great vassals of the crown had each his proper place and privileges, entitled to the deference of the sovereign himself, vanished almost as soon as the horsemen of the Oxus touched the soil of Seleucia and Babylon, and yielded to the pure autocracy exercised there long before by the Mede and the Persian.

Their political characteristics contrasted.
1. Parthia and the East.
Spirit of monarchical rule.

The chief feature, however, of the northern polities, if such a term is applicable to so rude a society, consisted in the voluntary surrender of each man's will and action to a chief chosen by himself for a definite object. The German warriors assembled for the choice of a captain to point out to them the foe, to lead them against him, to divide his territories among them. They required him also to execute justice between them, and ordinarily appealed to his decision, when their passions were not too strongly excited to forego a mere trial of strength. But, destitute as they were of cities, and nearly destitute even of villages, they had no conception of municipal government, and the intricate questions of right thence arising. Their property, held for the most part in common, was hardly a subject of legal regulation; religion, directed by the voice of priests, oracles, and prophetesses, had little of prescribed

2. Germany and the North.
Spirit of personal liberty.

system or traditional forms ; while consultation in common for the purpose of permanent legislation was apparently seldom used. The instinct of municipal organization which has been since so conspicuous among them, remained yet to be developed in the character of the northern nations. The spirit of personal independence was as yet a sufficient safeguard of freedom, and enabled them to resist with success the formidable aggressions of their invaders : but it would not have availed to overthrow the fabric of an established civilization, much less to replace it ; and the four centuries which were yet to intervene before the northern races, confronted on the Rhine and Danube with Roman laws and manners, should succeed to the empire of the South, were a period of slow and gradual training in the science of law and government.

The political notions which animated the two great civilizing nations of antiquity, the Greek and the Roman, were remarkable for their similarity. The idea of the city, as the germ of social development, was common to both. The spirit of the institutions of Athens and Rome was in the main identical.

3. Greece and Rome in the West. Spirit of municipal government.

It was marked by common consultation, by oral discussion, by the recognition of the opinion of the majority as the sentence of the community, by the combination in the same hands of the civil, the military, and the religious administration, and generally by a preference of the elective to the hereditary principle in every department of government. However much of the details of their political constitution the Romans derived from the Etruscans, they permitted little deviation, under that foreign influence, from these great fundamentals. They created and maintained from the first the theories of government, which have approved themselves as the soundest to after ages, and which are generally accepted among the most advanced of modern nations as the genuine expression of right reason. When the Romans conquered Italy they found themselves in collision with no hostile and irreconcilable political conceptions. There was no difficulty, therefore,

in admitting the nations of the peninsula to the privileges of the conquering city, for they had been educated to understand and appreciate them by familiarity with their own. So it was with the conquests of the Greeks also. Throughout the regions where the Hellenic race had settled, in which it had amalgamated the natives to a great extent with itself, the ideas of municipal government had taken root and become naturalized. The conquerors did not find it necessary to supplant these institutions by formulas of their own: both the one and the other were in fact homogeneous. Even in lower Italy and Sicily, and still more commonly in Greece and Asia Minor, we find that the petty communities of Hellenic origin were frequently allowed to retain their laws and local administration. The general ideas of self-government and social progress, which had formed the strength of Athens and Rome, continued to animate the two great families, the Italian and Hellenic, in which the moral force of the united empire resided.

In the West, on the other hand, the native races had far less of this instinct for municipal government: many of them, as in Spain and Africa, were probably altogether devoid of it. Here the conqueror came as an instructor and a civilizer. Self-government was recommended to the Gauls and Iberians by the moral superiority of their new rulers, which they acknowledged with awe and admiration.¹ Accordingly little effort was required

Barbarian
races of the
West.

¹ Yet this may be a fit place to remark that the civilization of barbarians, at least their material cultivation, has been generally more advanced by instructors whose moral superiority was less strongly marked, than where the teachers and the taught have few common sympathies and points of contact. Thus, in our own times, rough whalers and brutal pirates have done more to Europeanize the natives of Polynesia than the missionaries; and it may be believed that the success of the Romans in assimilating to themselves the barbarian races of their empire, which has been deemed one of the lost arts, was owing in a great degree to the low moral standard of the conquerors themselves, which brought them nearer to the level of their subjects. When this moral infirmity was found to be united, as in the case before us, with intellectual and social superiority, the influence it exercised over the inferior

to impress on these people the advantage of managing their local affairs under Roman forms. We have already seen how the western half of the empire became much more closely assimilated to Italy than the eastern : in the one region Roman ideas were transplanted in their full maturity to the foreign land ; in the other they found themselves confronted and held aloof by a rival civilization at least equal to their own, long fixed and rooted in the soil.

We may pause in this place, and examine in some detail the elements of variety which thus existed together in the political condition of the Roman empire ; an empire which comprehended at least an hundred divers races among its subjects, speaking perhaps many more languages and dialects ; which numbered some thousands of towns or cities, each endowed with its own laws and administration, each having its several classes of inhabitants, with peculiar privileges and functions—the citizen, the metic, the stranger, and the slave ; which acknowledged at the same time the sanctity of manifold religions, and suffered a paramount or exclusive authority to be claimed by a multitude of distinct divinities, each in its own peculiar sphere.

I. There is no trace of the Romans seeking in any quarter to impose their own language on the conquered races, or proscribing the native tongue. The furthest extent to which they allowed themselves to go in obtruding a single favoured idiom on their subjects, was in conducting public business throughout the empire in Latin, a practice dictated by convenience, though sanctioned no doubt by a feeling of national pride. The majesty of Rome, that moral charm on which her authority was made to rest even more than on her arms, might seem to require that her chief

race was irresistibly seductive. But hence the new civilization of the Roman provinces was rotten from the first. Its foundation was laid on a mere quicksand : there were no steadfast and solid virtues, however rude and homely, at the bottom of it. Hence Gaul, Spain, and Africa produced no original minds in any branch of art or science, no schools of thought, no principles of action, and exercised no moral control on the course of events.

magistrates and generals should use no other language than her own, and allow no other to be addressed to them in the provinces, and still more that the debates of the senate at home, the parliamentary model and court of appeal of all nations, should be confined to the vernacular dialect, at a time when in private every educated Roman was in the habit of talking Greek almost as commonly as Latin. Some vigilance was required, in such a state of things, to maintain the purity of this official language of the state, to keep the door closed against the intrusion of alien idioms into its most solemn discussions; and Tiberius was noted for the strictness with which he insisted on this etiquette in drawing up the decrees of the senate.¹ The Roman language was used in every official act to the furthest borders of the empire; but it was translated into the local dialect, and often again into the Greek, as the classical channel of communication between the instructed of all countries.² The Greek language indeed pervaded, as we have seen, the whole of the Eastern provinces, and was generally understood by the more intelligent even of the lower classes.

Prevalence of
Greek in the
Eastern prov-
inces.

Among these the knowledge of it was probably disseminated by the Greek slaves who followed in the retinue of every noble Roman, and generally transacted his business. In Rome, however, it was acknowledged and prized as the vehicle of poetry, philosophy, history, and science. In all these branches of learning the writers of Latin avowed themselves to be merely imitators; they pretended to no higher

¹ Suet. *Tib.* 71.: "Sermone Græco, quanquam alias promptus et facilis, non tamen usquequaque usus est, abstinuitque maxime in Senatu, adeo quidem ut *monopolium* nominaturus, prius veniam postularit, quod sibi verbo peregrino utendum esset. Atque etiam in quodam decreto Patrum, quum $\xi\mu\beta\lambda\eta\mu\alpha$ recitaretur, commutandam censuit vocem," &c.

² Hence we read that the inscription on the cross was written in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. The co-ordination of the three languages among the Jews is curiously exemplified, as regards personal names, in the incidental notice of St. Mark's Gospel, xv. 21.: "Simon the Cyrenian, the father of Alexander and Rufus." But generally the names of Jews mentioned in the New Testament are in about equal proportion, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew.

aim than that of naturalizing among their own countrymen the ideas of their intellectual mistress. They had their children taught Greek from infancy;¹ they spoke it habitually in their own families; they wrote in it their private correspondence; they discussed in it with their learned slaves matters of art, science, and domestic economy; and many masters of Roman literature composed without affectation some pieces in Greek also. They indulged a humble hope of leaving to posterity a more durable monument of themselves than stone or brass, by embalming the record of their actions in the language of Xenophon and Thucydides.² It is curious how entirely this calculation has failed. Such memorials of Roman statesmen and captains have universally perished; nor does there exist any composition of a Roman writer in Greek until we come at least to a somewhat later age.³

But Latin, while it thus yielded without reluctance to the superior claims of its rival throughout the East, and to a great extent even in Italy and Rome itself, was Of Latin in the Western. compensated by a still more remarkable triumph in the opposite quarters of the empire.⁴ We have no intimation that force was employed in planting this language in Gaul or Spain, Pannonia or Africa; that the use of the vernacular idioms was ever interdicted, or the native children drafted into schools to learn that of their conquerors. Yet scarcely had one generation passed away, after the incorpora-

¹ *Dial. de Orat.* 29.: "At nunc natus infans delegatur Græculæ alicui ancillæ."

² Thus, besides Cicero's history of his consulship, there were memoirs of the younger Scipio, of Lucullus, of Sulla, &c., in Greek. Fabius Pictor and Cincius wrote Roman history in that language.

³ The Geography of Strabo (in the reign of Tiberius), preserved to us by its rare merits, is perhaps the earliest of the kind.

⁴ The reason why the Latin never prevailed over the Greek, is because the Greek is a language of later formation than the other. A people who had advanced so far in accuracy and discrimination as to use the article, middle verb, and such a variety of moods, cases, and inflexions, as the Greeks, could not return to the meagre elements of the Latin tongue. For the greater antiquity of Latin, see Donaldson, *New Cratylus*, ed. 2. p. 127. But Latin, on the other hand, was no doubt more copious and varied than any of the western idioms.

tion of these countries with the empire, before the use of Latin seems to have become almost universal among them. Some districts of Gaul continued, indeed, as at this day, to utter the cherished sounds of their own Celtic idioms; the language of the Vascones or Basques retained its savage supremacy, as it still does, in remote corners of Spain; fragments of the ancient Moorish tongue, and of the Punic engrafted on it, lingered, we may believe, among the African provinces;¹ but in all these vast regions Latin became, at a very early period, the ordinary language of the people; it reached, within one or two centuries, the limits beyond the Alps and the Pyrenees which it has ever since retained. Strabo, born in the lifetime of Augustus, tells us that in some parts of Spain the native language was in his day already forgotten.² Latin, we learn from Velleius Paterculus, was generally spoken³ in Pannonia twenty years after its subjugation. While Divitiacus had lived for years at Rome without acquiring it, in the course of two generations we find Arminius speaking it without hesitation.⁴ The conquests of a language seem to depend, not so much on the comparative numbers of the people who speak it, as on the moral influence they exert. We here discover an additional proof that Rome occupied, in the view of the western races, the same place which Greece claimed in the eyes of the Romans. She was beheld with the same awe and respect, and acknowledged as a mistress in civilization more potent than in arms. The western nations were content never to look beyond Rome for their ideas, just as the Romans never looked beyond

¹ "Apuleius reproaches an African youth, who lived among the populace, with the use of Punic, whilst he had almost forgot Greek, and neither could nor would speak Latin. *Apolog.* p. 556. The greater part of St. Austin's congregations were strangers to the Punic." Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall*, ch. ii.

² Strabo, iii. 2. p. 151.: ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Τουρδετανοὶ καὶ μάλιστα οἱ περὶ τὸν Βαίτιν . . . οὐδὲ τῆς διαλέκτου τῆς σφετέρας ἔτι μεμνημένοι.

³ Vell. ii. 110.: "In omnibus Pannoniis non disciplinæ tantummodo sed linguæ quoque notitia Romanæ, plerisque etiam literarum usus."

⁴ Tac. *Ann.* ii. 10.

Greece. The monuments of Egyptian life and manners, which the children of Hellen acknowledged as the source of so much of their own inspiration, were merely objects of vague curiosity to the descendants of Quirinus.

II. Accordingly, while we observe the wide diversities of language thus existing within the sphere of the empire, we perceive at the same time that they are doomed soon to merge in one or two superior types of speech. The variety, however, of the religious systems in vogue under the Roman dominion, offered a more obstinate resistance to the tendency, which was now every where exhibited, towards uniformity. According to modern notions there is nothing more vital to the existence of national unity than the unity of its religious views. To the maintenance of this unity philosophers and statesmen have directed their most ardent efforts, the one by argument, the other often by force. The dawn of consciousness that it has ceased to exist has been felt as a shock which it was necessary to conceal from popular observation. In proportion as the actual variety of belief among the people has become apparent, the state itself has seemed to rock to and fro, to lose its balance, to let go its fixed principles, to become a mere collection of unemented atoms. Very foreign, however, were any such feelings from the ideas with which the Romans were conversant. In the height of their power, when their own faith and their own right hands were equally potent, they felt no scruple in allowing every race and every man among their subjects to worship his God after his own fashion. We have seen how the national divinities of Gaul were respected by the conquerors; and the same was doubtless the case, though we have not the means of tracing it, in every other province. The honours paid them by the natives, and even by the Roman residents, survived in many parts the vernacular languages.¹ In Jerusalem, Augustus caused a sacrifice to be offered

¹ The votive inscriptions, of which there are many existing, to the Gallic divinities, run generally in the name of Roman worshippers, and always in the Latin language.

daily in the temple for his own health and fortunes. With few and special exceptions only, they allowed foreign cults to be practised even in the heart of the imperial city: they suffered their own Jupiter on the Capitol to be rivalled within the shadow of his august temple by deities, whose worshippers proclaimed them the Best and the Greatest, no less than Jupiter himself.

Nor was this all. There were temples dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus at Corinth, at Antioch, at Augustodunum, and possibly at other places, as well as at Rome; ^{Their local independence.} nor can we suppose, although no traces of such worship appear, that Janus and Quirinus, and other Roman divinities, were entirely without honour in the colonies abroad.² The deity of Augustus himself, sometimes in conjunction with that of Roma, was adored with vows and sacrifices both in the East and West, though the worship of the emperor was forbidden to Roman citizens, or within the bounds of Italy. But we cannot trace at least any bond of uniformity in the worship of the same gods thus locally separated. No jealous eye watched over their ceremonies and rituals, no authoritative voice denounced the discrepancies which might spring up between their services, and even the attributes in divers places ascribed to them. Each temple must be supposed to have had its own ministers, independent of other kindred colleges, and subject only to the general but ill-defined authority of the chief of religion, who was chief also of the state. The management of the estates bequeathed to it by local piety, the regulation of its usages, the methods of election into its own body, were left to the discretion of each separate corporation. We shall notice at a later period the feebleness of this loose and unconnected system when opposed to the strict organization of the Christian churches.

III. Another important element of diversity was the fixed

¹ Philo, *Leg. ad Cai.*, pp. 588. 592.

² Pausan. ii. 4.; Liv. xli. 20. Eumen. *Orai. pro insular. scho.* 9, 10 Comp. Tzschirner, *Fall des Heidenthums*, p. 53.

distinction of classes in the empire. The great aim of modern civilization is to reduce the component parts of society to an uniform status, at least in the eye of the law ; to fuse together all varieties of race and origin, and abolish or disguise whatever special privileges they may have claimed or exercised. The administration of Augustus, retrogressive in many respects, had in this particular a contrary aim, however it may have been thwarted by irresistible circumstances. Augustus strove, with a zeal which we may almost call fanatical, to retrace more strongly the old lines of social demarcation, which the disorders of the times had suffered to disappear. The Roman world was still composed of citizens, subjects, and allies : such were the three co-ordinate classes of society, each subdivided into ranks and orders of its own, which alone the law recognised as entitled to social and political rights. Beyond these, huddled together with goods and chattels, lay the outer world of slaves, who were allowed no part or interest in the law at all.

III. Distinction
of classes.

Citizens, sub-
jects, and
allies.

Slaves.

We have seen with what precision Augustus regulated the places of senators and knights, citizens and freedmen ; with respect to the admission of strangers to the franchise he was reserved and scrupulous. He abstained altogether from imparting the boon to whole cities and states, as Cæsar and Antonius had done : to individuals he doled out the precious gift with a sparing hand. In the provinces the condi-

Distinctions of
condition in the
provinces.

tion of the people was complicated by a variety of distinctions ; and these too he maintained according to the prescriptions of the republic. We have no data for assigning the proportion of the provincial population which belonged to the class of subjects, and lay under the yoke of Roman laws and magistrates, without any free action of its own. It was not, perhaps, large. Cæsar applauded his own generosity in granting terms to the whole mass of the Gauls, the use of their own customs, choice of their magistrates, discussion of their affairs, and levying of

their local revenues. Independence, or autonomy, as it was called, to this extent was enjoyed, indeed, by a large portion of every subject people; but only by special grant at the time of capitulation, or at a later period under the patronage of some powerful chieftain. Pompeius gave autonomy to most of the cities of Asia; in Greece the constitutions of the several states were generally remodelled at the conquest, but they were allowed themselves to administer them.¹ We have already traced in many instances the effect of individual favour and caprice in conferring or withdrawing these coveted prerogatives. Autonomy, however, did not imply release from imperial taxation. The land and capitation taxes, sometimes together with a special tribute, were regularly enforced. Fiscal exemption or immunity was a special boon bestowed only in the most favoured cases. The free states continued to mark their years by the names of their chief magistrates. Archons and Prytanes, as we learn from medals and inscriptions, governed to a late period the communities of Ionian origin, while the Dorian still obeyed their Ephori and Cosmi.² To some of them the prerogative of coining money was long indulged. Each of them was suffered to maintain its own fiscal regulations, devised with a view to its own peculiar advantage, whereby a multitude of conflicting interests was everywhere perpetuated; and these were still further complicated by the existence of free confederations, such as the Panionian, the Amphictyonic, the Bœotian and Achæan; the action of which may have been mainly confined, however, to matters of religion and social intercourse.

But the friends and allies of the Roman people, though often locally situate in the heart of the Roman territories, were neither subject to the Roman magistrate, nor tributary to the imperial treasury. The terms Independent communities on which they held their independence were specifically those of offensive and defensive alliance; the supply of a military

¹ Strabo, xii. xiii.; Plin. *H. N.* v.; Dion, xxxvii. 20.; Pausan. vii. 16.; Becker's *Roem. Alterth.* iii. 1. 143.

² Hoeck, *Roem. Gesch.* ii. 218.

contingent, the extradition of fugitives, and non-intercourse with the enemies of Rome. In return for such compliances they received the august protection of the patron state. Much, however, as these apparent anomalies might seem to militate against the actual unity of the empire, in practice they did not seriously affect it. The eye, accustomed to the contemplation of the essential uniformity of the administration, glanced beyond these petty exceptions without a pause, and rested upon the grand principle which predominated over the whole. Friends and allies, the free and the exempted, all felt but too sensibly that their privileges were held only at the caprice of a master. Their independence was after all little more than a shadow. The edicts of the proconsuls, and in later times, the rescripts of the emperors, could at any time dissipate and destroy it. Step by step most of them were in fact brought down at last to the common condition of subjects. The loss of their political or civic privileges, meagre as they were, might be a matter of little regret to them; but as subjects of the empire they found themselves compelled to bear an undue proportion of the imperial taxation, every deficiency in which was ordinarily supplied by additional imposts on the occupiers of the public domain. To escape from this ever-increasing burden was the aim of their most earnest endeavours, and this could only be effected by acquiring the rights of citizenship. Every fresh admission to the most favoured class so far reduced the area of general taxation, while it increased its intensity. Hence the impolicy, which Augustus wisely appreciated, of giving easy access to it. But we shall find his successors not always so scrupulous, and observe how the discovery, which was speedily made, that the privileges of citizenship could be made financially available, induced them to turn in their necessities to this fatal resource, and sacrifice to an immediate expediency the permanent forces of the empire.

gradually reduced to subjection.

The reserve adopted by Augustus in multiplying the dominant class was doubtless manifest to the provincials,

who well knew that a wary ruler must feel alarm at the too rapid diminution of the tax-payers throughout his dominions, under the opposite policy of his predecessors. They would observe with satisfaction that the total number of exemptions, according to the census of 767, did not exceed by more than 500,000 that which had been calculated forty-one years before, representing an increase in that period of only about one in thirty-two, and that it was actually less than that of the intermediate enumeration of 746.¹ During the confusion of the civil wars no census had been taken from which a comparison might be instituted between this moderation and the lavish profusion of Cæsar and Antonius. Yet however selfish and reckless the triumvir had shown himself in this respect, the views of the dictator at least are entitled to more consideration. Cæsar had felt the need of infusing new blood largely into the class who fought the battles of the state. As a conqueror himself he knew the weakness of his military resources. As a man of science and letters, he honoured and rewarded the liberal professions. Sanguine and ambitious, he relied upon future conquests for replenishing the treasury his liberality exhausted and created new sources of perennial wealth. But Augustus indulged in no such visions. He found the citizens, at least in Italy, generally indisposed to military service; but the resources bequeathed him by his predecessors sufficed for his more moderate outlay of Roman blood, and, except on one great occasion of disaster and panic, he was able to recruit his military garrisons without extraneous supplies.

¹ The numbers of the censuses of Augustus, as given on the Monument of Ancyra, are as follows: A. U. 726, 4,063,000; A. U. 746, 4,233,000; A. U. 767, 4,190,000. These numbers may be supposed to represent the male citizens of military age throughout the empire: previous enumerations, the highest of which scarcely exceeded one tenth of these numbers, must refer to those of the city and its vicinity only. The ratio these numbers bear to the whole class of citizens of every age and both sexes, is roughly indicated in the text; it will be considered more closely a little further on.

² This applies of course only to the legionary force. The subjects of the empire continued to furnish auxiliary cohorts, and it is possible that the pro-

But he would not suffer even the Italians to enjoy a double immunity both from arms and taxation. Exemption from the tax on land was a special privilege, which they could not be persuaded to forego. Augustus, by the invention of a duty on succession, which he imposed exclusively on the citizens, redressed in some degree the balance. By a simple stroke of finance he established the essential equality of the conquerors and the conquered, while he relieved himself from some portion at least of the pressure applied to him by those who sought to evade by becoming citizens their due share in the general burdens.

There was one source, however, from which, notwithstanding the emperor's reluctance, the franchise continued to be extended, nor could any direct or efficient control be placed upon it. Every proprietor had it in his power to confer citizenship on his own slave by a legitimate emancipation, nor, till Augustus interfered, was any discouragement thrown on this practice, as long as certain forms were duly complied with. With the stroke of the prætor's wand, the slave was turned at once into a citizen, and the master became a patron.¹ In the simpler ages of the commonwealth, no provision had been made, because perhaps none was practically required,

Extension of
the franchise
by the manu-
mission of
slaves.

portion they bore to the legions was gradually increased. Gaul and Spain, and even Germany, furnished numerous and well-appointed contingents. The Jews were generally exempted from military service in deference to their religious prejudices. Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xiv. 10, 11-19.

¹ It is to be observed that there are two modes of manumission, *justa* and *minus justa*, the one being the regular and legitimate method effected by the stroke of the prætor's wand, which conferred a certain citizenship with limited privileges; the other required no formality beyond the mere word or certificate of the master, but the freedom it gave was good only as against the master. The *lex Julia Norbana* (A. U. 771) first gave these freedmen a certain political status, by assimilating them to the *Latini*. See Wallon, *Hist. de l'Esclavage dans l'Antiquité* (ii. 401.) from Gaius (i. 22), who calls them *Latini Juniani*. Under the republic the freedman could obtain no political honours, could vote only in one of the four urban tribes, could serve only in the marine, and could not contract marriage with a citizen. These restrictions were however extinguished in the second generation.

for restraining the cupidity of masters in this particular. The service of the slave was worth more to his master than the trifling sum he could have it in his power to offer for his freedom. But the case must have been altered when slaves were possessed of the highest personal and intellectual qualities. Such men as Cicero's favourite Tiro, a paragon of literary accomplishments, might doubtless have bid high for manumission, had he sighed for the mere name of liberty. In many cases indeed the qualities of the slave were a pecuniary benefit to the master; but it is natural to suspect that the master was often induced to turn this interest into capital, by selling the slave his freedom outright.¹ It was sometimes perhaps from humanity, more commonly from a feeling of pride, that he manumitted his slaves on his death-bed, and secured a longer retinue of clients to follow his bier.² But even in his lifetime his vanity might be fed by the respect and service of his freedmen. These people continued after emancipation attached to the interests of their patron, and were often admitted to his confidence, in places of trust which could not with propriety be filled by a slave. There are no intimations, perhaps, from which we can judge of the extent to which manumission had actually been carried, but undoubtedly the common expectation of release from captivity rendered the condition of slavery more tolerable. A good and trusty slave, we infer from a passage in Cicero, might anticipate his emancipation in six years.³ The measure of Augustus, which placed a tax on this sale of citizenship, may have had some influence in checking it; it is probable, how-

¹ It seems, indeed, to have been a common arrangement that the slave should be allowed to work on his own account, and recover his freedom for a stipulated sum. It appears, however, that the law gave him no protection against the violation of this agreement. See Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 42.

² Dion. Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* iv. 24.

³ Cic. *Philipp.* viii. 11.: "Etenim, patres conscripti, quum in spem libertatis sexennio post sinus ingressi, diutiusque servitium perpassi, quam captivi frugi et diligentes solent." He counts the years of his political servitude from the crossing of the Rubicon (705) to the declaration of war against Antonius (711).

ever, that it was meant to serve another purpose, in feeding the imperial treasury.¹

The slaves formed the last of the classes of the population; and the marked contrast of their condition, politically and socially, to those of the various free men of the empire, constituted, no doubt, the strongest element of diversity in its system. Throughout the whole extent of the Roman dominions every city and every mansion was in fact divided into two hostile camps, those of the masters and the slaves, the tyrants and their victims. This inveterate hostility of mass against mass, would appear at first sight to be a source of weakness, against which no political contrivance could effectually contend: nevertheless, history seems to attest that the institutions of slave-states have been at least as permanent as those of others; there has been no instance perhaps, on a large scale, of the overthrow of a polity by a servile reaction. Notwithstanding the superficial diversity introduced by slavery into the Roman state, it was on the whole an element of unity as well as of strength. It drew the various classes of free men more closely together by the sense of a common interest; it induced them to establish a common system of law and usage, of police and repression, in reference to it; it left them free to exercise themselves in arms or letters, while all necessary manual services were performed for them by others; by drawing its recruits from manifold sources, and gradually transfusing them into the body of the free population, it tended to assimilate the races of the empire, and obliterate distinctions of blood, language, and condition. Drop by drop the stream of barbarism continually distilled into the reservoir of the city. The busts of the later empire speak more eloquently than any other evidence to the gradual

Slavery: its indirect effect in combining the various classes of free men together.

¹ Under the republic a tax of a twentieth had been levied on the sale of slaves (from A. U. 398 to 543); and the money thence derived was deposited in the treasury; from whence (the sum being recorded) Dureau de la Malle draws a curious but unsafe argument regarding the number of enfranchisements.

debasement of the old Roman type of form and countenance.

We have thus seen how even the varieties of language, religion, and condition, which prevailed throughout the Roman dominions were compensated in a great degree by certain tendencies to uniformity, and slowly gravitated towards a single type. There

Elements of unity in the Roman empire.

were other respects, however, in which this progress was more rapid and apparent, and impressed on the manifold fragments of the empire the character of one homogeneous mass. From age to age, the ever-increasing area of the Roman dominions continued to be generated round its centre, the peninsula, which, striking deeply into the Mediterranean, almost divides it into equal parts, until it encircled the whole of that great basin

Italy the centre of the Mediterranean Sea.

with a belt of populous provinces, studded with rich and splendid cities. Before the conquests of Cæsar and Pompeius, the map of the empire was merely a chart of the Mediterranean. Cicero had said of the Greek states and colonies throughout the world that

The Mediterranean Sea the centre of the empire.

they were *a fringe, as it were, on the skirts of barbarism*; and it was not till the reduction of the interior of Gaul, Spain, and Lesser Asia that the Roman power penetrated far, in any quarter, beyond sight of the friendly waves of the Mediterranean.¹ While the coast teemed everywhere with the products of industry, and civilization, and the hand and mind of man were as busy and restless as the waves before his feet, the vast regions at his back were abandoned to forests and morasses, the abodes of wild animals, and hardly less wild barbarians. In the most flourishing periods of ancient his-

¹ Cic. *de Republ.* ii. 4.: "Ita barbarorum agris quasi attexta quædam videtur esse ora Græciæ." "We," says Plato (*Phædo*, p. 199, b.), "who dwell from the Phasis to the pillars of Hercules, inhabit only a small portion of the earth, in which we have settled round the sea, like ants or frogs round a marsh." Mark the contrast of national character in these kindred images—"Romanus honos et Graia licentia"—the one majestic but rhetorical, the other genial though mean.

tory, the Mediterranean may be compared to the great inland lakes of the American continent, skirted with cities, villages, and clearings, but with illimitable tracts of unredeemed wilderness stretching behind them. The latest conquests of Rome annexed the backwoods of Gaul and Germany in great masses, though even here the colonization of the Romans, and even the occupation of the natives, was confined to certain narrow tracks of internal communication. Even in the age of Augustus hardly one place of any political importance lay at a distance of twenty miles from the coasts of the midland sea.¹ The consolidation of the Roman power over these coasts reduced the Mediterranean to the common highway of all civilized nations; and when the police of these waters was duly kept, as was the case under the emperors, their mutual communications were regular and rapid. In fair seasons, and with fair winds, the navigation of the ancients, conducted by oars and sails, was speedier than our own till the inventions of the most recent times.² We learn that vessels from the mouth of the Tiber could reach the coast of Africa in two days, Massilia in three, Tarraco in four, and the pillars of Hercules in seven. From Puteoli the transit to Alexandria had been effected with moderate winds in nine days; from Messana in seven, and once even in six.³ On the other hand,

¹ I am speaking of course of places which owed subjection to Rome, and I except the military colonies and frontier posts in Gaul, Spain, and Pannonia. I would also except some towns in the interior of Asia Minor, which owed their importance to their position on the route of the overland traffic from Greece into Upper Asia. The political importance of Lugdunum was of later growth.

² Herodotus, iv. 86., reckons 1300 stadia, or 162 Roman miles, a good twenty-four hours' sail in summer. See Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, ii. 315. foll. from Greswell's *Dissertations*, &c., iv. 517. About seven knots an hour before the wind, for which the rigging with one mainsail is best adapted, might be the average speed of sailing.

³ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xix. 1. Between the period of Augustus and Pliny, about fifty years, there was probably a considerable advance in the science of navigation. That writer seems to attribute the increased speed in sailing to the use of the Egyptian linen in place of the hempen or latten sails of the ancients, which from its lightness admitted of a much greater speed: "super

however, if the winds and waves were adverse, the timidity and unskilfulness of the mariners made their voyages extremely slow and uncertain. Cæsar took twenty-nine days to reach the coast of Italy from Sardinia, and the Alexandrian vessel in which St. Paul sailed from the coast of Lycia would have wintered in a haven of Crete in the midst of its voyage to Rome. The Romans, indeed, only navigated in the finer parts of the year. The communication between Italy and Spain by water was interrupted from the middle of November, and only recommenced in March.¹ It took as much as three months to sail from Gades to Ostia in the face of the east winds which prevailed at a certain season.²

But with the return of spring or summer the glittering sea was alive with vessels. Rome, placed like a mightier Mexico in the centre of her mighty lake, was furnished with every luxury and with many of her chief necessities from beyond the waters; and cities on every coast, nearly similar in latitude and climate, vied in intense rivalry with each other in ministering to her appetite. First in the ranks of commerce was the traffic in corn, which was conducted by large fleets of galleys, sailing from certain havens once a year at stated periods, and pouring their stores into her granaries in their appointed order. Gaul and Spain, Sardinia and Sicily, Africa and Egypt were all wheat-growing countries, and all contributed of their produce, partly as a tax, partly also as an article of commerce, to the sustentation of Rome and Italy. The convoy from Alexandria was looked for with the greatest anxiety, both as the heaviest laden, and as from the length of the voyage the most liable to disaster or detention. The vessels which bore the corn of Egypt were required to hoist their topsails on sighting the promontory of Surrentum, both

Rome the emporium of the commerce of the Mediterranean.

antennas addi velorum alia vela, præterque alia in proris, et alia in puppibus pandi."

¹ Vegetius, v. 9.: "Ex die tertio iduum Novemb usque in diem sextum iduum Mart. maria clauduntur."

² Strabo, iii. 2. p. 144

to distinguish them from others, and to expedite their arrival. These vessels moreover, according to the institution of Augustus, were of more than ordinary size, and they were attended by an escort of war galleys. The importance attached to this convoy was marked by the phrases, *auspicious* and *sacred*, applied to it.¹ As it neared the Italian coast, its swiftest sailers were detached to go forward and give notice of its approach. Hence it glided rapidly, by night or day, under the guidance of the Surrentine Minerva on the right, and on the left the lighthouse of Capreæ.² A deputation of senators from Rome was directed to await its arrival at the port where it was about to cast anchor, which, from the bad condition of the haven at Ostia, was generally at this period Puteoli in Campania. As soon as the well-known topsails were seen above the horizon a general holiday was proclaimed, and the population of the country, far and near, streamed with joyous acclamations to the pier, and gazed upon the rich flotilla expanding gaily before them.³

The vessels engaged in this trade, however numerous, were after all of small burden. The corn-fleets did not indeed form the chief maritime venture of the Alexandrians.

¹ "Felix embola, sacra embola." Statius has a picturesque allusion to the mariner hailing the Isle of Capreæ and pouring his libation before the statue or temple of Minerva on the opposite height:

. "Modo nam trans æquora terris
Prima Dicarchæis Pharium gravis intulit annum:
Prima salutavit Capreas, et margine dextro
Sparsit Tyrrhenæ Mareotica vina Minervæ."

His friend Celer takes his passage on board this vessel, on its return voyage, to join his legion in Palestine:

"Quam scandere gaudet
Nobilis Ausoniæ Celer armipotentis alumnus."

Sylv. iii. 2. 19.

² Stat. *Sylv.* iii. 5. 100.:

"Teleboumque domos, trepidis ubi dulcia nautis
Lumina noctivagæ tollit Pharus æmula Lunæ."

³ Seneca, *Epist.* 78., in which there is a lively account of this circumstance, says, "Cum intravere Capreas et promontorium ex quo alta procelloso speculatur vertice Pallas, cæteræ velo jubentur esse contentæ, supparum Alexandrinarum insigne indicium est."

The products of India, which had formerly reached Egypt from Arabia, and were supposed indeed in Europe to have come only from the shores of the Erythræan Sea, were now conveyed direct to Cleopatris or Berenice from the mouths of the Indus and the coast of Malabar, and employed an increasing number of vessels, which took advantage of the periodical trade winds both in going and returning. The articles of which they went in quest were for the most part objects of luxury; such as ivory and tortoiseshell, fabrics of cotton and silk, both then rare and costly, pearls and diamonds, and more especially gums and spices.¹ The consumption of these latter substances in dress, in cookery, in the service of the temples, and above all at funerals, advanced with the progress of wealth and refinement.² The consignments which reached Alexandria from the East were directed to every port on the Mediterranean; but there was no corresponding demand for the produce of the West in India, and these precious freights were for the most part exchanged for gold and silver, of which the drain from Europe to Asia was uninterrupted. The amount of the precious metals thus abstracted from the currency or bullion of the empire, was estimated at 100,000,000 sesterces, or about 800,000*l.* yearly.³ The reed called papyrus, the growth of which seems to have been almost confined to the banks of the Nile, was in general use as the cheapest and most convenient writing material, and the consumption of it throughout the world, though it never entirely superseded the use of parchment and waxen tablets, must have been immense.⁴ It was

Staples of commerce in the Mediterranean.

Spices, &c., from the East.

Paper from Egypt.

¹ The objects of the Indian trade are enumerated by Arrian, *Peripî. Erythr.* p. 28., and also in the *Digest*, xxxix. tit. 4. 16.

² See the account of the funeral of Sulla in Plutarch, and of Poppæa (the wife of Nero) in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xii. 41.

³ Plin. *Hist. Nat. l. c.*: "Minimaque computatione millies centena millia sestertium annis omnibus India et Seres peninsulaque illa (Arabia) imperio nostro adimunt."

⁴ The papyrus plant, *Cyperus papyrus*, is found also on the banks of a rivulet near Syracuse, and has sometimes been converted into paper there in

converted into paper in Egypt, and thence exported in its manufactured state; but this practice was not universal, for we read of a house at Rome which improved on the native process, and produced what Pliny calls an imperial or noble out of a mere plebeian texture.¹ With respect to other articles of general use, it may be remarked that the most important, such as corn, wine, oil, and wool, were the common produce of all the coasts of the Mediterranean, and there was accordingly much less interchange of these staple commodities among the nations of antiquity than with ourselves, whose relations extend through so many zones of temperature. Hence, probably, we hear of none of their great cities becoming the workshops or emporiums of the world for any

special article of commerce.² The woollens indeed of Miletus and Laodicea, together with other places of Asia Minor, were renowned for their excellence, and may have been transported as articles of luxury to distant parts; but Africa and Spain, Italy and parts of Greece, were also breeders of sheep, and none of these countries depended for this prime necessary on the industry or cupidity of foreigners. The finest qualities of Greek and

Asiatic wines were bespoke at Rome, and at every other great seat of luxury. The Chian and Lesbian vintages were among the most celebrated, but the quantity they could produce must have been comparatively limited, and an immense proportion of the wines consumed

modern times, as a matter of curiosity. See Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, iii. 148.

¹ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xiii. 23.: "Excepit hanc Romæ Fannii sagax officina, tenuatamque euiosa interpolatione principalem fecit e plebeia." The ordinary process of this manufacture was to place two layers of the thin slices of the papyrus crossways, and then paste and press them together. But Fannius, as I understand Pliny, plaited the transverse slices. The most elegant paper was rubbed thin and polished with shells or ivory.

² Hume, in his essay on the "Populousness of Ancient Nations," has the remark, which, as far as I have noticed, is correct, that no great city of antiquity is said to have acquired its importance from any kind of manufactures.

by the nations of the Mediterranean was undoubtedly of home growth, for few of them were not themselves producers. Again, while the clothing of the mass of the population was made perhaps mainly from the skins of animals, leather of course could be obtained abundantly in almost every locality. When we remember that the ancients had neither tea, coffee, tobacco, sugar, nor for the most part spirits; that they made little use of glass, and at this period had hardly acquired a taste for fabrics of silk, cotton, or even flax, we shall perceive at a glance how large a portion of the chief articles of our commerce was entirely wanting to theirs. Against this deficiency, however, many objects of great importance are to be set. Though the ruder classes were content with wooden cups and platters fashioned at their own doors, the transport of earthenware of the finer and more precious kinds, and from certain localities, was very considerable.¹ Though the Greeks and Romans generally were without some of our commonest implements of gold and silver, such for instance as watches and forks, it is probable that they indulged even more than we do in personal decoration with rings, seals, and trinkets of a thousand descriptions. Their armour and even their peaceful habiliments were ornamented with the precious metals, and altogether the traffic in this particular article, which came chiefly from the Spanish mines, furnished as important an element in their commerce as in our own. The conveyance of wild animals, chiefly from Africa, for the sports of the amphitheatres of some hundreds of cities throughout the empire, must alone have given occupation to a large fleet

¹ I believe it is now understood that the murrha of the Romans was not porcelain, as had been supposed from the line,

“Murrheaque in Parthis pocula cocta focis” (Propert. iv. 5. 26.),

but an imitation in coloured glass of a transparent stone. It is agreed that the so-called Etruscan ware, of which such immense quantities were used in Italy, was not an Etruscan, but a Greek manufacture, and came not even from the Greeks of Lower Italy, but from the mother country beyond the sea. Macculloch's *Political Essays*, p. 298.

of ships and many thousand mariners.¹ Nor were the convoys smaller which were employed to transport marble from the choicest quarries of Greece and Asia to many flourishing cities besides the metropolis; and even the spoliation of the forums and temples of the East, not of their pictures and statues only, but of columns and pavements and almost entire edifices, furnished a notable addition to the annual freights of the Mediterranean. The last article of transport which need be enumerated is that of troops and military stores, including engines of war, horses, and even elephants, which alone must occasionally have required large naval armaments; for it was by water, far more than by land, that the forces of Rome were conveyed to Greece, Spain, and Asia, as well as to Africa and Egypt. When we remember that the Mediterranean was closed for a third part of the year, and that all this variety of maritime enterprise was crowded into a few months annually, we shall be disposed to regard with some indulgence the bold hyperbole of Juvenal, that more than half mankind was actually upon the water.²

After due deduction for the more contracted sphere of ancient commerce, and the lesser number of articles, for the extent also to which the necessities and conveniences of life were manufactured at home in the establishments of wealthy slaveowners, we shall still readily believe that the inter-communication of the cities of the Mediterranean, such as Corinth, Rhodes, Ephesus, Cyzicus, Antioch, Tyrus, Alexandria, Cyrene, Athens, Carthage, Tarraco, Narbo and Massilia, Neapolis and Taren-

Effect of commerce in giving unity to the empire.

¹ Petron. *Satyr.* 119 :

“Premit advcna classes Tigris.”

Such insignificant places as Dorchester and Lillebonne had spacious amphitheatres; the one, perhaps, merely of turf with wooden sheds, but the other a miniature colosseum in architecture and masonry.

² Juvenal. xiv. 275. :

“Adspice portus

Et plenum magnis trabibus mare: plus hominum est jam
In pelago.”

tum, Syracuse and Agrigentum, and of all with Rome, must have been a potent instrument in fusing into one family the manifold nations of the empire. While each community retained for the most part its own commercial laws and customs' duties, which operated to some extent in impeding the free interchange of their divers commodities, the direct traffic with Rome was equally free to all; nor were the tolls levied on imports into the capital either capricious or severe. Rome, conspicuous on her seven hills, and though situated fifteen miles inland, not perhaps invisible from the Tyrrhene waters,¹ became the great central object to which all enterprise and commercial cupidity looked; and in the eyes of the Orientals and the Greeks, the mistress of lands and continents, the leader of armies, and the builder of roads was regarded as the greatest of all maritime emporiums, and represented in their figurative style as a woman sitting enthroned upon the waves of the Mediterranean.²

The maritime aspect thus assumed by Rome in the eyes of her subjects beyond the sea, is the more remarkable when we consider how directly her ancient policy and habits were opposed to commercial development. Cicero mentions it, among the advantages of her

Security of
maritime com-
merce under
the empire.

¹ The cross of St. Peter's may be seen from the sea, but it may be questioned whether any building of ancient Rome was equally lofty.

² "The great whore that sitteth upon many waters Alas, alas! that great city Babylon the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her, for no man buyeth of her merchandise any more The merchandise of gold and silver and precious stones, and of pearls, and of fine linen and purple, and silk and scarlet, and all thyine wood, and all manner of vessels of ivory, and all manner of vessels of most precious wood, and of brass and of iron, and of marble, and cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts and sheep, and horses and chariots, and slaves, *and souls of men.*" *Revel.* xvii. 1., xviii. 10. "That great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea." The above is perhaps a complete enumeration of the imports of the port of Ostia for the use of Rome. For the sense in which the opprobrious term ἡ πόρνη is applied to Babylon, *i. e.* Rome, Schleusner compares Isaiah xxiii. 16., where the Hebrew equivalent is applied to Tyre: "Quia fuit propter mercaturam insignis, et sicut meretrix lucris et quæstus causa cum aliis negotiabatur."

site, that she was removed from the sea, contact with which was supposed to have been fatal to her predecessors in empire, to Athens and Corinth, Syracuse and Carthage.¹ The landowners of Rome, in the highday of her insolent adolescence, had denounced both commerce and the arts as the business of slaves or freedmen. So late as the year 535 a law had been passed which forbade a senator to possess a vessel of burden, and the traffic which was prohibited to the higher class was degraded in the eyes of the lower.² But it would not have been necessary to enact such a restriction were not the thirst of lucre already sapping the foundations of the old Roman spirit, which had allowed itself no other employment but arms and agriculture. The traders of Rome, instead of connecting themselves by relations of commerce with foreign houses, preferred, under the pressure of these limitations, to withdraw beyond the sea, and devoted their industry to the pursuit of wealth removed from the watchful eyes of the censors and the vulgar prejudices of the multitude. The government, in its barbarous zeal for the ancient traditions, burnt the captured fleets of Carthage and Corinth. It sought to destroy the resources of its enemies' naval power rather than to increase its own. Possessed of no native commerce, it beheld with indifference the dominion of the seas passing into the hands of pirates; nor did it care to create a naval force, and assert its supremacy in the Mediterranean, till the transport of its own armies and their gen-

¹ Cic. *de Republ.* ii. 4.

² Liv. xxi. 63.: "Ne quis senator, cuive senatorius pater fuerat, maritimam navem, quæ plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos: quæstus omnis patribus indecorus visus est." The measure, however, was strongly contested, and brought odium upon its author Flaminius. Compare with this interdict the limited toleration Cicero extends to the pursuit of commerce: "Mercatura, si tenuis est, sordida putanda est; sin magna et copiosa, multa undique apportans, non est admodum vituperanda. Atque etiam si satiata quæstu, vel contenta potius, ut sæpe ex alto in portum, ex ipso portu in agros se possessionesque contulerit, videtur jure optimo posse laudari. Omnium autem rerum ex quibus aliquid acquiritur, nihil est agricultura melius . . . nihil homine libero dignius." *De Offic.* i. 42.

erals was menaced and impeded. When roused at last to act upon the ocean the Romans did not leave their work imperfect. The suppression of piracy by Pompeius, the greatest exploit of his life, was effected once for all. Under the empire the midland sea became a safer highway than it had ever been before or, till recent times, has been since; and the people who dwelt along its shores, and daily went down upon its waters, were sensibly convinced of the unity of all nations under the sway of the universal ruler.

It was thus by following the natural train of circumstances, and by no settled policy of her own, that Rome secured her march across the sea, and joined coast to coast with the indissoluble chain of her dominion. On land, on the contrary, she constructed her military causeways with a fixed and definite purpose. Her continental possessions, at least in the West, were at this time, for the most part, still in a state of nature: the cultivation, as has been said, of Gaul and Spain, Illyria and Pannonia, even of a great part of Italy and Greece, was still limited to the neighbourhood of the coast and the valleys of rivers; while the upper country almost everywhere presented an expanse of primeval forest, broken sometimes by grassy prairies, sometimes by rugged mountains, and again by impassable morasses. The population of Gaul crept, we know, slowly up the channel of the rivers, and the native tracks which conveyed their traffic from station to station were guided by these main arteries of their vital system. But the conquerors struck out at once a complete system of communication for their own purposes, by means of roads cut or built as occasion required, with a settled policy rigidly pursued. These high roads, as we may well call them, for they were raised above the level of the plains and the banks of the rivers, and climbed the loftiest hills, were driven in direct lines from point to point, and were stopped by neither forest nor marsh nor mountain. Throughout their course they were studded with inscribed pillars erected at equal distances of a thousand paces: they were furnished with stations or post-

Rome the centre of communications by land.

houses, and kept in repair by tolls or rates in Italy, in the provinces, we may suppose, by the forced labour of the population.¹ It was no part of the policy of the conquerors to facilitate the intercourse of the natives of the interior, and the municipal system they introduced among them tended rather to isolate each separate community and make it independent of those around it. But the sense of unity and common dependence on a central authority was admirably maintained by the instrument of communication with Rome, which, in whatever quarter the subjects of the state might cross it, always pointed with a silent finger in the direction of their invisible mistress.² Far as the eye could reach, till it was lost in the remote horizon, stretched this mysterious symbol of her all-attaining influence; and where the sense failed to follow the imagination came into play, and wafted the thoughts of the awe-stricken provincial to the gates of Rome and the prætorium of the venerable emperor. Along these channels, as he knew, the armies, the laws, and the institutions of the city streamed, in ceaseless flow, to every corner of the earth: they were the veins through which the life-blood of the empire circulated from its heart, making every pulse to beat with unfailing harmony and precision.

¹ Cic. *pro Font.* 4. The cross roads (*vicinales viæ*) were kept in repair by the owners of the land through which they ran, who were assessed thereto by the *magistri pagorum*. Siculus Flaccus, in *Ser. R. Agr.* 146., ed. Lachmann.

² For the rate of travelling by land, we may notice that Cæsar reached Geneva from Rome in eight days (*Plut. Cæs.* 17.); and Suetonius tells us that he commonly performed one hundred miles in the twenty-four hours. *Jul.* 57. Tiberius actually travelled two hundred miles in that time, when he was hastening to Drusus in Germany. *Plin. Hist. Nat.* vii. 20. Cicero (*pro Rose. Am.* 19.) speaks of fifty-six miles as a good twelve hours' journey by the *cisium* or post-carriage. These are all mentioned as instances of great speed. Martial gives the more ordinary rate of forty miles a day:

“Hispani pete Tarraconis arcem.
Illinc Bilbilin et tuum Saloniem
Quinto forsitan essedo videbis.”

(x. 104.); the distance of the Roman road through Ilerda and Cæsar Augusta being about two hundred miles.

Julius Cæsar had commanded this vast machine of life and movement to be delineated on a chart or map, and the work was conducted with such minute and scrupulous care, that the three commissioners to whom it was entrusted, were employed twenty-five years in elaborating it.¹ The zeal and activity of Agrippa had watched over the progress of the work, and finally brought it to completion. The science of geography had made but little progress before the time of Augustus (there was little demand for it as long as all civilized men dwelt around the shores of one marine basin), and the information of the few writers on the subject was neither extensive nor precise. The sun and stars were not observed, to ascertain the position of places; the definitions of latitude and longitude were not invented till two centuries later. But there existed ample materials for a comprehensive survey of the Roman dominions, in an infinite mass of chorographical details preserved in the local archives, by comparing and combining which, and verifying them by observation and measurement, it was possible, with vast labour, and not without many inaccuracies, to work out a map of the entire empire on an uniform scale. Of the map which Agrippa caused to be engraved or painted on the walls of his portico at Rome, we know only that it represented by a series of diagrams the result of this laborious commission. It is evident, from the nature of the place in which it was exhibited, that this *painted world*, as it was denominated, bore no resemblance to the kind of delineation to which we give the name.² It made, we

The orbis pictus, or map of the empire.

¹ From Cæsar's consulship, 710, to that of Saturninus, 735. (Hoeck, *Röm. Gesch.* i. 2. 394), from Æthicus, whose computation, however, is not quite accurate.

² The source of our acquaintance with the map (orbis pictus) of Agrippa is Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 3.: "Cum orbem terrarum orbi spectandum propositurus esset . . . is namque (sc. Augustus) complexam eum porticum ex destinatione et commentariis M. Agrippæ a sorore ejus inchoatam peregit." I conceive that this map was engraved on the wall of the portico, and the lines coloured, like the fragment of the well-known Plan of Rome in the Capitoline museum. We may get the best idea, perhaps, of its shape and

must suppose, no attempt to express the proper configuration of lands and seas, but simply to represent, in a series of tables, the order and distances of places upon every line of road, coast, and river. Its extension along the walls of a gallery or cloister was meant to keep all its parts nearly on the same level, in which respect it may be compared to the sculptured frieze of a temple, or the pictured series of the Bayeux tapestry. Such a delineation might serve to amuse and astonish the multitude; but it could have been of little real service without the supplement of a written description. This was furnished no doubt by the commentaries of Agrippa, which explained the portion of the work addressed only to the eye, and to which the great geographer Pliny refers as one of his amplest and most conclusive authorities.¹ We are not, however, to imagine, that the compilers of the *Painted World* did no more than measure itineraries, and state the result in a diagram or in a volume. They measured, we may believe, not only the roads, but the areas which lay between them; the labour of a quarter of a century produced no doubt a complete registration of the size, the figure, and the natural features of every province, district, and estate throughout the empire. Every portion of this immense work, it may be presumed, was traced on vellum, or engraved on plates of brass: if it was too unwieldy to be comprehended on a single tablet and exposed at one view to the gaze of the Roman people, it was preserved piece by piece as an official record for the examination of government. It may even be conjectured that copies of the whole, or of parts, were taken from it, and multiplied for private or official use.²

character from the curious specimen of ancient chorography called the Peutinger Table, which may, indeed, be actually a reduction from it adapted to a later period.

¹ Pliny cites Agrippa twenty-six times, according to Frandsen (*Agrippa*, p. 188.), and always in such terms as he uses in reference to known authors of books. There can be no doubt, therefore, of the nature of the Commentaries, as a work of geographical details.

² This may be inferred, perhaps, from the line of Propertius (iv. 3. 36),

“Cogor et e tabula pictos ediscere mundos;”

We shall find it difficult, indeed, to acquiesce in the notion that the Romans had no chorographic maps, when we remember the care and exactness with which they measured the surface of every private estate, and represented its configuration. From a very early period they had been accustomed to delineate the areas of the national domains, and of every conquest they successively added to them. The land surveyor, as has been before remarked, followed regularly in the track of the emperor, and lent the aid of his staff and line to work out the imaginary division of allotted territory made by the augur according to the forms of the Etruscan discipline. The assessment of land to the public revenue, in which under the early republic the chief element of the national resources consisted, was apportioned with scrupulous precision, and founded on authentic registers, including maps as well as tabular statements. The examination and correction of these documents, from one lustrum to another, constituted a critical part of the censorial functions. Every fifth year the chorographical statistics of the Roman territory were carefully revised and adjusted to the actual facts, and few of these quinquennial periods elapsed without some extension of its limits, and a corresponding addition to the duties of the censorship. After the remission, indeed, of the land tax upon the estates of Roman citizens, the state had less interest in this inquisition. It would seem, nevertheless, to have been still maintained, while the investigation became further extended to the property of the subjects throughout the provinces. The census of the pro-

Chorographical
surveys in use
at Rome.

and from a passage in Eumenius (*de Instaur. Schol.* 20, 21.): "Illic omnium eum nominibus suis locorum situs, spatia, intervalla descripti sunt, instruendæ pueritiæ causa." These smaller maps would be something different from the chorographical itineraries recommended by Vegetius (*de Re Mil.* iii. 6.) for military purposes: "itineraria provinciæ . . . ut non solum consilio mentis verum aspectu oculorum viam profecturis eligerent." The Itineraries preserved to us were constructed, we may suppose, from the records of the roadmakers, of which a specimen may be seen in the inscription of Aquilius (Gruter, p. 150.), stating the names of places and distances on the Way he built from Capua to Rhegium.

Census and
Professio.

vincials, however, was different in some respects, and bore a different name from that of the citizens. It was not sanctified by the same ceremonies; it did not require to be held by a censor, but might be taken by the proconsul; nor was it necessarily simultaneous with the census at Rome. The provincial *Professio*, as it was designated, extended wherever the land tax was exacted; and this was the case, not only throughout the subject countries and communities, but even in those which were suffered to call themselves autonomous, provided they had not the further privilege of immunity.¹

Statistical
registers of
the empire.

The geographical science of the Romans thus advanced in the same proportion with their conquests. Its application was carried out from the banks of the Tiber to those of the Rhine and Euphrates with the same rigid minuteness, and its results preserved with no less scrupulous solicitude. It furnished an immense mass of materials for the mathematicians to whom the redaction of the Cæsar's Universal Geography was confided; although, as these professors of science were Greeks, it is possible that they may have made little account of the rough practical drawings of the Roman surveyors. These working drafts were engraved upon brazen tablets and preserved, together with a complete account of every thing which constituted the value of the soil, in the archives of the Tabularium.²

¹ "In urbe Roma tantum census agi notum est: in provinciis autem magis professionibus utuntur." Dositheus in *Corp. Juris Ante-Theod.* ed. Bœcking, p. 63. The census as applied to Roman citizens had other objects besides the fiscal. It was designed to fix the position of the citizen in the classes, and, accordingly, in the comitia of the centuries, by the amount of his means; and thus the state acquired an accurate knowledge of the numbers upon which it could reckon for different kinds of military service. The census was held in Rome, and the citizens were summoned before the censors in person. It may be concluded, therefore, though we have no specific statement to that effect, that it was not applied beyond the bounds of Italy, nor, till a late period, at any great distance from Rome. Hence the trifling addition made to the roll of citizenship by the nominal admission of the whole Italian population.

² "Omnes significationes et formis et tabulis æris inscribemus, data, assign-

The Professions of the provinces comprehended, after the manner of the censorial registers, not only a numerical statement of the freemen and slaves, the women and children, and cattle of every description, not only of the houses and buildings also, but of the acreage of every farm, with the amount of land under tillage, in pasture or in wood, and the nature of its plantations, even to the number of vines, olives, and other fruit-trees.¹ The elder Cato in his censorship had demanded an exact inventory of clothes, carriages, trinkets, furniture, and implements.² The names of the owners of land on the borders of each particular farm were inscribed on the maps, as in those of our own surveyors. A certain individuality was attached, at least for fiscal purposes, to separate parcels of land. Each fundus or estate remained a constant quantity, while its component parts were sold or divided among various holders, and the fiscal liabilities of the whole *Caput* were apportioned among them respectively.³

It was from the precise information contained in these official registers that Augustus, towards the close of his reign, drew up the complete survey of the Roman empire, which he placed in the hands of the Vestal Virgins, to be delivered to the senate and his successor after his death.⁴ To this table of statistics he gave

The Brevi-
arium
Imperii.

nata, concessa, excepta, commutata pro suo, redditu veteri possessori, et quæcunque alia inscriptio singularum literarum in usu fuerit, et in ære permancat. Libros æris et typum totius perticæ lineis descriptum secundum suas terminationes, adscriptis affinibus, tabulario Cæsaris inferemus." Hyginus, *de Limb. Constit.* ed. Gæs. 193. ed. Lachmann, p. 202. For lineis, Gæsius reads linteis, which Dureau de la Malle cannot resist the temptation of adopting, and thence inferring that copies were taken off the plate on linen.

¹ Lactant. *de Mort. Persecut.* 23.: "Agri glebatim metiebantur, vites et arbores numerabantur, animalia omnis generis scribebantur, hominum capita notabantur; unusquisque cum liberis cum servis aderant."

² Plut. *Cat. Maj.* 18.

³ Compare *Digest*, x. tit. i. 4.: "Si alter fundus duorum, alter trium sit, potest iudex uni parti adjudicare locum de quo quæritur, licet plures dominos habeat; quoniam magis fundo quam personis adjudicari fines intelliguntur."

⁴ Suet. *Oct.* 101., comp. 28.; Tac. *Ann.* i. 11.: "Opes publicæ continebantur: quantum civium sociorumque in armis: quot classes, regna, provinciæ, tributa aut vectigalia, &c." Egger, *Hist. d'Auguste*, p. 50. It is not

the name of *Breviarium* or *Rationarium*. It was the ledger of his household: but his household comprehended half the human race.¹ It embraced a succinct but authentic statement of all the resources of the Roman people, including indeed some details which lay beyond the ample verge of the census and profession, as for instance the number not only of the citizens and subjects, but also of the allies; it detailed the state of the naval as well as military forces of the commonwealth, the condition of the provinces and dependencies, and political system of each several community, the amount of the public revenues, and proceeds of every import, together with the expenses of the general government. At the foot of this compendious synopsis of Roman affairs the emperor had added a recommendation to his successors to abstain from extending further the actual limits of the empire. The final impression left on his mind, by the review of his vast possessions, was the solemn feeling that they were already as great as any single man could hope to wield for the welfare of the people committed to his care.²

This little book might well be regarded as a symbol of the unity of the empire. It comprised within the compass of a single manual the result of a mass of statistical information derived from every corner of the provinces, and elaborated with a degree of method and a completeness which has never been rivalled even by modern civilization until our own century. Under no less stringent and minute a system would it

The Romans possessed accurate information on the subject of population.

clear, however, whether the *Breviarium*, the legacy of Augustus, was precisely the same as the *Rationarium*, or imperial ledger.

* Augustus was sometimes styled, half in praise, half in mockery, "*pater familias totius imperii*."

² Tac. *l. c.*, Dion, lvi. 33. The immediate source of the emperor's compilation was, no doubt, the work of Balbus, the chief of his staff of surveyors, who had drawn up a statistical survey of the provinces. See *Script. Rei Agr.* p. 239, ed. Lachmann. Comp. Cassiodorus *Variar.* iii. 52: "*Augusti siquidem temporibus orbis Romanus agris divisus, censuque descriptus est, ut possessio sua nulli haberetur incerta, quam pro tributorum susceperat quantitate solvenda.*" Cited by Dureau de la Malle, *Econ. Pol. des Rom.* i. 193.

have been possible to work the regulation for taxing the succession to property, or for apportioning the amount of tribute exacted from the great corn-growing countries. The details upon which it was based, engraved, as already stated, on metal plates, and deposited in the vaults of the treasury beneath the capitol, might have survived to this day, had they been left to the slow process of natural decay. But these documents have suffered from violence and conflagration, at a time when they had lost the interest they originally possessed, and which in our day they would undoubtedly have recovered. While Virgil and Livy had a thousand copyists, no one took the pains to multiply the exemplars of these abstruse documents, which were regarded as no better than cast-off almanacks. We would sacrifice many of the remains of ancient literature for a transcript of the *Breviarium* of Augustus, or the tables of finance and population. The rulers of Rome, we have no reason to doubt, had the means of glancing at complete details on the subject of population. The births and deaths, the marriages and divorces, were all duly registered. The first enumeration of the Roman people was attributed to the founder of the state; and a law, ascribed to Servius Tullius, required that every birth should be registered by payment of a piece of money in the temple of Juno Lucina. At every death or funeral a piece of money was similarly offered at the shrine of Libitina. The assumption of the robe of manhood was verified by a fee to *Juventas*.¹ The naturalist Pliny illustrated the subject of human longevity by extracts from a census of Cispadane Gaul, from which it appears that every inhabitant was required to state his exact age to the enumerator.² If he allowed his imagina

¹ Dion. Hal. iv. 1.

² Pliny refers to a census under Vespasian (circa A. D. 70), as furnishing indisputable evidence as to vital statistics throughout the empire. His own citations he confines to a small district. At Parma, he tells us, three persons returned themselves æt. 120; two, æt. 130; at Brixellum, one, æt. 125; at Placentia, one, æt. 131; at Faventia, one, æt. 135; at Veleiacum, six, æt. 110, four, æt. 120, one, æt. 140. On the whole, in the eighth region of Italy, there were fifty-four persons of 100, three of 148 years. The figures are no

tion to wander beyond the strict limits of truth in giving his reply, he was at least liable to be checked by the registers of birth, which were also regularly kept. Every parent on *taking up* his new-born child, entered its birth in the *Acta* or Journal of Public Events, which was preserved as a state document. As regards marriages, there may be perhaps no direct evidence of the registration which is here presumed; but that such was the case in respect of divorces, is more than once expressly affirmed.¹ If these testimonies apply only to the case of citizens, we may fairly infer from analogy that similar regard was had to the registration of the provincials, though this may have been a later institution.²

The numerical statements of the ancient authorities are not, therefore, to be lightly disregarded, as they evidently possessed sources of accurate information on many points of social economy, if they chose to use them. It is to be feared, however, that, with their loose notions of historical composition, they rarely took pains to examine these sources with care and discrimination. The avowed references to the Official Journal of the State are meagre and obscure.³ The forgeries of some unscrupu-

The *Acta*, or
Journal of the
State.

doubt far too high, but they prove the main fact that the inquiry was regularly made. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vii. 50.

¹ Cic. *ad Div.* viii. 7.: "Paula Valeria divortium sine causa fecit: nuptura est D. Bruto: nondum retulerat (*scil.* in *acta*)."
Juvenal, ii. 136.: "Fient ista palam, cupient et in *acta* referri."

ix. 84.: "Tollis enim et libris actorum spargere gaudes

Argumenta viri."

Digest, xxii. tit. 3. 29.: "Mulier gravida repudiata, absente marito filium enixa, ut spurium in *actis* professsa est." Capitolinus, *Gord.* 5.: "Filium Gordianum nomine Antonini et signo illustravit, quum apud præfectum ærarii more Romano professus filium publicis *actis* ejus nomen insereret."

² Capitol., *M. Anton.* 9.: "Jussit apud præfectos ærarii Saturni unum quemque civium natos liberos profiteri, intra tricesimum diem nomine imposito. Per provincias tabulariorum publicorum usum instituit, apud quos idem de originibus fieret quod Romæ apud præfectos ærarii."

³ These references are collected by Leclerc, *Journaux des Romains* 181 foll. from Cicero, Tacitus, Suetonius, Seneca, the two Plinys, Dion, and some other writers. The facts elicited from them are, however, of the most trifling kind.

lous scholars, who have put forth pretended extracts from this lost treasure, may remind us how much we have suffered from the disappearance of the genuine documents.¹ Of the actual nature of their contents, however, we can nowhere obtain a clearer idea than from the mock account of the freedman Trimalchio, a personage in the curious satire of Petronius, represented as immensely wealthy, and enacting, on a smaller but yet a truly magnificent scale, the part of the imperial owner of the Roman world.

The seventh of the kalends of Sextilis.—*On the estate at Cumæ, belonging to Trimalchio, were born thirty boys, twenty girls;—were carried from the floor to the barn 500,000 bushels of wheat;—were broke 500 oxen.—The same day the slave Mithridates was crucified for blasphemy against the Emperor's genius.*²—*The same day was placed in the chest the sum of ten million sesterces, which could not be put out to use.—The same day was a fire in the Pompeian Villa, which spread from the house of Nasta the bailiff.*—‘How now?’ exclaimed Trimalchio; ‘when did I buy a villa at Pompeii?’—‘Last year,’ replied the intendant, ‘so it has not yet come into the audit.’ Trimalchio hereupon fell into a passion, and cried out—‘Whatever estates I buy, if I am not told of them within six

¹ The question of these forgeries, as they are now admitted to be, was warmly debated by the learned for two centuries. They seem to be traced to the composition of Ludovicus Vives, a friend of Erasmus.

² Petron. *Satyr.* c. 53.; vii. Kal. Sext.: “In prædio Cumano quod est Trimalchionis nati sunt pueri xxx., puellæ xx.: sublata in horreum ex area tritici millia modium quingenta: boves domiti D.: eodem die Mithridates servus in crucem actus est quia Gaii nostri genio maledixerat. Eodem die in arcam relatum est quod collocari non potuit sestertium centies. Eodem die incendium factum est in hortis Pompeianis, ortum ex ædibus Nastæ villici. Quid? inquit Trimalchio: quando mihi Pompeiani horti empti sunt? Anno priore, inquit actuarius, et ideo in rationem nondum venerunt. Excanduit Trimalchio, et Quicumque, inquit, mihi fundi empti fuerint, nisi intra sextum mensem sciero, in rationes meas inferri veto. Jam etiam edicta ædilium recitabantur et saltuariorum testamenta, quibus Trimalchio cum elogio exhæredebatur; jam nomina villicorum et repudiata a circuitore liberta in balneatoris contubernio deprehensa: atriensis Baias relegatus: jam reus factus dispensator et judicium inter cubicularios actum.”

months, I will not have them brought into my accounts at all.'—Then were recited the *œdiles'* (surveyors') edicts, and the wills of certain herdsmen, with the excuses they made for omitting to make their master their heir; then again the sums lent by his bailiffs, and the story of a freedwoman, wife of a watchman, divorced on being caught in commerce with a slave of the bath; the case of a porter relegated to *Baiæ*;—of a steward accused and examined before the tribunal of the slaves and retainers of the bedchamber.—This piece of banter the author himself describes as a counterpart of the official register of events; and we may trace in it the way in which public receipts and expenses, as well as accidents and offences, were recorded for the information of the government and the amusement of the citizens.¹

But the neglect and loss of these precious statistics have left us dependent on a few casual notices of history, and such inferences as may be drawn from analogy, on the point of chief interest to modern inquirers, the actual amount of population of the great Roman community. The statements we have received of the number of citizens concern, of course, a portion only of the whole mass, nor have we any direct means of comparing the relative numbers of the citizens and subjects, the freemen and the slaves. We must go back, for our starting point in the investigation of this subject, which we cannot altogether forego, however little satisfaction we may expect to derive from it, to the well-known statement of Polybius regarding the number of men available for arms in the Italian peninsula. From this datum we may proceed perhaps, step by step, by the aid of inference and comparison, however imperfect, to deduce an approximate estimate of the population of the Augustan empire: it must, however, be fully understood that such an estimate can only be put forth as a conjecture.

It appears then, that, in the year of the city 529, the Ro-

¹ Comp. Cicero (*ad Div.* viii. 7.), writing to Cælius from Cilicia, for the talk of the day recorded in the *Acta*. Plin. *Ep.* ix. 15.: "nobis sic rusticis urbana acta rescribere." Leclerc, *Journaux*, p. 217.

mans and their allies the Campanians could furnish 273,000 men of all arms. The rest of Italy below the Rubicon, with the exclusion, however, of some of the wilder districts, could furnish 477,000. These numbers are understood to comprise all the men between the ages of seventeen and sixty.¹ But modern tables of life show that a sum of 750,000 of this age implies a total of 1,332,902 males; and this number must be doubled to obtain the amount of both sexes together, which would raise the gross total of the free native population to 2,665,804.² To this must be added, the number of slaves, as to which it would be fruitless to hazard a definite conjecture, and also that of foreigners, which is no less uncertain. Some allowance is further to be made for the barbarians of the forests and mountains, and, indeed, the whole population, scanty as it doubtless was, of the wild peninsula of Bruttium, who could not be counted on for the defence of the common soil of Italy, and are accordingly omitted from the specification of Polybius.

Statement of
Polybius re-
garding the
population of
Italy.

In the sixth century of the city it is not to be supposed that the slaves bore any large proportion to the free population of Italy. The cultivation of the soil was still performed for the most part by free labour, and

Historical
statements

¹ Polyb. ii. 24., where twenty thousand are to be deducted from his total for Cisalpine contingents. We may rely with sufficient confidence on the accuracy of the enumeration of the Romans, and perhaps of their allies; for that of the rest we must be content with the fact that the author was satisfied with it. The numbers of Polybius are very nearly verified by Diodorus and Pliny. For the limits of military age, see Dureau de la Malle, *Econ. Pol.* i. 217.

² "D'après les tables de population calculées par M. Duvillard, et corrigées par M. Mathieu (*Annuaire du Bureau des Longitudes* pour 1839, p. 178. foll.), le nombre des individus de tout sexe de dix-sept à soixante ans, pour une population de 10,000,000, est de 5,626,819." De la Malle, i. 287. This is a proportion of fourteen to twenty-five; and the fighting men, whom we sometimes roughly estimate at one fourth of a population, are more correctly seven twenty-fifths. Supposing male and female births to be nearly equal, against the drain of men by war in a warlike age, Dureau de la Malle sets the loss of female children by exposure at birth.

bearing on the
population of
Italy.

servile hands were chiefly employed in menial attendance on the wealthier classes, and in some kinds of handicraft and professions. Slaves were as yet generally obtained by war, but the condemnation of a whole population to bondage was comparatively rare, and reserved for cases where the greatest severity was required. The number, however, both of slaves and foreigners was undoubtedly more considerable in the Hellenic cities of Magna Græcia; while in the interior and at the extremities of the country there existed divers native tribes, in a state of wild and isolated independence. The density of population varied exceedingly in different parts of the peninsula. Some regions swarmed with life. The numbers, indeed, ascribed to the great Hellenic cities of the south-east are extravagant, and generally we may observe that less reliance can be placed in these matters upon Greek than Roman figures;¹ but we can hardly reject the express statements we have received of the number of organized communities within the narrow bounds of Latium. Between the Apennines, the Tiber, and the promontory of Circeii, a tract but sixty miles in length and perhaps thirty in breadth, the size of an English county, there was a confederation of states, which was assumed to be always thirty, though the number might from time to time vary.² The extreme smallness of these numerous communities is self-evident: each was composed of a few thousand, or even a few hundred warriors, who nestled on the narrow ledge of a scarped hill, descending daily into the plain to scratch the soil with spades and harrows; a soil, however, for the most part of exceeding fertility, which could easily have been made to support a swarm of industrious cultivators. Nevertheless the aggregate of the population in the most favoured portions

¹ For the exaggerated numbers ascribed to Sybaris and Crotons, see Diodorus (xii. 9.), and even the more judicious Strabo (vi. 1. p. 263.). Similar exaggerations are current with regard to Syracuse and Agrigentum.

² Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* vi. 63.; Comp. v. 61., where he enumerates twenty-four. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* iii. 9.) gives the name of fifty-three towns of Latium which had become extinct in his time.

of Italy must have been very considerable. Far the larger part of the peninsula, however, was as yet unsubdued by the husbandman. In early times Italy, now one of the least wooded countries of Europe, was covered almost throughout with forests. Many of the summits of Rome derived their names from the woods which originally shaded them, while the Capitoline and Quirinal were separated by a thick grove, and the Velabrum was an almost impassable jungle.¹ Such was the scene which the poet of the *Æneid* recalled to his imagination in depicting the first landing of the Trojans on the destined site of empire. Virgil's landscapes, it will be remembered, are generally umbrageous. The forest of Sila occupied perhaps one half of Lucania. Large tracts even in Latium were covered with the bay-trees of Laurentum, the Arician ilexes, and the Gallinarian pine forests. Even within the lifetime of Augustus, Varro could say of Italy that it was so thickly set with trees as to appear like one continuous orchard.² Dionysius, the historian, remarks the convenience of its rivers for the transport of wood from the interior, and the Romans gave their cross roads the name of *wood ways*, on account of the timber which they were used in conveying.³ But the streams of Italy have long ceased to be navigable, with the disappearance of the foliage which attracted moisture for their supply, the value of which for this purpose the Romans seem to have recognised in appointing special officers to preserve their forests, and perhaps in placing them under the protection of religion. The extirpation of this wild vegetation has led to further changes in the climate of these regions.

¹ Hence the names of the Viminal, the Fagatal, the Querquetulan, and perhaps the Esquiline. A part of the Aventine was called Lauretum. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* iii. 43.

² Varro de *Re Rust.* i. 2. Many places now bare of trees retain, it is said, a name, such as Frassineto, Saliceto, Laureto, which shows that they were formerly remarkable for their groves. See Moreau de Jonnés, *Statist. des Peup. Anciens*, p. 326.

³ Via vicinalis and via lignaria are the common names for by-roads in the writers de *Re Agraria*.

the winters being now, as is generally believed, less rigorous than in ancient times. Even in the age of Augustus the progress of this change was observable. Columella refers to it in explanation of the fact that vines and olives grew in his day in many spots which they formerly refused to inhabit. But the change in this respect has probably been still greater in other countries of Europe which the Romans regarded as far colder than their own. Strabo assures us that the north of Spain was thinly peopled on account of the severity of the climate. A Gaulish winter was proverbial for its intensity, and the central latitudes of the continent were described as suffering a perpetual frost.

The change which the lapse of centuries has evidently effected in the face of the country, in its climate, and consequently in its capacity for cultivation, presents alone an insuperable obstacle to our obtaining any precise knowledge of the amount of its ancient production, from whence to calculate approximately the numbers of its population. Nor, indeed, are there any accounts of its bearing at the present day, from which, supposing we could form a tolerable estimate of these physical changes, we might draw a reasonable inference on this point. Even were there such, we should still be at a loss to compare with accuracy the relative consumption of different kinds of food at the one time and the other. We shall be inclined perhaps to surmise that the ancient Italians were greater consumers of meat than their descendants; first, from the large districts of their country which were entirely devoted to feeding swine; secondly, from the numbers of the nobler animals which were reared for sacrifice; and again, from the importance they attached to maintaining at its height the physical strength of their martial populations. But waiving all such considerations, the most suitable basis we can adopt for an inquiry, which is too interesting to be altogether omitted, is that assumed by a modern writer of high authority on such subjects—a comparison, namely, of Roman or peninsular Italy with the south-eastern portion of

Basis for an
approximate
calculation of
the population
of Italy.

modern France, which in extent and climate, in the character of its soil and variety of elevation, bears the nearest analogy to it.¹ Assuming these two regions to comprise a like proportion of productive soil, and that Italy, in the time of Augustus, with which we are now concerned, was cultivated to the same extent, and with the same industry as this part of France at the present day, we may estimate the breadth of land under corn and green crops annually in the peninsula below the Rubicon at about two millions and a half of hectares, a figure which may be multiplied by 2·333 for the number of acres, or by four for that of Roman jugera.² This extent of land bears a ratio of less than one fifth to the whole area. Our next step must be to ascertain the production of this amount of cultivated soil. We must inquire the quantity of seed used, and the proportion of the crop to the seed. On both these points, the ancients have given us some definite statements, which will bear comparison with modern experience. Five modii, or one bushel and a quarter, it is said, was the seed required for each jugerum, and we may infer, as a mean between various statements, that the average ratio of production was six-fold, a ratio which holds very closely in the district of France under comparison.³ Accordingly, the produce of each jugerum is to be rated at thirty modii,

¹ Wallon, *Hist. de l'Esclavage*, &c. ii. 76. foll. Comp. Dureau de la Malle, *Econ. Pol.* i. 281. foll. The S. E. portion of France is limited by the meridian of Paris and the forty-seventh degree of latitude N.

² The statistical tables of France for 1840 give the area of the S. E. of France at 13,287,463 hectares, and in cereal cultivation 2,490,591 hect. The area of the Italian peninsula is stated by Wallon at 7774 geogr. leagues square, or 15,356,109 hect. Hence the quantity in cultivation is estimated at 2,878,336 hect., Wallon, *l. c.* But this author, following De la Malle, has forgotten that Modena, Lucca, the Bolognese, the Ferrarese, and part of the Romagna, belong to the Roman Cisalpine. It appears from Maltebrun's tables, that Roman Italy, south of the Rubicon and Æsar, contains about 6,800 square leagues, which is about 13,450,000 hectares, of which, according to the proportion in France, we may compute that 2,500,000 are cultivated.

³ Comp. Varro, *R. R.* i. 44.; Cic. ii. *in Verr.* iii. 4. The modius equals 2 gallons or a quarter of a bushel. The authorities for the individual consumption are Cato, *R. R.* 66.; Sallust, fragm. 3.: Seneca, *Ep.* 80. 9.

from whence the whole amount of the Italian harvest may be easily estimated. Another mean must next be taken from the data we possess regarding the quantity of cereal food consumed by the people of divers ages and classes, by free men and slaves, by women and children; and when this is fixed at three modii, or three quarters of a bushel per head per month, or nine bushels per head for the year, we shall arrive at a total population of about seven millions;¹ a number which may seem on many accounts to deserve our confidence, being far removed from the exaggerations of some modern inquirers, who would raise it to seven-and-twenty or even forty millions, and from the far more conscientious calculations of another, who, by an oversight, as it seems, has reduced it to less than five.² If such was the amount of the Italian production in the time of Augustus, and such the number of the mouths it could feed, we must still make an arbitrary addition to the population for the multitudes which

¹ The calculation will stand thus:—

| | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| | 2,500,000 hectares. |
| | 4 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 10,000,000 jugera. |
| | 30 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 300,000,000 produce in modii. |
| | 50,000,000 deduct for seed. |
| | <hr/> |
| Divide by 36 for annual consumption of modii per head.... | 250,000,000 |
| | 6,945,000 |

Or, in round numbers, 7,000,000 population.

² The forty millions are assigned, if I remember right, by Moreau de Jonnés in his *Statistique des Anciens Peuples*, a work of little value except as a collection of texts, to the whole of Italy within the Alps; the twenty-seven is the result arrived at by Blair, in his *Essay on Ancient Slavery*, but I do not know exactly within what limits he applies it. On the other hand, Dureau de la Malle, who gives five millions for peninsular Italy, has made the error of assigning four modii per month, the consumption of a full-grown man, as the average of the whole population. His peninsular Italy also exceeds, as shown in a previous note, the true limits. Wallon, taking the average of individual consumption, as ascertained from the French tables, arrives at the number of 8,114,534 for Italy; but he also takes a more extended Italy than mine.

were supported within the peninsula by importation of grain from abroad. This importation, which had been resorted to, more or less, from an early period, first became fixed and constant about this time; but we may believe it had by no means yet reached its maximum.¹ The cultivation of Italy diminished as the foreign supply increased; and if we assume that under Augustus food was then furnished for two additional millions, this total of nine millions was the largest number of inhabitants ever collected in ancient times between the Rubicon and the Straits of Messina.² It is not, however, without hesitation that I pay so much regard to the strong expressions of the ancients, loose and fallacious as they often are, regarding the large amount of this importation, and the dangers, not of scarcity only, but starvation, which they supposed to impend on its failure or deficiency.³

The resources of Italy had suffered severely during the civil commotions; yet not much more, perhaps, than throughout the chronic state of war and devastation which had continued from the commencement

The population of Italy com-

¹ It appears from Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 16., and Aurel. Victor, *Epit.* 2., that Egypt and Africa supplied Italy, the one with twenty the other with forty millions of modii. This amount would feed (at thirty-six modii per annum) 1,666,666 individuals. To this is to be added the importation from Sicily, Sardinia, and perhaps other quarters. The foreign supply had increased under the successors of Augustus. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 13. There is a fair presumption that not Rome only, but other Italian cities were partly fed from abroad.

² Maltebrun gives the population of the peninsula in 1826:—

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Naples (without Sicily)..... | 5,690,000 |
| States of the Church (omitting Bologna, &c.) about | 2,000,000 |
| Tuscany | 1,275,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 8,965,000 |

³ It should be observed, however, that the failure of a portion of the usual supply does not imply the abstraction of a similar proportion from each individual's consumption. In time of scarcity a large proportion of the population pay more for their food, but continue to consume as much as ever; the loss in quantity falls entirely upon the remainder. Hence the importation may have been comparatively small, and yet the consequences of a deficiency may have been sufficiently alarming.

pared with that of its records. If its sufferings at the later epoch had been exceptional, attempts had been made to compensate them by exceptional methods. The establishment of military colonies, and the constant influx of slave labour, had tended to restore the level of its population, and the centre of the empire undoubtedly partook largely of the general prosperity, during the fifty years' peace of the Augustan age. We may regard Italy, therefore, at this period, as truly that which her fond children represented her, the garden of the world; and we cannot pretend to calculate the population of any other region on a similar basis, as none other, at least in Europe, approached so nearly to a uniform state of cultivation. The resources of the Cisalpine territory, which has been excluded from the above inquiry, were not regarded as equally developed with those of peninsular Italy. The valley of the Po was usually contrasted with the region of the Apennines, as a land of pasture rather than arable soil; though it is impossible that with so many cities, some of them very considerable, it could have neglected the production of grains for the food of man. The surface of this district is to that of the peninsula in the proportion of more than six to seven, and we will assume its population to be one half only, or about four and a half millions.¹ The inhabitants of Sicily, remarkable for its fertility and the number and opulence of its cities, cannot be set at less than two millions.² To Sardinia and Corsica together, however, we must

¹ Maltebrun gives the Italian areas, in square geographical leagues, as follows:—

| | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|------|------|------|
| The Cisalpine region (Piedmont, Lombardy) | 5000 | } | 6000 | |
| Add for the duchies and part of Papal States | 1000 | | | |
| The peninsula { | Tuscany | 1100 | } | 6860 |
| | States of the Church | 1850 | | |
| | (Naples | 3910 | | |
| Sicily | | | | 1610 |

² Dureau de la Malle has gone into this inquiry, and his result is only twelve hundred thousand (*Econ. Pol.* ii. 380.). The correction I have applied is nearly the same as Wallon has shown to be applicable to his estimate for Italy. My reference to De la Malle's book is to an edition of 1840; I do not know whether it has since been revised.

not assign more than one fourth of this amount. Gaul beyond the Alps was doubtless for the most part very thinly peopled. To a great extent it was covered by primeval forests, but these were diversified by large tracts of open plain and prairie; and when Strabo speaks of the whole country as generally cultivated, he must mean that it was not intersected by great mountain regions like Spain or Thrace, by salt or stony deserts like Asia Minor, nor by basins of sand like Egypt and Numidia. I have shown some reasons for guessing its population at six millions in the time of Cæsar; and though it advanced rapidly in wealth and industry under his successor, it must have taken many years to recover the desolation it underwent in the struggle against the conqueror.¹ A large part of Spain had enjoyed tranquillity for a considerable period, and its resources had been actively developed by the skill and cupidity of Roman settlers. Its inhabitants, we may suppose, were more numerous than those of Gaul, but much less so than those of Italy. We may set them, therefore, at seven or perhaps eight millions. The European provinces north and east of the Adriatic, comprising Achaia and Macedonia, with the Greek islands, Illyria and Dalmatia, Pannonia, Noricum, Vindelicia, and Rhætia, Thrace and Mœsia, somewhat exceed Gaul in extent; and the superior populousness of the first of these districts, though far fallen from their palmyest days, compensating for the barrenness of others, we may reckon for them, on the whole, an aggregate of ten millions. The provinces of Asia, however, were unquestionably far more densely peopled than almost any portion of Europe. They were filled with innumerable cities, the hives of commerce and manufactures. Though they had suffered from the devastation of many transient conquests, they had for centuries hardly engaged

¹ Though the tribute or military contribution of Gaul was light, we may imagine how severe must have been the pressure on its industry from the requisition of men, animals, and material of all kinds for the vast establishments of the Rhenish camps. Tacitus says, at a little later period, "*Fessas Gallias ministrandis equis.*"

in warfare themselves; they had maintained no standing armies of idle consumers, and had countenanced no prejudices against commerce and labour. If they doubled Italy in extent, they more than doubled her in the number of their inhabitants.¹ This will raise the aggregate for Europe and Asia to near seventy millions. The provinces of the last of the three continents had been far less harassed by war and spoliation; nevertheless, under the listless sway of the Ptolemies, Egypt, we are told, had fallen to one half of her earlier population. Diodorus assures us that her people did not exceed three millions; but it may be questioned whether he includes the Greek residents; and there can be little doubt that he takes no account of the slaves, or of the Jews, who alone formed, perhaps, a fourth of the inhabitants of the Nile Valley.² We may believe, moreover, that the resources of this favoured region grew as rapidly under the rule of the Cæsars, as they had fallen under its Macedonian tyrants. The districts of Cyrene and Africa remain still to be estimated: the former small in extent, but renowned for exuberant fertility, and the commercial activity of its cities, which had suffered no check since the suppression of the Cilician piracy; the latter long rejoicing in the impulse given to its industry by the demands of Italy. The returns from these regions may swell the general account to a total of eighty-five millions for the population of the empire of Augustus, including both sexes, all ages, and every class of inhabitants.

It may be observed, in conclusion, that the portion of the globe which constituted this empire far exceeds at the present day the numbers thus assigned to it at the
 Ancient and modern popu- period under consideration; at the same time,

¹ I omit the region of Palestine, which was only temporarily incorporated in the empire in the latter years of Augustus.

² Diodor. Sic. i. 31.; referred to in chap. xxviii. His expression is *σύμμαχλαός*; but Wesseling asserts that the reading is uncertain. Fifty years after the death of Augustus, the population of Egypt, inclusive of Alexandria, is stated by Josephus at seven millions and a half of tribute payers. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 16. 4. There seems to be no proof that the poll-tax was extended to slaves.

the revolutions which have swept at intervals over both the East and the West have reversed the social importance of the two great spheres of the Cæsarean dominions: the districts of Asia and Africa, which we have just surveyed, at that period the most flourishing of all, have now sunk almost to the lowest depths of a progressive decay; while, on the other hand, the European provinces are at this moment occupied by more than twice as many souls as acknowledged the sway of Augustus throughout those regions, although peninsular Italy has itself remained perhaps stationary in population.¹

Though statesmen, conversant with the returns of the census and profession, may have begun from an earlier time to contemplate the population of the empire as a whole, such a view must have been still foreign to the mass of the people, and perhaps the comprehensive estimate of Diodorus Siculus with reference to Egypt, is the first indication of such a spirit even

lation of the
Roman domin-
ions compared.

A view of the
aggregate pop-
ulation ad-
vances the idea
of unity.

¹ We may estimate—

| | Under Augustus, at | |
|--|--------------------|--------------|
| Gaul (<i>i. e.</i> France, Belgium, Switzerland, &c.) now at..... | 40,000,000 | 6,000,000 |
| Spain and Portugal..... | 18,000,000 | 8,000,000 |
| Italy (Piedmont and Lombardy)..... | 7,500,000 | } 4,500,000 |
| Smaller States..... | 1,500,000 | |
| The peninsula..... | 9,000,000 | 9,000,000 |
| The islands (Sicily, &c.)..... | 2,500,000 | 2,500,000 |
| Turkey in Europe (with Greece and Servia)..... | 12,000,000 | } 10,000,000 |
| Germany (south of the Danube)..... | 9,000,000 | |
| European provinces | 100,000,000 | 40,000,000 |

The population of the Asiatic and African provinces at the present day meagre as it is, is too uncertain for specification; but under Augustus we may thus enumerate it:—

| | |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| Asia Minor and Syria | 27,000,000 |
| “ “ Cyprus..... | 1,000,000 |
| “ “ Egypt..... | 8,000,000 |
| “ “ Cyrene and Africa..... | 9,000,000 |
| | <hr/> 45,000,000 |
| Grand total..... | 85,000,000 |

among men of letters and intelligence. When it became general it would mark more strongly than any thing else the consummation of the change in popular sentiment, from the narrow ideas of tribe and nation to the broader view of the unity of mankind. The loose conjecture of Paganism, that divers nations sprang from divers heroes, and the heroes themselves from the gods, was ready to yield to the more enlightened doctrine of the unity of race, already disseminated in Rome by the Jewish scriptures, and may have been rendered popular through the fashionable poetry of the author of the *Metamorphoses*.¹ A wise government might have turned to good effect this growing tendency to acknowledge the unity, and consequently the essential equality of man; but while statesmen were unconscious of its importance, and regarded it with little interest, it was seized, under a higher direction, by the preachers of a new religion, and became the basis of a church or spiritual empire, which eventually overlapped on every side the bounds of the Cæsarean dominions.

But the sense of unity thus beginning to germinate received its first practical expression in the acquiescence with which the Romans beheld the universal peace which seemed about to envelope them. The grandeur of this new and strange idea made a deep impression on their imaginations. Some faint sighs for rest may be heard in the philosophy of Lucretius; but the poetry of the Augustan age echoes with jubilant strains at its supposed attainment. *Ah! who was the first to forge the sword of iron? How brutal, how truly iron-hearted was he!*² Such were the complacent declamations of the friends

The Pax Romana, or idea of universal peace.

¹ Ovid, *Metam.* i. 78 :

“Natus homo est: sive hunc divino semine fecit
Ille opifex rerum, mundi melioris origo,” &c.

The legends of Prometheus and Deucalion both imply the unity of mankind, and a single act of creation.

² Tibull. i. 10. 1.:

“Quis fuit horrendos primus qui protulit enses?
Quam ferus et vere ferreus ille fuit!”

of peace, recited or sung before admiring audiences, and wafted from province to province. The transition of the Roman mind from aspirations of unlimited aggressions to views of mere repression and control was sudden, but it was not the less permanent. Henceforth the policy of government or the ambition of princes might sometimes dictate an attack; but the people evinced no disposition for conquest, and would scarcely rouse themselves to avenge a national dishonour. Let the wild tribes of the exterior, the *outside barbarians*, they exclaimed, be taught to respect the majesty of the empire: let them be satisfied that she meditates no assault on them; let them receive from her hands the pledge of safety and tranquillity. *The Roman Peace*, which it was her mission to extend to the German or the Parthian, might be accepted by them as a boon, or must be endured as a burden.¹

It became the settled policy of the imperial government, while acquiescing in these common yearnings for peace, to fortify and guard the frontiers as the best security against war. The limits to which the generals of the republic had already advanced formed a strong and well-defined natural frontier at almost every point of the whole circuit. We have seen how its standing forces were posted along the lines of the Rhine and Danube, their quarters secured by a long chain of fortifications, and still further protected by the systematic devastation of the regions in their front, and the transport of the nearest barbarians within the limits of the adjacent province. In the East the frontier of the Roman dominion was less accurately defined; but the mountain passes which lead into Lesser Asia, practicable for armies during some months only in the year, were easily guarded, and the nominal independence of certain states inclosed within the empire was a wise provision for its defence in that quarter. The passage of the Euphrates was guarded at the most available points

Troops and fortifications by which this peace was secured.

¹ Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 853. : "pacificque imponere morem."

by fortified posts ; and from thence to the Red Sea, from the Red Sea to the Atlas, and from the Atlas to the ocean, the Roman Peace was, for the most part, effectually secured by deserts and solitudes, which there at least the conquerors had not made but found.¹

Within these sacred limits of the Roman Terminus the repose of the empire was calm, passive, and almost deathlike.

The shores of the mighty ocean might still resound with the murmurs of the eternal conflict of servitude and freedom, but the depths of its central abysses were unmoved alike by winds and currents. The Alps, the Atlas, the Pyrenees, and the Hæmus were the last retreats of native independence : but the power of Augustus (so languid or timid on the frontiers), had been directed against his internal foes with a pertinacity which showed, that if his arm seemed anywhere weak, it was restrained, not by infirmity, but by policy. Ever and anon the subject nations lifted their heads and beheld with amazement and mortification, by what a mere shadow of military force they were actually controlled, and again lay quietly down, and resigned themselves to their humiliation. Spain and Egypt, they remarked, were kept in obedience each by two legions ; Africa by one only ; Gaul by two cohorts or twelve hundred men ; Greece by the six lictors of a single proprætor.² The sway of Rome throughout the provinces was a government of opinion ; it was maintained by the skill with which the interests of individuals and classes were consulted, by a system no doubt of political corruption, which, at least, was better than the sword, by the remembrance of the ills of barbaric lawlessness, above all, by a sense of the moral superiority of the conquerors. When the spiritual yearnings of the world, thus pacified and amalgamated, began shortly to issue in a burst of religious enthusiasm,

¹ Compare the well-known expression of the British chief in Tacitus (*Agric.* 30.), so applicable in other quarters: "Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant."

² See a striking passage to this effect in Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 16.

under a Providential guidance, the conviction of the essential force and greatness of the Roman character was the firmest bulwark of heathenism against the assaults of Christianity.

Nevertheless it was in vain that men cried peace, peace, when there was no peace. The greatest of Roman historians has lamented that the empire could furnish only a narrative of petty events, and a survey of contemptible characters; yet he has succeeded in investing this barren subject with a livelier interest, and inspiring it with a deeper pathos, than have been developed by the more stirring themes of any of his rivals. And yet he was not aware of the conflicts that were really impending—the wars worse than civil that were actually fermenting beneath that unruffled surface—the foes more terrible than Gaul or Carthaginian, who were slowly struggling upwards, like the warriors of Cadmus, to destroy or be destroyed beneath the light of heaven. The human appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ dates from about the middle of the reign of Augustus. This mysterious event, in which we trace the germ of Roman dissolution, and still mark the frontier line between ancient and modern civilization, though once commonly assigned to the year 753 of the city, is now universally referred to a somewhat earlier period; and among many conflicting opinions, the best chronologers are still divided between the years U. C. 747 and 749, or 7 and 5 B. C.¹ It was

War of opinion
silently generated
beneath
the surface of
the Roman
Peace.

¹ Fischer, with Ideler and Reinold, place the date in 747; but Clinton in 749. A remarkable light has recently been thrown upon this point, by the demonstration, as it seems to be, of Augustus Zumpt, in his second volume of *Commentationes Epigraphicæ*, that Quirinius (the Cyrenius of St. Luke, ch. ii.) was first governor of Syria, from the close of A. U. 750, B. C. 4, to 753, B. C. 1. Accordingly, the enumeration begun or appointed under his predecessor Varus, and before the death of Herod, was completed after that event under Quirinius. It would appear from hence that our Lord's birth was A. U. 750, or 749 at the earliest. Though I have used the first volume of Zumpt's *Commentationes*, I have not yet seen the second, and have learnt his view from a passage pointed out to me in the *Christian Reformer* for Oct. 1855.

not, however, till more than half a century later that the political consequences of the Christian revelation began to be felt: with these our history will be concerned hereafter, and it is not necessary to refer to them any further by anticipation.

CHAPTER XL.

THE GREAT CITIES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.—THE CITIES OF GREECE: CORINTH, SPARTA, ATHENS, DELOS.—THE CITIES OF ASIA: EPHESUS AND OTHERS.—ANTIOCH IN SYRIA.—THE GRECIAN CITIES IN ITALY: THE CITIES ON THE CAMPANIAN COAST.—APPROACH TO ROME.—THE HILLS OF ROME.—THE VALLEYS OF ROME.—THE FORUM, VELABRUM, ETC.—THE TRANSTIBERINA.—THE CAMPUS MARTIUS.—THE STREETS AND DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF ROME.—THE DOMUS AND INSULÆ.—POPULATION ESTIMATED: 1. FROM THE AREA OF THE CITY. 2. FROM THE NUMBER OF HOUSES. 3. FROM THE NUMBER OF RECIPIENTS OF GRAIN.—CONCLUDING REMARKS.

THE progress of the Greeks and Romans in the arts of peace and civilization may be ascribed in a great measure to the skill they early attained in self-defence. When assailed by a superior foe, whom they were unable to meet in the field, they withdrew behind the shelter of their walls, constructed for the permanent security of their temples and dwellings, and derided from the heights of their airy citadels the fruitless challenge of the adversary who pined inactive beneath them. Hence the political importance which the city, the place of common refuge, the hearth of the national gods, the stronghold of national independence, acquired among them, and the comparative insignificance to which they resigned their domains and villages, which they held themselves ever ready, at the first sign of invasion, to abandon to the enemy. Even when their conquests extended far and wide over islands and continents, Rome and Athens, Syracuse and Sparta, still continued, unlike England and France, Russia and Turkey, in

The idea of the city first absorbed in that of the empire under the Cæsars.

modern times, to be the names of cities, rather than of countries; all political privileges centred in them, and flowed thence with slow and measured pace to the more favoured of their subject communities. It is to this principle of their polity that we owe much of the intense national life, the deep-marked lines of national character, of faith, manners, and opinions, which severally distinguished them, and which seem to have received their form and pressure from the mould of the city walls in which they were first fused together. We have seen, however, in the last chapter, how the exclusive pretensions of the greatest of these conquering cities were eventually modified by the exigencies of a wide-extended sovereignty. The Roman empire claims at last, the first in civilized antiquity, to be considered as in itself a political body, independent of its connexion with Rome, the residence of its chief governor. Our history becomes a review of the affairs of a vast unit, the aggregate of a multitude of smaller members, the sum of many combined elements. The title affixed to it, the History of the Romans rather than of Rome, may serve to mark this important feature in its character; and accordingly it seemed most fitting to commence our survey of the condition of the Roman people under Augustus with a general view of the empire itself, and the social and political bands by which it was held together and compacted into one system. I have reserved for a second chapter the more special examination of the features of the illustrious city from which it must still derive its chief interest, as well as its celebrated name.

Before entering, however, on this survey of the Eternal City, we will pass in rapid review the most conspicuous of her rivals in fame and splendour, such as they appeared at this period of eclipse, if not of degradation. The grandeur of Rome, great and striking as it must seem in itself, may not disdain to borrow additional lustre from comparison with her noblest contemporaries.

Proposed survey of the city itself, as compared with the other great cities of the empire.

No Roman traveller of gentle birth and training could

enter the precincts of an Hellenic community, and fail to imbibe a portion of the sacred glow with which it regarded the beautiful in the world either of sense or imagination. The young patrician, sent forth to acquire lessons of taste or wisdom at Rhodes and Athens, returned to his own rude Penates an altered man. A citizen who had visited Greece, might be recognised, no doubt, in the Via Sacra almost at sight. He had worshipped in the temple of a real divinity; he had been initiated into the genuine mysteries of nature; he had received illumination from above. Yet the Greece which he had traversed and admired, though still full of restless stir and motion, still occupied upon thoughts that never die, and forms that never tire, was *living Greece* no more: she was the shadow of her former self, the ghost of her ancient being, still lingering among the haunts of her pride and beauty, more attractive perhaps to the imagination than in the bloom of her living existence. He had threaded, perhaps, with Cicero's graceful friend, the narrow channels of the *Ægean*, crowned by the Athenian acropolis. Behind him had lain *Ægina*, before him Megara, on his right the Piræus, Corinth on his left.¹ It was indeed a scene of mournful recollections. *Ægina*, the handmaid of haughty Athens, had shared her latest disasters, but had never revived with her recent renovation. Megara, the fatal cause of the great war of the Peloponnesus, had sunk into a state of decay and insignificance in which she could no longer tempt an unhallowed ambition. The sight of Corinth, still desolate and in ruins, might awake a painful remembrance of the sack of Mummius, the most shameful page in the annals of Roman devastation; while the Piræus reflected still more recent traditions of outrage, when Sulla wreaked on her the vengeance which he affected to spare to the venerable glories of Athens. No spot on earth could read the Roman moralist a more instructive lesson on the vanity of human

The cities of
Greece under
Augustus.

Ægina and
Megara.

Corinth and
the Piræus.

¹ See the famous consolations of Sulpicius to Cicero (*Div. iv. 5.*), written in the year 709.

greatness, or display to him more melancholy trophies of the lust of rapine and conquest.

Such mementos might have their use and appropriateness, as addressed to a child of the capitol and the forum on crossing the threshold of illustrious Greece; but we are not to infer from them that decay and misery had fallen as a blight upon the whole realm of Hellas. Corinth herself was at that moment about to rise from her ashes under the auspices of a generous Roman, and to take her place once more among the most distinguished of cities. Her position, in respect to commerce and navigation, was not less admirable than that of Alexandria or Constantinople; and nothing but the deliberate pressure of a conqueror's arm could keep her permanently prostrate. Placed at the head of two almost eommingling gulfs, and commanding by them the commerce of Italy and Asia, which shrank in conscious imbecility from the stormy navigation of the Malean Cape, Corinth, restored to life and freedom by the decree of Julius Cæsar, entered at once on a new career of prosperity, in which she was destined speedily to outstrip the fame of her earlier successes. It is probable indeed that some of her chief buildings and temples had survived, though defaced and desecrated by the ruthless Mummius.¹ A squalid and degraded population still crouched under their shelter; but these poor wretches gained their livelihood, not by returning to the pursuits of eommerce, which were checked by wars and piracy, and the now triumphant rivalry of Rhodes and Delos, but by groping among their ruins for the buried remnants of Corinthian bronze which had escaped the cupidity of the first eaptors, and had since become of priceless value.²

¹ This, it seems, may be inferred from the way in which Pausanias, in his account of Corinth, speaks of these edifices as monuments of antiquity.

² Comp. Strabo, viii. 6. p. 381.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 2., xxxvii. 3.; Stat. *Sylv.* ii. 2. 68.: "Æraque ab Isthmiacis auro potiora favillis." Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* iii. 22.) laments the indifference these people evinced to their degraded condition. He was more moved by the sight of their ruins than they were themselves: "Magis me moverunt Corinthi subito aspectæ parie-

The restoration of Corinth was one of Cæsar's noblest projects, and he was fortunately permitted to accomplish it. In gratitude for his services the new inhabitants gave it the name of the *Praise of Julius*.¹ But the lazy plebeians of Rome had shown no inclination to earn wealth by industry; no mercantile community could have sprung from the seed of the licentious veterans. The good sense of the dictator was strongly marked in his disregarding the prejudices of his countrymen, and transplanting to his new establishment a colony of enfranchised slaves.² Corinth rapidly rose under these auspices, became a centre of commerce and art, and took the lead among the cities of European Hellas. Here was established the seat of the Roman government of Achaia, and its population, though the representations we have received of it are extravagant, undoubtedly exceeded that of any Grecian rival.³ The beauty of its situation, the splendour of its edifices, the florid graces of its architecture, and the voluptuous charms of its parks and pleasure grounds, delighted the stranger whom its commerce had attracted. The security it now enjoyed allowed it to expand its ample streets far beyond the precincts of its defences, and the light and airy arcades which connected it with its harbour at Lechæum might be advantageously contrasted with the weary length of dead wall which extended from Athens to the Piræus.⁴

tinæ quam ipsos Corinthios, quorum animis diuturna cogitatio callum vetustatis obduxerat."

¹ "Laus Julia" upon the medals. Eckhel, ii. 238.

² Strabo, viii. 6. p. 381.; Pausan. ii. 1, 2.; Plut. Cæs. 57.; Dion, xliii. 50.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* iv. 4. Crinagoras in *Anthol. Gr.* ii. 145.

³ Comp. Apuleius, *Metam.* x. p. 247.; Hierocles, p. 646.: Κόρινθος μητροπόλις πάσης Ἑλλάδος. Athenæus (vi. 20.) declares that its slaves amounted to 460,000. This number may bear perhaps to be shorn of its last figure; but we may as well suspect exaggeration in the writer as corruption in the MSS.

⁴ Stat. *Sylv.* ii. 2. 25.:

"Qualis ubi subeas Ephyres Baccheidos altum
Culmen, ab Inoo fert semita tecta Lechæo."

There was more than one such "via tecta" for the convenience of shade at

The restoration of Corinth exalted her to higher eminence in every respect, except historic fame, than either of the rivals who had formerly outshone her. Of these, indeed, Sparta, in the days of Augustus, had fallen almost to the lowest depths of humiliation. Enjoying no advantages of position, she had suffered more than her share in the general decline of the Grecian cities after their loss of independence. In the late troubles, however, she had prudently sided with Octavius, while Athens was dazzled by the more brilliant pretensions of Antonius. She had been rewarded with the boon of immunity from Roman taxation, as well as self-government, and these privileges she continued to retain.¹ But at the same time she was allowed to exercise no supremacy over the descendants of her Helots and Periæci, who retained, under the name of free Laonians, complete independence of her authority in four-and-twenty townships along her coasts; and of the hundred burghs she boasted in the days of her prosperity, she could now count no more than thirty, all of which were sunk in squalid insignificance.

Nevertheless, in this reverse of fortune, the Spartans could still vaunt themselves genuine children of the Dorian heroes, who had conquered the sons of Hercules, and made themselves more than once the tyrants of the Hellenic world. Did their ancient rivals the Athenians venture to put forth similar pretensions of race and pedigree, they were met with a contemptuous smile from the rest of Greece and the enlightened all over the world, who well knew how little of pure Attic blood really flowed in their veins. The genuine race of Cecrops, the earth-born Eupatrids, had long mingled with strangers, before the fatal

Sparta
favoured by
Augustus.

The Athenians
debased in
blood.

Rome. At a much later period such an arcade ran from the Lateran gate to the basilica of St. Paul, and one structure of the kind now leads from Bologna to a favourite shrine some miles distant.

¹ Strabo, viii. 5. p. 365. : ἐτιμήθησαν διαφερόντως, καὶ ἔμειναν ἐλεύθεροι, πλὴν τῶν φιλικῶν λειτουργιῶν ἄλλο συντελοῦντες οὐδέν. Comp. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* iv. 5. : "ager Laconicæ gentis." Pausan. iii. iv.

massacre of Sulla, which almost exterminated them. The edifices of their city, which the Roman general deigned to leave standing, were now repeopled by a motley crowd of immigrants from all parts.¹ With the name, however, of Athenians, these new citizens inherited the pride of their presumed ancestry. They paraded a spirit of independence even before the fasces of the prætor, refusing, when urged by one Roman consular, to allow sepulture within their walls to another, and declining to repeat the celebration of their mysteries at the solicitation of Crassus.²

The splendour of the old Athenian glory still cast a mild declining ray over the land of Phœbus and the Muses; but the most accomplished of its foreign votaries could not but observe, that in his time the home of science and letters was more justly appreciated by strangers than by its own degenerate citizens.³ Strangers indeed still continued to flock to it, and none were so numerous, none such enthusiasts in admiring it, as the sons of its Italian conquerors. The contemporaries of Cicero fully recognised the fact that the fame of ancient Hellas was mainly a reflex from the preeminent glory of Athens.⁴ The jealousies of ancient rivals were extinguished in their common humiliation, and the men of Rhodes and Sparta regarded Athens as the last prop of their national renown, and sought the honour of enrolment among her citizens.⁵ The noblest of the Romans were fain to follow this

¹ Cic. *Orat.* 44.: "Athenis mos est quotannis laudare in concione eos qui sunt in prælis interfecti, recitato Platonis Meuxeno." Tacitus (*Ann.* ii. 55.) tells how the pride of Rome rebuked these pretensions: "quod contra decus Rom. nominis non Atheniensis tot cladibus extinctos, sed colluvium omnium nationum comitate nimia coluisset."

² See the letter of Sulpicius on the death of M. Marcellus. Cic. *ad Div.* iv. 12. 5.; and comp. Cic. *de Orat.* iii. 20.

³ Cic. *de Orat.* iii. 11.: "Athenis jam diu doctrina ipsorum Atheniensium interiit, domicilium tantum in illa urbe remanet studiorum, quibus vacant cives, peregrini utuntur."

⁴ Cic. *Brut.* 13. . . . "dicendi studium non erat commune Græciæ sed proprium Athezarum."

⁵ Cic. *pro Flacc.* 26.: "Auctoritate tanta est, ut jam fractum et debilitatum Græciæ nomen hujus urbis laude nitatur."

example. In vain did Cicero remind them of a principle of their own law, better known, perhaps, to constitutional antiquarians than to practical jurists, that every Roman who inscribed his name on the rolls of another republic thereby forfeited the privileges of his own.¹

With the destruction of the Piræus by Sulla the commercial ascendancy of Athens had suffered an eclipse whence it never again emerged. In the time of Augustus her naval arsenal had dwindled into a small straggling village, and the three state-galleys which she still maintained, like the Bucefante of falling Venice, merely preserved the tradition of her former greatness.² Nevertheless, though shorn of the resources of industry and independence, the splendour of the illustrious city was maintained by the pious veneration of her foreign visitors, who regarded her not unjustly with a feeling akin to religious. The Athens of the Augustan era might still, perhaps, claim to be the finest city in the world. Since the fall of her liberty 300 years before, kings and potentates had vied with one another in embellishing her streets and public places; and if she presented, like more modern cities, no capacious squares or long vistas lined on either side with superb edifices, it was owing to the unevenness of her original site, and the scruples which had spared her narrow and tortuous lanes in so many capitulations. The great temple of Zeus Olympius, first designed by the dynasty of Pisistratus, had risen, column after column, under Antiochus Epiphanes, and having been partially spoiled by Sulla, was carried on almost to comple-

Architectural
splendour of
Athens.

¹ Cic. *pro Balb.* 12.

² Strabo, ix. 1. p. 395. Athens contributed all her remaining forces to the cause of Pompeius, retaining only the three official galleys *Theoris*, *Paralus*, and *Salamina*, the last token of her ancient glory. Lucan, iii. 381.:

“Exhaustit veteres quamvis delectus Athenas,
Exiguæ Phœbea tenent navalia puppes;
Tresque petunt veram credi Salamina carinæ.”

The passage is crabbed, and there is no satisfactory explanation to be given of the word *Phœbea*. None of the Athenian havens was consecrated to Apollo, but the Munychia had a temple of Diana.

tion by the joint efforts, already commemorated, of many royal associates.¹ Attalus, king of Pergamus, had crowned the walls of the Acropolis with statues. Ptolemy Philadelphus had erected a magnificent gymnasium. The groves of Academus, which Sulla had cut down to construct machinery for his siege, were planted anew in the reign of Augustus, and continued for many ages to furnish a shade to sophists and rhetoricians. The walls of Athens, however, once overthrown, lay henceforth in ruins. The weakness of the city of Minerva became now her best defence. Both Julius and Augustus contributed to the erection of a portico dedicated to the goddess, and Agrippa placed his own statue, together with that of his imperator, upon a single pedestal by the side of the Propylæa of the Acropolis. A temple of Rome and Augustus, was erected before the eastern front of the Parthenon. The munificence of a private benefactor, the censor Appius Claudius, had decorated the hamlet of the Attic Eleusis; and we may indulge, perhaps, in the idea that Cicero himself displayed his gratitude to his alma mater by dedicating to her a votive memorial within the precincts of the Academy.²

Exempt from the direct control of a Roman officer, the university of Athens was governed by a senate and assembly of its own. It was permitted to retain its ancient laws, and the august tribunals, such as the Areopagus, which had continued for so many
Cultivation of art and letters at Athens.
 ages to administer them. Under the shadow of the free republic of thought and letters, art, science, and philosophy were still taught and cultivated. The professors of ethics and physics, of oratory and grammar, still held forth to admiring audiences, each in his own lecture-room; every theory

¹ Livy (xli. 20.) speaks of it perhaps before the undertaking of the confederate potentates: "templum Jovis Olympii unum in terris *inchoatum* pro magnitudine Dei."

² Cic. *ad Att.* vi. 1. 26.: "Audio Appium *προπύλαιον* Eleusine facere: num inepti fuerimus si nos quoque Academiæ fecerimus? Equidem valde ipsas Athenas amo: volo esse quoddam monumentum."

had its special teacher, every paradox its sworn defender, but strangers flocked to Athens, not to ascertain the truth from the collision of minds, but to hear how the doctrines of Epicurus were modified by Patro, how Phædrus handled the dialectics of Zeno, or what was the latest qualification of the doubts of the Academy.¹ The place of the poets had been taken by lecturers on poetry: but versification still had its votaries, and the epigram's *humble plot of ground* was cultivated at least with exquisite taste. The arts of sculpture and architecture had long lost their originality and simplicity; yet there was no department of excellence in which the genius of Greece seemed so nearly inexhaustible as in these.²

The destruction of Corinth by the Romans had driven the commerce of Greece to the Isle of Delos, which, besides the convenience of its situation at the entrance of the *Commercial emporium of Delos.* *Ægean*, enjoyed the advantage of a reputation for special sanctity. It was the natural emporium of four seas, and offered an interchange between the products of Greece and Asia, Libya and Sarmatia. It became the centre of the slave trade of the ancient world, the most constant, and perhaps the most extensive, of all traffics. The piracy of the Mediterranean, which threatened to sweep away all other maritime employments, was the feeder and sustainer of this. Hither it converged in its regular and legitimate

¹ Propert. iii. 21.:

“Inde ubi Piræi capient me litora portus,
Scandam ego Theseæ brachia longa viæ.
Illic aut spatiis animum emendare Platonis
Incipiam, aut hortis, docte Epicure, tuis.
Persequar aut studium linguæ, Demosthenis arma,
Librorumque tuos, munde Menandre, sales;
Aut certe tabulæ captent mea lumina pictæ,
Sive ebores exactæ, seu magis ære, manus.”

² Enthusiasts for Grecian art, such as Visconti, have maintained that its excellence in sculpture lasted without decline for six centuries. On the other hand, Velleius Paterculus asserts the famous paradox, “Eminentissima ingenia in idem aretati temporis spatium congregari,” and illustrates it by the assumed confinement of the excellence of all arts in Greece within the limits of a single generation. Vell. i. 16, 17.

course from Thrace and Pontus on the Euxine, from Phrygia and Caria, from Egypt and Cyrene; even the cities of European Hellas furnished a class of victims, selected for the beauty of their persons or the refinement of their manners. But wherever piracy was in the ascendant, captives from every coast, and even noble Romans among them, were wafted to the great dépôt of Delos, and transferred without remorse to the dealers who awaited their arrival.¹ Not less than 5000 slaves had thus been bought and sold in a single day. But the prosperity of the guilty island was more short-lived than even the crimes on which it thrived. The pirates were still roaming the seas with impunity when the wealth of Delos tempted the cupidity of Menophanes, one of the captains of Mithridates, by whom it was stormed and ransacked.² Its commercial eminence migrated to the securer stronghold of Rhodes, which had the singular good fortune to escape the sword both of the Romans and their adversaries. The ruin of Delos was consummated by the restoration of Corinth; and in the age of Augustus it still lay prostrate, nor did it ever again recover a portion of its earlier importance.³

Notwithstanding many vexatious restrictions on the natural course of trade imposed by fiscal ignorance, the unity of the Roman empire conspired on the whole to restore commerce to its legitimate channels. The Cities of Asia. spot on the Asiatic coast which corresponded most nearly

¹ After the suppression of the Sicilian piracy, the practice survived of kidnapping free men and selling them into slavery. Cicero (*de Off.* ii. 16.) praises the benevolence of those who redeemed the victims of the crimps or corsairs. Even in Italy, during the civil wars, free men were seized by armed bands and carried into the ergastula of the great proprietors. Both Augustus and his successor attempted to remedy this violence (Suet. *Oct.* 32., *Tiber* 8.): nevertheless the crime continued. Senec. *Controv.* x. 4. The *Digest.* xxxix. 4., recognises the existence of freemen made slaves.

² Cicero, at a little later period still, contrasts the security of Delos with the dangers of Italy, and even the Appian Way, under the reign of maritime piracy. *Pro Leg. Manil.* 18.

³ Strabo, x. 5. p. 486.

with Corinth on the European was Ephesus, a city which, in the time of Herodotus, had been the starting point of caravans for Upper Asia, but which, under the change of dynasties and ruin of empires, had dwindled into a mere provincial town. The mild sway of Augustus restored it to wealth and eminence, and as the official capital of the province of Asia, it was reputed to be the metropolis of no less than 500 cities.¹ It shared with Smyrna, Pergamus, and Nicæa the honour of erecting a temple to the emperor. Apamea, in Phrygia, the centre of trade with the interior, was reputed the second commercial city in the peninsula. Synnada was celebrated for its variegated marbles, Laodicea for its woollens and tapestries, Hierapolis and Cibyra, the first for its dyes, the second for its iron manufactures. To these may be added the commercial activity of Miletus, and the royal magnificence of decoration which distinguished Cyzicus, Sinope, and Cnidus, in each of which kings had once resided.² These numerous hives of population were supported, not only by the exchange of their industry for foreign articles, but by the abundant fertility of the soil around them: the plains of Sardis and the valleys of the Caius, the Hermus and the Cayster, were remarkable for their harvests, and the wines of Asia were among the choicest in the world.³

Such was the condition of the most famous cities of the old world, reviving under the exercise of their native usages, or protected by the vigilance and equity of a strong metropolitan administration. There was, however, another class of cities in the East, of

Cities of Macedonian origin in Asia.

¹ Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm.* ii. 559. &c.; Ulpian. *de Off. procons.* in *Digest.* iv. 5.; Strabo, xiv. 1. p. 640. foll.

² Strabo, xii., xiii.; Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 16. § 4.

³ Strabo, *ll. cc.* For the natural resources of Asia, the rapidity with which it recovered its losses by war and tyranny, and the importance of its revenues to the empire, see particularly Cicero, *ad Qu. Fr.* i. 1. and *pro Ieg. Manil.* 6 *ad Att.* vi. 2.

more modern origin and character, of which it will be sufficient to notice one specimen. The Macedonian rulers of the East were a race of builders. After the manner of the kings and satraps to whom they succeeded, they fed their pride by sweeping the inhabitants of towns and villages into cities laid out with pomp and splendour, on sites the most convenient and commanding, to which they gave their own names or those of their kinsmen or consorts.

Antioch flourished on the fall of Tyre. It was ^{Antioch.} erected by Seleucus Nicator, the greatest of all builders of the class, on the banks of the Orontes, about fifteen miles from the sea, in a plain celebrated for the beauty of its climate, the abundance of its water, and consequent fertility. It was laid out, after the usual type of the Macedonian cities, on a symmetrical plan, the chief street being a straight line four miles in length, bordered throughout with double colonnades. Four cities, contiguous to one another, coalesced into a single metropolis; but, from some inequality of ground or other cause, the common arrangement of two transverse streets was not adopted at Antioch.¹ The character of Grecian architecture, with its indefinite prolongation of horizontal lines, its regularity of outline, and constant repetition of similar forms, must have given a peculiar air of magnificence to this style of construction, and conveyed an impression of the enormous power of the hand which could thus strike out as it were at one blow a fabric capable of infinite extension in every direction. Antioch contained, we are told, in the third century 300,000 free citizens, and was then surpassed in numbers only by Rome and Seleucia on the Tigris. Alexandria perhaps nearly equalled it, but every other city

¹ Strabo, xvi. 2. p. 750. See the description and map of Antioch from Malclas and Libanius, in Lewiu's or Conybeare and Howson's *Life of St. Paul*. Nicæa, mentioned above, should be included among the cities of Macedonian origin. Strabo describes it as a square of sixteen stadia in circumference, divided into equal rectangles by two straight avenues, so that the four gates could be seen from a pillar in the public place in the centre. Strabo, xii. 4 p. 566.

throughout the world yielded to it the palm of grandeur and population.¹

The Grecian cities of Syria, and Antioch at the head of them, were notorious for their luxury and voluptuousness : and the idle and dissolute native, relaxed by long
Greek cities in Italy. servitude to his kings and priests, received the polish of Hellenic culture only to make his degradation more conspicuous. The refinements of Grecian life had found a home also on the fairest shores of Italy, and had exercised no less debasing influence on the sterner character of the Romans themselves. From ages long lost in the darkness of legendary history, settlers from Greece had established themselves on the coast of the Tyrrhene or Sicilian Sea : hill and headland, pool and river, village and city, had received from them a Grecian appellation, and had been admitted within the hallowed circle of their national traditions. Misenum and Leucosia, Posidonia and Cumæ, Acheron and Avernus, Neapolis and Hereulaneum, attested the ancient settlement of the Greeks on the coast of Campania ; while cities of native growth, such as Baiæ and Stabiæ, Surrentum, Pompeii, and Salernum, grew up by the side of the foreign colonies, and partook of their splendour and prosperity.² From the period of the conquest of this region by the Romans, its beauty and salubrity had attracted their notice ; the medicinal qualities of its warm vapours and sulphureous springs were appreciated by them ; while the mountains which encircled it had not yet revealed their latent fires, or the activity they may have displayed in remote ages was remembered only in obscure traditions.³

¹ Herodian, iv. 5. : ἡ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἢ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, οὐ πολὺ τι τῆς Ῥώμης, ὥς ᾤετο, μεγέθει ὑπολείπουσας. Seleucia on the Tigris was built also by Seleucus Nicator. In the time of Pliny it was supposed to contain 400,000 free inhabitants (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vi. 36.), although the Parthians had built Ctesiphon by its side to rival and control it. I suspect that Pliny's estimate applies properly to the two cities conjointly.

² Pæstum was the Italian name of Posidonia, Puteoli of Dicæarchia, which eventually prevailed over the Grecian.

³ It has been conjectured that the Homeric or Phœnician tradition, that

Roman imperators, from the time of the Scipios and the Gracchi, had sought repose in this favoured tract: on the heights of Misenum Hortensius and Lucullus, The life of the Romans on the Campanian coast. Cæsar and Pompeius, had erected their villas, their camps, as Seneca would rather call them, from the dignity of their position, and the wide prospect they commanded.¹ The cities which lined the gulf or crater embraced by the sweeping arms of Misenum and Surrentum, were governed by Grecian laws, and surrendered to the sway of Grecian usages and customs. To them the Roman, wearied with the ceaseless occupations and rigid formality of life at Rome, gladly retired for bodily relaxation, to be ennobled, as he might pretend, by intellectual exercises. Neapolis had its schools and colleges, as well as Athens; its society abounded in artists and men of letters, and it enjoyed among the Romans the title of the learned, which comprehended in their view the praise of elegance as well as knowledge.² Every fifth year the festival of the Quinquennia was celebrated with athletic contests in the arena; in its theatre the genteel comedy of the school of Menander combined in due proportions the decorousness of Rome and the licence of its native country.³ Here the patrician might

here were the ends of the earth covered with Cimmerian darkness, was derived from the reports of navigators, who had found the sun obscured by volcanic smoke and ashes, such as have been known to extinguish the light in Iceland for months together.

¹ Seneca, *Ep.* 51.: "Videbatur hoc magis militare ex edito speculari late longeque subjecta. Adspice quam positionem elegerunt, quibus ædificia exciterunt locis et qualia: scias non villas esse sed castra." It is curious that the vast remains of the Lucullan substructions, grottoes, and arcades, received in the middle ages the name of *Castrum Lucullanum*.

² Columell. x. 134.: "Docta Parthenope." The epithet implies, besides more knowledge, the polish and refinement of manners imparted by a liberal education.

³ Stat. *Sylv.* ii. 5. 89.:

"Quid nunc magnificas species cultusque locorum,
Templaque, et innumeris spatia interstincta columnis;
Quid geminam molem nudi tectique theatri,
Et Capitolinis Quinquennia proxima lustris;

throw off the toga, the sandal and the cap, and lounge in a trailing robe barefooted, his head lightly bound with the Oriental fillet, attended at every step by obedient slaves and cringing parasites, but relieved from the gaze of clients and lictors, from the duty of answering questions and the necessity of issuing commands.¹ Such was the indolent life of the Romans at Neapolis and its neighbour Palæpolis; such it was at Herculaneum and Pompeii. But Baiæ, the most fashionable of the Roman spas, presented another and more lively spectacle. Here idleness had assumed the form of dissipation, and the senator displayed as much energy in amusing himself as he had elsewhere shown in serving his country or promoting his own fortunes. As soon as the reviving heats of April gave token of advancing summer, the noble and the rich hurried from Rome to this choice retreat; and here, till the raging dogstar forbade the toils even of amusement, they disported themselves on shore or on sea, in the thick groves or on the placid lakes, in litters and chariots, in gilded boats with painted sails, lulled by day and night with the sweetest symphonies of song and music, or gazing indolently on the wanton measures of male and female dancers. The bath, elsewhere their relaxation, was here the business of the day: besides using the native warm springs and the vapours which issued from the treacherous soil, they turned the pools of Avernus and Lucrinus into tanks for swimming; and in these pleasant waters both sexes met familiarly together, and conversed amidst the roses sprinkled lavishly on their surface.²

Quid laudem risus libertatemque Menandri,
Quam Romanus honos et Graia lieentia miscet?"

It must be observed, however, that the Quinquennial games of Neapolis were an institution of Domitian, seventy years after Augustus.

¹ Cicero, *pro Rabir. Post.* 10.: "Deliciarum causa et voluptatis non modo cives Romanos sed et nobiles adolescentes, et quosdam etiam senatores, summo loco natos, non in hortis et suburbanis suis, sed Neapoli in celeberrimo oppido, cum mitella sæpe vidimus." See in the same place what scandal might be caused by the use of the pallium.

² For the amusements of Baiæ see Tibullus, iii. 5; Martial, iv. 57., x. 30.,

But I have brought the reader from the provinces to Italy: I now assume the graver task of introducing him to Rome.

From whichever side of Italy the stranger approached the imperial city, he emerged from the defiles of an amphitheatre of hills upon a wide open plain, near the centre of which an isolated cluster of eminences, moder- ^{Approach to Rome.}

ate in height and volume, crowned with a vast assemblage of stately edifices, announced the goal towards which for many a hundred miles his road had been conducting him. There were two main routes which might have thus led him from the provinces to the capital, the Appian from Greece and Africa, and the Flaminian from Gaul; but the lines of the Servian wall, which still bounded ^{The roads.}

Rome in the age of Augustus, were pierced with eighteen apertures, each of which admitted a well-appointed road from the nearer districts of the peninsula. The approach to the greatest of cities was indicated also by works of another kind, the most magnificent and imposing in their character of any Roman constructions. In the time of Augustus seven aqueducts brought water from distant sources to ^{The aqueduct.}

Rome. Some of these streams indeed were conveyed underground in leaden pipes throughout their whole course, till they were received into reservoirs within the walls, where they rose to the level required for the supply of the highest sites. Others, however, entered the city on a succession of stone arches, and of these the Aqua Marcia, which was derived from the Volscian mountains, was thus sumptuously conducted for a distance of 7000 paces before it

xi., 80.; Ovid, *Art. Amand.* i. 255.; and especially Seneca, *Ep.* 51.: "Videre ebrios per litora errantes, et commissationes navigantium, et symphoniarum cantibus perstrepentes lacus . . . præternavigantes adulteras dinumerare, et aspicere tot genera cymbarum variis coloribus picta, et fluitantem toto lacu rosam, et audire canentium nocturna convicia." He also calls it, more compendiously, "diversorium vitiorum." Ovid, *l. c.*:

"Hinc aliquis vulnus referens in pectore dixit:
Non hæc, ut fama est, unda salubris erat."

reached the brow of the Esquiline Hill.¹ These monuments of the pomp and power of the people to whose wants they ostentatiously ministered, were rendered the more impressive from the solitudes in which for many miles they planted their giant footsteps. The Campagna, or plain of Rome, at the present day the most awful image of death in the bosom of life anywhere to be witnessed, was already deserted by the swarms of population which three centuries before had made it the hive of Italy. The fertile fields of the Hernici and *Æqui* had been converted into pasture land, and the cultivators of the soil, once the denizens of a hundred towns and villages, had gone to swell the numbers of the cities on the coast. Even the fastnesses in the hills had been abandoned in the general security from external attack; while the patrician villas, with which central Italy was studded, were buried in the shade of woods or the cool recesses of the mountains. For many months, it may be added, the heat was too oppressive for journeying by day, whenever it could be avoided; the commerce of Rome was chiefly carried on by means of the river;² and the necessities of warfare no longer required the constant passing and re-passing at all hours of soldiers, couriers, and munitions. The practice of riding by night seems to have been generally adopted, so that the movement on the roads gave little sign by daylight of the vicinity of so vast a haunt of human beings with their manifold interests and occupations.³ Nor was the

Solitude of the
country round
Rome.

¹ Strabo, v. 3.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxi. 3. 24. Corrected by Frontinus in his special treatise on the aqueducts, e. 7.

² There are picturesque allusions to the movement on the river in Propertius, i. 14.:

“Et modo tam celeres mireris currere lintres,
Et modo tam tardas funibus ire rates:”

and Martial, iv. 64.:

“Quem nec rumpere nautieum eeleusma,
Nec clamor valet helciariorum.”

³ Many indications might be alleged of the frequency of night travelling. The *Allobroges* were circumvented on their leaving Rome in the evening,

proximity of so great a city indicated long before arriving at its gates by suburbs stretching far into the surrounding plain. The rhetorical flights of certain writers who would assure us of the contrary, and persuade us that Rome sent forth her feelers as far as Aricia and Tibur, and that many cities were attached to it by continuous lines of building, are plainly refuted by the fact that groves, villages, and separate houses are repeatedly mentioned as existing within three or four miles of the capital.¹

The solemn feeling with which, under such circumstances, a great city would naturally be approached, was redoubled by the wayside spectacle, peculiarly Roman, of the memorials of the dead. The sepulchres of ^{Tombs by the roadside.} twenty generations lined the high roads for several miles beyond the gates; and many of these were edifices of considerable size and architectural pretension: for it was the nobles only whose houses were thus distinguished, and each patrician family pointed with pride to its own mausoleum, in which it gathered the ashes of its members, and often of its slaves and freedmen, beneath a common roof. Flanked by such rows of historic marble, and crossed by the gaunt shadows of funereal cypresses, the Appian, the queen, as it was proudly termed, of all Ways, as the oldest, the longest, and the most frequented, approached the city from the south.² At five miles' distance from the walls it traversed the famous plain where the Horatii decided the fate of the young republic, and where the monuments of the Roman and Sabine champions indicated the spots on which each had fallen.³

Catilina made his exit from the city at night; so did Curio and Antonius. Comp. Juvenal, x. 19.:

“Pauca licet portes argenti vascula puri
Nocte iter ingressus.”

See the passages of the ancients, and ill-considered inferences of the moderns, in De la Malle, *Econ. Pol.* i. 375.

² Stat. *Sylv.* ii. 2. 12.: “Appia longarum teritur Regina viarum.”

³ Liv. i. 25.; Dionys. Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* iii. 18. The modern topographer Canina accounts for a bend in the road at this point, as meant to avoid the desecration of these sacred memorials. *Annali del Instituto*, &c., 1852, p. 268.

Nearly at the first milestone, as measured from the Servian gates, it passed under the arch of Drusus, and thence descended a gentle slope into the hollow of the Aqua Crabra.¹ The monuments of the dead now lay closer together. Here were the sepulchres of the Scipios, the Furii, the Manilii, the Servilii, Calatini and Marcelli; of which the first four have been already discovered, the rest still await the exploration of the curious.² Here were laid under a common dome, in cells arranged along the walls, the ashes of the slaves of Augustus and Livia. Hard by the gate reposed the remains of the base Horatia, slain by a patriot brother for her devotion to a foreign lover. Beside the rivulet, on the southern slope, perhaps, of the Cælian Hill, was the reputed grotto of Egeria, once rudely scooped out of the rock; but its native simplicity had long been violated by the gaudy pomp of architecture and sculpture.³ On the descent to the Aqua Crabra, the temple of Mars crowned the eminence which fronted the gate of the city, the spot from which the procession of the knights to the Capitol on the Ides of Julius took its commencement.⁴ Still nearer to the gate, on the right

He thinks that the actual monuments have been discovered in the most recent excavations.

¹ Fragments of the first milestone have been discovered at 512 palms (about 120 yards) beyond the Porta S. Sebastiano. Canina, *Annali*, 1851, p. 317. The arch of Drusus stands a little within that modern gate.

² Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 5. The excavations of the last few years extend from the fourth to the ninth milestone. Besides the foundations of villas, temples, and sepulchres, many inscriptions have been brought to light, which appear, however, in almost every case to belong to the later periods of the empire. It is *possible*, from the single word "Cotta," which can now be read upon the Casal rotondo, a monument of similar character to that known by the name of Cæcilia Metella, that this was the tomb of Messala Corvinus. See Canina, in *Annali*, 1851.

³ Juvenal, iii. 18.

⁴ The temple of Mars stood on an acclivity (Clivus Martis), and faced the Porta Capena: "quem prospicit ipsa Appositum tectæ porta Capena viæ." It was probably, therefore, on the descent to the Aqua Crabra, in going towards the city. That there was some interval between it and the gate appears from Livy, x. 33.: "semitam saxo quadrato a Capena porta ad Martis struxerunt." The lowering of this hill is recorded on an inscription in Gruter: "Clivum Martis pec. publica in planitiem redegerant."

side of the road, were the twin temples of Honour and Virtue, vowed by the great Marcellus for his conquest of Syracuse, which he had adorned with the earliest spoils of foreign painting. From the steps of these temples the populace had greeted Cicero on his return from exile. The gate, surnamed Capena, dripped constantly with the overflowings of the Aqua Appia, and of a branch of the Marcia brought there to join it: the united stream was carried over the arch on its way to the Aventine. Here we enter Rome: the road ^{Entrance to Rome.} has become a street; houses, hitherto interspersed between monuments and temples, have now become dense and continuous. The avenue is still, however, broad and straight for the convenience of military processions. Soon it forks into two ways, still following the direction of the hollows between the hills: the one, turning to the right between the Palatine and Cælian, was conducted to the Velia, the Esquiline and the Forum, till it arrived at the golden milestone at the foot of the Capitol; the other, to the left, entered one extremity of the Circus Maximus, beneath the Palatine and Aventine, to pass out of it at the other, and reach the same termination through the Forum Boarium and the Velabrum.¹

The seven hills of Rome have been diversely enumerated, and admit, indeed, of being multiplied to a much greater number, or, regarding them from a different ^{The seven hills of Rome.} point of view, of being not less considerably reduced. The Aventine is the only eminence among them wholly distinct and separated from the others. The Palatine is connected with the Esquiline by the low ridge or saddle

¹ There was unquestionably a communication through the circus longitudinally for the triumphal processions; but it is not likely that this was kept open for ordinary traffic. The usual thoroughfare must have run alongside the outer wall of the circus, and was perhaps conducted under the arcades which supported the upper seats of that edifice. The upper part of the circus was connected with the buildings on the Palatine on one side, and probably with those on the Aventine on the other, the whole width of the valley between being thus occupied by its extensive structures. The Aqua Crabra, we must suppose, was carried in a tunnel beneath it.

of the Velia, and the Capitoline was in like manner attached at its northern extremity to the Quirinal, till severed from it by an artificial cutting a century after Augustus. The Quirinal, the Viminal, the Esquiline and the Cælian, to which may be added the extra-mural eminence of the Pincian, are in fact merely tongues or spurs of hill projecting inwards from a common base, the broad table-land which slopes on the other side almost imperceptibly into the Campagna. On approaching Rome from the north the eye was at once arrested by the abrupt escarpment of the Capitoline, which sufficed to exclude from it all view of the city; but from the south or east it was carried gently upwards along the rising slopes, and allowed to overleap the depressions which lay beyond them, of the Suburra, the Circus, the Velabrum and the Forum, in which the densest buildings of the city nestled, till it lighted on the heights of the Capitoline and the summits of the Etruscan mountains in the distance.

The Palatine Hill, which was closely embraced by the double arms of the Appian Way,—the site of the city of Romulus, the cradle of imperial Rome,—was an

The Palatine.

elevation of about 130 feet above the level of the sea.¹ With some assistance from art it was made to slope abruptly on every side, though at its junction with the Velia its height was not more than half that which has been ascribed to the mass in general. It formed a trapezium of solid rock, two sides of which were about 300 yards in length, and the others about 400: the area of its summit, to compare it with a familiar object, was nearly equal to the space between Pall Mall and Piccadilly, in London. Along the brow

¹ This and subsequent measurements, taken from M. Bunsen's work on Rome, refer of course to the present elevation. Some allowance must be made for the degradation of the summits. At the same time the hollows have been filled up to the depth, in some places, of fifteen or twenty feet. It must be remembered that the bed and water-line of the Tiber have also risen, though probably in a less degree. The crown of the arch of the Cloaca at its embouchure stands now very little above the mean level of the river. We are told that in ancient times the tunnel could be navigated by boats, and admitted a waggon loaded with hay: but this perhaps supposes the water at its lowest.

of the escarpment ran, we must suppose, the original walls; but no fragments of them remain, nor have our authorities preserved any notice of their exact position. The site of two of the gates may be pointed out perhaps at the base of the cliffs; but it is possible that these mark the apertures, not in the defences themselves, but in the sacred enclosure of the *pomœrium* beyond them.¹ This fanciful limitation had been traced round the foot of the hill, after the Etruscan fashion, with a plough drawn by a bull and a heifer, the furrow being carefully made to fall inwards, and the heifer yoked on the near side, to signify that strength and courage are required without, obedience and fertility within the city.² The broad ways which encircled the Palatine skirted the borders of the *pomœrium*, and formed the route of the triumphal march, and of the religious and political processions.³

The locality thus doubly inclosed was reserved for the temples of the gods and the residence of the ruling race, the class of patricians, or burghers, as Niebuhr has taught us to entitle them, which predominated over the dependent commons, and only suffered them to crouch for security under the shadow

The Palatine occupied by temples and patrician residences.

¹ The *Porta Mugionis*, the present access to the Palatine from the north near the arch of Titus, and the *Porta Romana* on the west, near the church of S. Teodoro. There was probably a third gate at the south-eastern corner of the hill, where Severus afterwards built his *Septizonium*, to make the approach to the city from Africa, *i. e.* by the Appian Way, more imposing.

² Varro, *L. L.* v. 32.; Plut. *Rom.* 11. From Tac. *Ann.* xii. 26., it appears that this Etruscan fashion referred to the *pomœrium*, not to the walls.

³ The line of the Triumphal Way has been referred to in another place (ch. xix.). Becker has described it more closely. It seems to have run from the *Porta Carmentalis* (I omit the difficult question about the *Porta Triumphalis*), along the *Vicus Jugarius*, up one side of the *Velabrum*, and down the other again by the *Via Nova*, thence through the circus, &c. In this way it made a complete circuit of the original city on the Palatine, and had doubtless a religious significance. Compare also the lustral procession round the *pomœria*, in Lucan, i. 592.:

“Tum jubet et totam pavidis a civibus Urbem
Ambiri, et festo purgantes mœnia lustrò
Longa per extremos pomœria cingere fines
Pontifices, sacri quibus est permissa potestas. . . .”

of the walls of Romulus. The Palatine was never occupied by the plebs. In the last age of the republic, long after the removal of this partition, or of the civil distinctions between the great classes of the state, here was still the chosen site of the mansions of the highest nobility. Here stood the famous dwelling of the tribune Drusus, whose architect proposed so to fence it with walls and curtains that its owner should be secluded from the observation of the citizens below. The tribune's answer, *Rather build it so that all my countrymen may see me*, implied not only that he would be visible by all, but accessible to all also. The site of this house cannot be fixed with certainty; but it seems probable from this anecdote, that it overlooked the Forum, and stood therefore on the north side of the hill, not far from the Porta Mugionis. It became the property of Crassus, and was bought of him by Cicero; it was razed, as we have seen, by Clodius, but the vacant space was restored to its recent possessor, after whose death we hear of its passage into the hands of a noble named Censorinus. The house of Æmilius Scaurus was another patrician mansion in this locality. There seems reason to believe that it stood at the north-eastern angle of the hill, overlooking the valley since occupied by the Colosseum and the arch of Constantine.¹ This mansion also passed through various hands in the course of two or three generations: it was famous for the size and splendour of its columns, of the costly marble afterwards distinguished by the name of Lucullus.² Contiguous to the dwelling of Cicero was that of his enemy Clodius: the price the tribune had given for it, says Pliny, agreed with the madness of a king rather than

¹ See Dezobry, *Rome sous Auguste*, i. 156. The topographical part of this generally valuable book is founded on some inveterate errors, and can only occasionally be made serviceable.

² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 2. These columns, four in number, were thirty-eight feet in height, and adorned the atrium of the house. They were the largest of the whole number of three hundred and sixty which Scaurus had conveyed, in his ædileship, to Rome (A. U. 696) for the decoration of a temporary theatre. They were afterwards used in the theatre of Marcellus. Ascon. in *Orat. pro Scaur.*

the dignity of a Roman senator.¹ The Regia, the official residence of Cæsar as chief pontiff, which lay at the foot of the hill, abutting on the Forum, may have thus been placed immediately below it. We may amuse ourselves with imagining the flight of steps and the wicket in the garden wall, which admitted Pompeia's gallant to the mysteries of the Bona Dea. Agrippa, and after him Messala, occupied the house which had belonged to Antonius on the Palatine; and Domitius Calvinus, who triumphed over Spain in 715, devoted a large portion of his spoils to the construction of a mansion in this quarter also.² But a spot of more interest than these in the imperial annals was that which bore the residence of Augustus himself. From the modest house in which he first saw the light, the dwelling of his father Octavius, which was also on the Palatine, he removed at a later pe-
The palace of Augustus.
 riod to the mansion of Hortensius, on the same hill; and there he continued to abide, though lodged far beneath the dignity of his position, in the height of his power, till it was destroyed by fire in 748.³ The citizens insisted on contributing to its restoration on a grander scale; and their subscriptions must have been universal if, as we read, the emperor refused to accept more than a single denarius from each. The residence of the chief of the state began already to be known from its situation as the Palatium or palace. Augustus, in his care not to press on the limits of popular favour, pretended to regard the dwelling thus erected for him as the property of the public, and relinquished a large portion of it for the recreation of the citizens.⁴ It was probably connected with the Regia, and its remains are accordingly to be looked for in the north-western angle of the hill,

¹ Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 24. 2.

² Dion, xlviii. 42., liii. 27.

³ For the emperor's changes of residence see Suetonius, *Oct.* 5, 51, 72.; and Dion, liii. 16., lv. 12. The house of Octavius was probably on the Germalus, a portion of the Palatine Hill, and the *Scalæ Annulariæ* descended from it to the Velabrum.

⁴ Dion, lv. 12.: τὴν οἰκίαν οἰκοδομήσας ἐδημοσιώσε πᾶσαν . . . ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἅμα καὶ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς οἰκοίῃ.

where indeed some foundations have been discovered which may have really appertained to it. Tiberius also built a mansion by the side of the Augustan, with which he eventually connected it, and thus embraced within the precincts of the imperial residence a large part of the western side of the Palatine. We shall see hereafter how later emperors extended these limits, and connected dome with dome, and at last hill with hill, by arcades, bridges, and substructions of enormous dimensions.

The Palatine was ascended in more than one direction by flights of steps, and if there was any road for wheel-carriages to its summit, it was used perhaps only for the convenience of religious solemnities. The houses of the nobility here, as in other parts of Rome, were isolated structures, placed at the caprice of their owners, surrounded by gardens, and never regularly disposed in streets, an arrangement which was confined to the lower level and inferior habitations of the city. They were interspersed with temples, colonnades and sacred groves. On the summit of the Palatine stood, among many others, the temples of Cybele and Juno Sospita, of Luna, of Febris, of Faith and Fortune, of Mars and Vesta: but none of these was so illustrious as that of Apollo, the emperor's patron, which was dignified by a spacious area inclosed by porticos where the trophies of all nations were suspended. To this temple was also attached the celebrated library, in two compartments, devoted respectively to the writings of the Greeks and the Romans.¹ On the slopes of the hill, or immediately at its foot, were temples of Victory and of Jupiter Stator, bordering upon the Forum: the shrine of Pan, called also the Lupercal, stood at the entrance to the Velabrum.² On the crest which over-

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 29.; Vell. iii. 81.; Dion, liii. 1.

² Virgil, *Æn.* viii. extr.:

“Ipse sedens niveo candentis limine Phœbi,
Dona recognoscit populorum, aptatque superbis
Postibus.”

We may remember how throughout this book the poet revels in allusions to

looked the circus was a venerable monument, which pretended to be the regia of Romulus and Numa, and also a square mass of masonry, to which was given the name of Roma Quadrata, supposed to have some mysterious connexion with the fortunes of the city, beneath which certain precious amulets were deposited.¹

While the Romans were fortifying themselves on the Palatine, the neighbouring summits did not remain unoccupied. The Quirinal, the Viminal, and the Esquiline, the three principal spurs of the great northern ridge, were separated from the Palatine by a swampy jungle, and their crests were crowned with the strongholds of a rival tribe. The Quirinal at least was in the hands of a Sabine colony; and we may conjecture that the settlers on the other eminences were closely connected with these, from the tradition of the earthen mound which seems to have closed, in remote antiquity, the mouth of the valley between them.² The Romans and the Sabines contended for the possession of the Capitoline. This hill, the smallest of the seven, was flung across the hollow which descended westward from the Velia, and while it touched the Quirinal of the Sabines at one end, was separated from the Palatine of the Romans by the valley of the Velabrum at the other. It rose in two summits: the Sabines seized the northern; the Romans established themselves on

The Quirinal,
Viminal, and
Esquiline.

The Capitoline.

the objects on the Palatine, and surrounds the residence of his patron with a halo of historic associations.

¹ Festus, in v. Quadrata, p. 258.: "Quadrata Roma in Palatio ante templum Apollinis (it lay towards the circus) dicitur, ubi reposita sunt quæ solent boni ominis gratia in urbe condenda adhiberi (they were bones of animals and implements) quia saxo munitus est initio in speciem quadratam."

² The early Sabine occupation of the Quirinal is attested by the presence here of many shrines of Sabine divinities, such as those of Sancus, of Quirinus, and perhaps of Flora. The college of the Salii was at the Colline Gate. Here was a house of Numa, the Sabine king, and, at a later period, the temples of the Sabine emperors of the Flavian house. The antiquity of its occupation is shown by the Capitolium Vetus, the rival Capitol, in which, as in the other, was a temple common to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* v. 32. It stood probably on the crest of the hill, facing the Forum.

the southern.¹ A small reetangular spaee lay depressed between them, whieh for convenience we may eall the Intermontium, and this the Romans seem to have been the first to make their own. The saered grove, or asylum, in whieh they offered a retreat for fugitives, was meant, we may suppose, to eneourage desertion from the enemy. The disputes between the two powers ended in their union and eoalition; the morasses of the valley were drained for their eomitium or plaee of meeting, and their eommon forum or thoroughfare; while the fortress of the united eonfederacy was founded on the northern summit of the hill they shared between them, and the great temple of their eommon patron Jupiter on the

The Arx and
Capitolium.

opposite extremity: the one was ealled speeifi-
cally the Arx or Citadel; the other bore the au-
gust name of Capitolium.² The former eontained only one
important eivil edifice, the temple of Juno Moneta, or the
Roman mint; the latter was the centre of the religious sys-
tem of the eity, the spot where the holiest mysteries of
her faith were solemnized by the ehief of her priesthood, the
eonsul or the dietator; to whieh the imperator led his con-
quering legions preceded by the spoils and eaptives of his
triumph, and where he returned his thanks for victory with
appointed saerifiees. This was that rock eternal and im-
movable, to whieh the empire of the world was promised,
and whieh the rae of Julius and Æneas should inherit for

The Temple of
Jupiter, Tar-
peius or Capi-
tolinus.

ever and ever. The temple of Jupiter Capito-
linus was divided into three eells, oeeupied by
statues of the king of gods and Juno and Mi-
nerva, his assessors; the ancient divinities Terminus and
Juventas, who refused to quit their wonted stations on the
foundation of the Capitol, were aeoommodated with plaees
within the saered walls. Here the images of the gods,

¹ The northern summit, now known as the Araeeli, is the higher of the two, and rises 151 feet above the sea.

² The respective sites of the Arx and Capitolium are still a matter of controversy on which it would hardly be proper to enter in this work. I shall have further occasion to notice the question.

on occasions of peculiar solemnity, after being paraded through the city on litters, were reclined on costly cushions, and invited to a gorgeous banquet. The Jupiter of the Capitol was called also the Tarpeian, from the name of the cliff which fronted the Palatine, a precipice eighty feet in height; and this was the direction in which his temple looked.¹ On the same summit was a second

shrine of Jupiter, under the title of Feretrius, Of Jupiter Feretrius, and Tonans. or the spoil-bearer, and another was erected here

also to the same divinity by Augustus, under the name of the Thunderer.² The Capitoline was climbed perhaps by three paths; of which two, the Clivus Asyli and the Clivus Capitolinus, sprang from the Forum and ascended to

the Intermontium, on the right and left hand respectively. The first of these, the existence of Clivus Asyli and Clivus Capitolinus.

which is matter of question, was probably a mere flight of steps; the other was practicable for carriages, and for this purpose was made to climb the acclivity with a zigzag. The triumphal chariot rolled up this path, and was admitted within the fortress through the gate Porta Pandana, midway on the ascent. There was a third access by the flight of the Hundred Stairs from the southern extremity, where the hill approached within three hundred yards of the river. The chief approach in modern times, that from the west, or the Campus Martius, was then a sheer declivity, and the spot most jealously guarded along the whole crest of the hill.

The Capitoline was the great bulwark of Rome against the Etruscans descending the Tiber from the north. But a colony of that people settled at a very early The Cælian Hill. period on an eminence in the opposite quarter, which derived its name of Cælius from their leader Cæles Vibenna. These strangers, it is said, were transplanted,

¹ Becker has fully shown that Mons Tarpeius and Mons Capitolinus are convertible terms; the first, at least, being only the earlier, the second the later designation: hence the Jupiter of the Capitol is called sometimes by the one name, sometimes by the other.

² Dion, liv. 4.

under a convention with the holders of the Palatine, to the valley between that hill and the Capitoline, the memory of which event was preserved in the appellation of the Tuscan Street, which led through the Velabrum from the Forum to the river-side. The Cælius then fell into the possession of the Romans, who re-peopled it with a colony of Latins transplanted from Alba Longa, their recent conquest.¹ In consequence, perhaps, of this early destination, this hill was never a strictly patrician quarter, although many noble mansions, and particularly that of Cæsar's officer, Mamurra, were to be found there; it was covered with the houses of all classes indiscriminately, and became, at least under the empire, one of the most populous regions of the city.²

The Aventine, which from its position might well have become the most formidable rival of the Palatine, was condemned by the same caprice of fortune which
 The Aventine. had robbed it of the August Augury, on which the life of the city depended, to play an obscure and insignificant part in the early history of the Romans. This hill was a holy spot reserved by the neighbouring tribes for the meetings of their confederacy, of which Rome herself was the head, and was consecrated to Diana, whose temple continued for ages to be the most conspicuous object upon it.³ When appropriated by the Romans under Ancus, it was assigned as public domain to the use of the patricians. The ruling caste placed on it some bands of Latins as their tenants and clients, and it was thus converted into a plebeian suburb of the haughty Palatine.⁴ The space which lay between the two

¹ Liv. i. 30. ; Strabo, v. 3. p. 234.

² For the palæe of Mamurra, who first encrusted his walls with marble, see Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 6. :—for the number of noble residencees, Martial, xii. 18. : “Dum per limina te potentiorum Sudatrix-toga ventilat, vagumque Major Cælius et minor fatigant :”—for the mixture of all classes, Vell. ii. 130., describing a fire which ravaged the Cælian Hill : “omnis ordinis hominum jactura.”

³ Servius compares the Latin worship of the Aventine Diana with that of the Ephesian by the Ionian confederacy. Livy considers it an acknowledgment of the supremacy of Rome by her Latin allies : i. 45.

⁴ Liv. i. 33.

hills, the valley of the Aqua Crabra, had been devoted by Romulus to the public games; and here, after the stream was arched over and the area levelled and strown with sand, the Great Circus, a stadium 600 yards in length, furnished seats for 150,000 spectators of the national races. Such was the extent of the city and its dependencies when Servius Tullius, according to the tradition, resolved to embrace the whole together within a common line of defences. The summits indeed of the precipitous cliffs might require no artificial fortifications, and it would seem that the Capitoline itself had no other protection at some points than the steepness of its natural escarpment; but dykes were thrown across the hollows, and the most accessible spots on the hills were strengthened with mounds of earth or masonry. The long level ridge from which, as has been described, the Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal spring, was fortified by a continuous ditch and rampart, which obtained the special appellation of the Servian Agger. That there was no stone wall here may be inferred not only from this title; but also from the fact, already noticed, that Mæcenas extended the gardens of his palace on either side of the mound. It is hardly to be supposed that he would have ventured to level a wall of masonry, but it was easy to convert an earthen terrace, by sloping and planting, into a pleasant promenade for the public.¹ The Servian lines continued,

¹ Hor. *Sat.* i. 8. 14., referred to in a former chapter. This account of the real character of the Servian walls is confirmed by the almost total absence of any actual traces of them, though the topographers have pitched here and there upon substructions in the face of the cliffs as remains of this primitive fortification. Already in the time of Augustus the Greek antiquarian could find few portions of them, on account of the private dwellings which had encroached upon them: *δυσεύρετον διὰ τὰς περιλαμβανούσας αὐτὸ πολλὰχόθεν οἰκῆσεις, ἔχνην δὲ τινα φύλαττον κατὰ πόλλους τόπους τῆς ἀρχαίας κατασκευῆς.* Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* iv. 13. Strabo certainly was no believer in a continuous Servian wall. After noticing the agger as a defence or a special point, he accounts for its exceptional character, *διότι Ῥωμαίοις προσῆκεν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ὄπλων καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς ἔχειν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην εὐπορίαν, προβλήματα νομίζοντες οὐ τὰ τεῖχη τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κινδύους τοῖς τεύχεσι* (v. 3. p. 234.).

however, still to form the nominal boundary of the city though the idea of maintaining them for defence had long been abandoned as superfluous. While the temples of the Gods and the palaces of the wealthy were planted, as we have seen, for the most part on the airy summits of the hills, the dwellings of the lower classes were clustered together in the narrow valleys between them. The roads were measured from the gates of the Servian inclosure ; and here began the strait lines of their interminable avenues. Within the walls the streets were laid out with no such regularity, or rather

The valleys of
Rome.

they may be said to have grown up as caprice or accident dictated, so that the names of few of these confined and tortuous alleys have been preserved, and of these few we can seldom ascertain the direction. The Forum alone of all the public places of the city was de-

The Forum
Romanum.

signed with any approach to regularity. Its open space, nearly rectangular in form, was inclosed by paved roads which skirted its border, and were specially intended for processions. These roads were lined, on the edge where they approached the bases of the hills, by rows of temples and public edifices ; and the limits of the most famous area in the world may be distinctly traced to this day by the remains of these historic monuments. Strange it is to observe within how small a space the affairs of the greatest of empires were transacted. From the slope of the Velia to the foot of the Capitoline its length does not exceed three hundred yards, and its breadth, which increases as it advances westward, varies from about fifty to one hundred. The temple of Julius on the one height fronted that of Jupiter on the other. On the right stood the ancient temple of the Penates and that of the twin heroes, Romulus and Remus, with the spacious hall of Paullus Æmilius ; on the left the shrine of Vesta, in which the sacred flame was ever burning, with the mansion of the chief pontiff annexed, the temple of the twin gods Castor and Pollux, and the basilica of Julius Cæsar. In the time of the republic the sides of the Forum had been lined with shops, having dwellings over them ; but these had

been latterly displaced by sacred and civil buildings, such as have been noticed. The line of the *Sacra Via*, which descended from the *Velia*, under the arch of *Fabius*, and skirted the *Forum* on the right, was bordered on one side by these public edifices, on the other by a range of statues on pedestals, or columns, forming an august approach to the *Capitol*, which it mounted by an oblique and gradual ascent before the temples of *Concord* and of *Saturn*. To this avenue, similarly adorned and directed towards the same point, corresponded the *Nova Via* on the left. But the whole space thus described generally as the *Forum Romanum* was more properly divided into two portions, of which one slightly elevated above the other was strictly denominated the *Comitium*, and was originally the place of honour assigned to the *Populus* as distinguished from the *Plebs*. The *Rostrum*, or tribunal for public speaking, which stood in the centre of the open space, was turned at first towards the *Comitium*, and away from the *Forum*: the harangues of the orators were addressed to the *curies*, and not to the *centuries*. The bold change by which the *Rostrum* was directed towards the opposite quarter was the manœuvre of *Livius Drusus*, the popular tribune: but at that time the distinction of *plebs* and *populus* had almost ceased to exist; the *Comitium* soon lost its political significance; and while the senators transacted their affairs under the cover of halls and temples, the mighty multitude of the Roman people occupied without dispute the whole vacant space between the *Sacred* and the *New street*, and crowded without order or distinction of places around the occupant of the political pulpit. The meetings of the senate were held most frequently in the *Curia Hostilia*, which stood beneath the north-west angle of the *Palatine*, and was flanked, a little in advance, by a small building called the *Græcostasis*, in which foreign envoys awaited the summons of the imperial assembly. But this curia had been consumed in the *Clodian* conflagration, and other halls or temples were at different times adopted at the caprice of the consuls or the emperor. Year after year the Roman Forum

Enlargement
and decoration
of the Forum
Romanum.

received fresh accessions of splendour and convenience. The fire just referred to cleared a space for nobler constructions, and first suggested the idea of more important changes and additions. With the surrender of political privileges grew the taste for ostentatious display in the enlargement and decoration of the site which had once been consecrated to their exercise. The colonnades by which the place became surrounded, connecting hall with hall and temple with temple, were in the morning the thoroughfare of men of business, but at a later hour were almost abandoned to the seekers of pleasure and dissipation. The area of the ancient Forum was found, however, too narrow either for the one use or the other. Various attempts had been made to gain additional space; and it was with this view perhaps that the rows of shops or stalls which formerly inclosed it had been recently demolished. It was not so easy to remove the temples and other consecrated objects, which continued to present impassable barriers to extension at almost every point. Behind them, however, on the right, there was still a space nearly level, reaching to the foot of the Esquiline and Quirinal; and here on the site of the ancient grove of Argiletum, and in the jaws of the Suburra, the population of Rome was most densely crowded together. Overlooked by the temples and patrician mansions of the Carinæ and other surrounding heights, the Argiletum and the Suburra were the abodes of artificers of all kinds, the workers in metals and in leather, the clothiers and perfume-

The Argiletum
and Suburra.

sellers. This, moreover, was the quarter of the booksellers, and the publicans, of the retailers, in short, of every article of luxury and necessity. Here was concentrated much of the vicious dissipation of a large capital; and here the young gentlemen of Rome, just emerged from dependence on their parents and tutors, might lounge with friends or flatterers, and glance without control on every object of interest or amusement.¹ In earlier times the Su-

¹ "Quales in media sedent Suburra." Martial, vi. 66. Compare Persius, *Sat* v 32. :—

burra had been the residence of many noble families, and here Julius Cæsar had himself been born; but as they advanced to the highest pinnacles of greatness, they had migrated to the more conspicuous quarters of the Palatine or the Esquiline, and fashion had now generally deserted the lower parts of the city. From the entrance of the Suburra branched out the long streets which penetrated the hollows between the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline, to the gates pierced in the mound of Servius. It was in this direction that Cæsar effected the first extension of the Forum, by converting the site of certain streets into an open space The Forums of the Cæsars. which he surrounded with arcades, and in the centre of which he erected his temple of Venus. By the side of the Julian Forum, or perhaps in its rear, Augustus constructed a still ampler inclosure, which he adorned with the temple of Mars the Avenger. Succeeding emperors, hereafter to be specified, continued to work out the same idea, till the Argiletum on the one hand, and the saddle of the Capitoline and Quirinal, excavated for the purpose, on the other, were both occupied by these constructions, the dwellings of the populace being swept away before them; and a space running nearly parallel to the length of the Roman Forum, and exceeding it in size, was thus devoted to public use, extending from the pillar of Trajan to the basilica of Constantine.¹

Next to the quarter of the Suburra, that of the Velabrum,

“Cum blandi comites, totaque impune Suburra
Permisit sparsisse oculos jam candidus umbo.”

¹ The reader will understand that these are the conclusions at which I have arrived, chiefly under the guidance of Becker's Hand-book, upon a subject on which the views of various schools of Roman topographers have been widely divergent. It would be superfluous to specify the ancient authorities. The general arrangement of the Roman Forum by Bunsen and Becker, and the German school as opposed to the Italian, ought to be considered as settled by the recent excavations, which have revealed beyond dispute the sites of the Æmilian and Julian basilicas. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the Italians, headed by Canina, have not yet surrendered their theory, that the Forum extended longitudinally towards the Tiber, and not towards the Velia, and maintain that the Julian basilica was an encroachment upon the ancient arca

on the opposite side of the Forum, was the most crowded portion of the city. The hollow which descended from the Velia, after meeting that of the Suburra, turned obliquely towards the Tiber; and the Nova Via, which skirted the base of the Palatine, followed its flexure from the temple of Castor and Pollux, and formed the boundary of the Velabrum on one side, as it had before limited the Forum. But the Velabrum, the space between the Palatine and the Capitoline, was wide enough to admit of two other streets running parallel to the Nova, the Vicius Tuscus and the Vicus Jugarius. These avenues, descending from the Forum Romanum, opened upon the Forum Boarium, the spot perhaps where the cattle destined for the consumption of Rome were landed from the barks on the Tiber: but they were also the great outlets of the multitudes which hurried from the heart of the city to the shows of the circus, and the recreations of the Campus Martius. The Vicius Tuscus, the middle street of the three, was perhaps the most crowded thoroughfare of all, the Cheapside of Rome. The public buildings in this quarter were comparatively few and insignificant, and we may believe that the whole space of the Velabrum was densely packed with the cabins of the industrious classes.

The streets which traversed the Velabrum led direct to the bank of the Tiber, and to the oldest of the bridges of Rome, the Sublæus, or bridge of piles, which connected the city with the Transtiberine quarter. called also Janiculum, from the slope on which it stood. This district, rising in terraces from the river, enjoyed a noble view of the seven hills on the opposite bank, and was also celebrated for its salubrity, which circumstances combined to attract to it the wealthier citizens under the later republic and the empire, who spread themselves along the crest of the adjoining eminences, and gradually occupied the whole ridge of the Vatican. The lower part continued to be the resort of the poorer classes. But the importance of this region may be inferred from the aqueducts which were con-

structed to supply it, the numerous bridges which connected it with other quarters, the venerableness of its shrines, especially that of the Goddess Fortuna, and the station there of one cohort of the city police, or Vigiles. The island in the Tiber, fashioned at either end into some rude resemblance to a ship, was also included in the Transtiberine, and was densely crowded with habitations. The gardens of Cæsar on the right bank of the river have been already described. Augustus excavated a naumachia, or basin for the exhibition of naval engagements, by their side. He surrounded it with groves and walks, to which he gave the names of his grandsons Caius and Lucius, and supplied it with water, not, as might have been expected, from the adjacent river, but by means of an aqueduct from the lake Alsietinus, or Bracciano, in Etruria.

We have still to notice the two regions beyond the Servian walls, in the broad plain to the north of the city, which may be designated by the comprehensive name ^{The Campus Martius.} of the Campus Martius, though that appellation, as we shall presently see, was more strictly confined to a certain portion only. From the earliest period the grassy meadows which here skirted the Tiber had been a resort for military exercises, and the recreations of leaping, running, and bathing. From the Porta Ratumena and the Carmentalis, on either side of the Capitoline, the citizens poured after the business of the day, to indulge in these sports, a custom which survived, through the whole period of the republic, late into the times of the emperors. Gradually, however, the space between the walls and the reach of the river was encroached upon by buildings of various kinds; and Cæsar contemplated, as we have seen, its extension, by giving a wider sweep to the Tiber. Here stood some of the principal temples of the Gods, and here, from an early period, were the septa, or booths, at which the centuries polled. The elections were originally a military institution, and on this account the citizens were summoned outside the walls to solemnize them.¹

¹ The division of the Roman people into classes and centuries had a mili-

The regulation that no imperator might enter the city, led to the practice of convening the senate also in the Campus Martius. Here too was the gate from which the victor, returned from distant frontiers, commenced his triumphal procession to the Capitol. Here was the gorgeous theatre of Pompeius, with its groves and porticos, and halls for business or amusement. Here stood the Flaminian circus, second only in size to the great circus beneath the Palatine; and here were the theatre of Marcellus and the portico of Octavia, the contributions of Augustus himself to the attractions of this splendid region. Here also, further from the city and precisely in the centre of the plain, still stands the magnificent Pantheon of Agrippa, which constituted a portion only of his extensive constructions in this quarter. Beyond it rose the amphitheatre of Taurus, and adjacent to the banks of the river the conspicuous mausoleum of the Cæsarean family. Up to this point the area was perhaps almost covered with edifices, but beyond it there was still a tract of open meadow, preserved for the martial sports of the Roman people, extending to the modern Ripetta and the Porta del popolo. The whole of this district north of the Capitoline is now thronged with houses, and comprehends the chief part of modern Rome: the remains of some of the most interesting buildings of the ancient city lie buried beneath the masses of mediæval construction; and no portion of it has been of necessity so imperfectly explored, or presents so many insoluble problems to the topographer. It was divided into two unequal portions by the straight line of the Flaminian Way, which issued from the city at the northern angle of the Capitoline. The first portion of this road was known perhaps by the title of the Via Lata, which gave its name to the region on the right, extending beyond the level of the plain over the slope of the Pincian hill. In the course of time this road was bordered

tary object, and the word *classis* had originally the meaning of *exercitus*. Gell. xv. 27., quoting an ancient writer: "*Centuriata comitia intra pomerium fieri nefas esse, quia exercitum extra urbem imperari oportent, intra urbem jus non sit.*"

with houses, and the Corso of the modern city runs at least for some distance on its track.¹ The Pincian itself was occupied by villas shrouded in extensive parks or gardens, such as those of Lucullus and Sallust, from whence it derived the name of Collis Hortulorum. From its flank descended the arches of the aqueduct called Aqua Virgo, one of the most stupendous works of Agrippa, by ^{The Pincian} ^{hill.} which water was conveyed to the septa in the Campus Martius.² The Campus Agrippæ, the site of which is not determined, was a portion of the plain which the same great benefactor laid out in gardens and porticos for the recreation of the citizens, and the convenience of the bathers. It contained the thermæ which he constructed for the public; and two of its colonnades, styled the Europa and the Neptune, were celebrated for the elegance of their fresco paintings.³ Augustus peopled the Campus with a host of statues taken chiefly from the Capitol, where they had accumulated, as the spoils of war or the votive offerings of conquerors, to an inconvenient extent. At a later period the Forum and other public places were deliberately thinned of their overgrowths of sculpture, which amounted, it may be supposed, to many thousands of specimens, to enrich the halls, the baths, and the colonnades of the Palaces of the People.⁴

¹ Martial (x. 6.) describes the Via Flaminia as running through the plain, with trees and detached houses by its sides:

“Quando erit illa dies, qua campus et arbor et omnis
Lucebit Latia culta fenestra nuru?
Quando moræ dulces, longusque a Cæsare pulvis,
Totaque Flaminia Roma videnda via?”

² Frontin. *de Aquæduct.* 22.

³ See the allusions in Martial, ii. 14., vii. 32., iii. 20. It has been imagined that the Pantheon was originally constructed for a central hall, some think for a swimming bath, to the thermæ of Agrippa. See Bunsen's *Rom.*, iii. 3. 123. 341.

⁴ Suet. *Calig.* 34.; Dion. ix. 6. The Campus Martius is described by Strabo with more vivacity than is usual with him (v. 3. p. 236.). I have avoided the debateable parts of his description, over which a furious battle still rages. Preller, however, the last combatant who has entered the field, especially against Becker, seems to me captious and unreasonable.

It would appear from this review that the densely populated parts of Rome covered but a small part of its whole area, for the summits of the hills were generally occupied by temples and aristocratic mansions, and large spaces even in the intervening hollows were devoted to places of public resort. The *vici*, or streets of Rome, as far as their names and directions are known to us, were confined to the valleys. The houses on the hills were generally detached mansions, surrounded in many cases by gardens. It must be allowed, however, that the clients of the nobles often clustered their obscure tenements against the outer walls of their patrons' palaces. But in the districts where the masses of the population were collected, such as the Suburra and Velabrum, every available inch of ground was seized for building, and the want of space was compensated by elevation. Perched upon the precipitous ledges of the hills, the houses rose to an enormous height in front, while in the rear their elevation might often be far more moderate. Rome, says Cicero, rhetorically, is suspended in the air; Rome, avers the more guarded Vitruvius, is built vertically; Tacitus speaks of houses rising from the plain to the level of the Capitoline summit.¹ Augustus was the first to impose a limit by law to their daring ascent, and he was satisfied with fixing the greatest height at the liberal allowance of seventy feet. At the same time, for no other purpose, as far as we can divine, than to economize space, their exterior walls were forbidden, we are told, to exceed a foot and a half in thickness, the minimum, perhaps, which was calculated to bear the weight of the superincum-

The population of Rome chiefly clustered in the lower parts of the city.

¹ Cic. *Leg. Agr.* ii. 35.: "Romam in montibus positam et convallibus, conaculis sublatam atque suspensam." He compares it disadvantageously with the broad open spaces of the Greek city of Capua. Vitruvius says: "Roma in altum propter civium frequentiam ædificata." Tacitus, *Hist.* iii. 71.: "Ædificia quæ in altum edita Capitolii solum æquabant." Aristides, in his *Encomium Romæ*, compares the stories of Rome with the strata of the earth's crust, and pretends that, if they were all laid out on one level, they would occupy the whole area of Italy from sea to sea.

bent mass.¹ The streets, following the tracks of the cattle and herdsmen of primitive antiquity to their pastures and watering places, were narrow and winding; and this may account for the fact that so few of them were important enough to transmit their names to history.² It was not till the gates had been passed that the direction of the roads began to be marked out deliberately; and, except the avenues which were designed for sacred processions, or the course of which was shaped by the narrow gorges through which they ran, few perhaps preserved for many yards together the irksome uniformity of a right line.³ Narrow as these alleys were, and little adapted for the passage of wheel-carriages, which indeed till a late period were hardly used in Rome, they were still more confined above, by the device of projecting balconies from the upper stories. These were known by the name of *Mæniana*, from the tribune *Mænius*, who first invented them to accommodate the spectators of the processions in the streets below. It is probable, though we have no express testimony to the fact, that these balconies were afterwards improved into hanging stories, the occupants of which could sometimes shake hands with their neighbours opposite.⁴

¹ Vitruvius, ii. 8. Comp. Juvenal, iii. 193.: "Nos urbem colimus tenui tibicine fultam."

² See the description of the hurried and irregular manner in which the city was rebuilt after its burning by the Gauls, in Livy, v. 55. (Comp. Diodor. xiv. 116.) The lines of the old streets were probably preserved, for the most part, as with us after the fire of London. Livy, indeed, would have us believe that every citizen built for himself, as suited his convenience, without reference to his neighbours, or to any common plan; but this cannot, I conceive, have been generally the case. The preservation, indeed, of the names of the ancient streets sufficiently attests the contrary.

³ Strabo contrasts the style in which Rome was laid out with the elegant designs of the Greek city builders: τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων περὶ τὰς κτίσεις μάλιστα εὐτυχεῖσαι δοξάντων ὅτι κάλλους ἐστοχάζοντο. v. 3.

⁴ See Festus in voc. *Mæniana*: "Mænius . . . primus ultra columnas extendit tigna, quo ampliarentur superiora." The *Digest*, l. 16. 242. speaks of *mæniana* and *suggrundia*, projecting eaves. These projections, together with the narrowness of the streets, gave a grateful shade (Comp. Cic. *Acad.* ii. 22.), and on that account were considered to contribute to salubrity. Tac

It may be believed that the roofs of the houses in Rome were adapted to a climate abounding in violent storms of rain, and rose in steep ridges, presenting sometimes a gable (a spread eagle the Greeks would have called it) to the street.¹ The want of glass, which was hardly known up to the imperial era, and but little used for dwelling windows to a late period, compelled the Romans to make the apertures of their houses few and narrow compared with those of modern architecture;² but the habit of living through the day almost entirely out of doors would render this deprivation of light less intolerable. In the better class of houses, however, there were windows protected by shutters of lattice work with double valves.³ The most common material for private dwellings was brick, which not only superseded the primitive wood, but was preferred for the purpose to the stone of the country, whether extracted from beneath the soil of Rome itself, or dug from the quarries of Alba, Gabii, and Tibur. Although this stone was as easily obtained, and was perhaps the cheaper material, the Romans gave a preference to brick, from its applicability to the construction of the arch, and also for the extreme hardness and durability it assumed in their hands. The old consuls of the republic truly built for eternity, when they ranged tile upon tile, and embedded them in their concrete sand and gypsum. It was a famous boast of Augustus, when he pointed to the sumptuous halls and temples with which he had eclipsed the modest merit of preceding builders, that he

Ann. xv. 43. Martial, i. 87.: "Vicinus meus est manuque tangi De nostris Novius potest fenestris." But this may apply to a next-door neighbour.

¹ "Fastigia, peetinata teeta;" Gr. ἀέτωμα, τρίχωπος. Upon this subject, on which our information is indistinct, see the note of Salmasius, on Spartian. *Pescenn.* 12.

² Plin. xxxvi. 66.: "Neronis principatu reperta vitri arte." This can only refer to its employment for windows. Comp. Senec. *Ep.* 90.: "Quædam nostra demum prodisse memoria scimus, ut speculariorum usum, perlucente testa, elarum transmittentium lumen."

³ Hor. *Od.* i. 25. 1.: "Junctas quatiant fenestras." Pers. iii. 1.: "Jam clarum mane fenestras Intrat, et angustas distendit lumine rimas."

had found Rome of clay and had left her of marble; but after eighteen centuries the marble has mostly vanished and crumbled into dust, while huge strata of brickwork still crop out from under the soil, a Titanic formation as imperishable as the rock itself.¹

The temples of ancient Rome were all, as far as we can trace them, constructed on the Grecian pattern; that is, generally in oblong masses of masonry, with long low roofs, corresponding with the apex of the pediment. Though crowned perhaps with statues on the summit, they scarcely overtopped, except from their position, the meaner buildings around them: the invention of bells, the greatest of all boons to architecture, had not yet afforded a motive or excuse for raising the many storied turret, or suggested the arrowy flight of the spire or steeple. Here and there perhaps the watch tower of some palace or fortress might break the horizon of stone; but these were too few and unimportant in character to lead the eye of the spectator upwards, or divert him from the sights of splendour or squalor nearer to his own level. Nevertheless there was a grand significance in the crests of the hills encompassing the Forum, crowned with a range almost unbroken of columned temples, the dwellings of the Gods, who thus seemed to keep eternal watch over the secure recesses of the city. If neither the architecture nor religion of the Roman pointed heavenwards, or led to spiritual aspirations, not the less did they combine to impress upon him, in their harmonious development, the great idea of Paganism, the temporal protection with which the Powers of Nature, duly honoured and propitiated, encircle their favourites among men.

The dwellings of the citizens were of two general classes, the domus and the insulæ. The former of these, which we

¹ This saying has been referred to in an earlier chapter. Strabo remarks that the ancients, occupied with more urgent cares, paid little attention to the decoration of the city, a merit which was reserved for Pompeius, Cæsar, and Augustus, with his friends and relatives.

The domus and
insulæ. may call mansions, were the abodes of the nobility, and were constructed originally as separate buildings, inclosed within courts or gardens, and adapted, at least since the latter years of the republic, to the Greek fashion, covering a considerable surface with a single, or at most two stories. The application to the private mansion of the ornamental architecture of Greece, which had been long reserved at Rome for temples and public edifices, soon demanded the use of the rich and polished material with which Greece abounded, of their own wealth in which the Italians were perhaps hardly yet aware. When the nobles began to build their long columnar corridors, they required marble to give variety by its colour to the interminable repetition of pillar after pillar, and the vast expanse of their level pavements. Crassus, the orator, was said to have first introduced into his house six columns of Hymettian marble. This was about the middle of the seventh century. Soon afterwards Lepidus paved his arcades with polished slabs from the quarries of Numidia. This nobleman's palace was reputed at that time the finest domestic edifice in Rome, but thirty-five years later it was excelled by not less than a hundred rivals.¹ Nevertheless, at a still later period, the Romans continued to wonder at the inordinate luxury of the Orientals, who piled the richest marbles block upon block, while the lords of the world could only afford to use them in thin flags.³

The domus, it has been said, were generally insulated dwellings; the insulæ, or islands, on the other hand, were precisely the contrary of what their name should import, the smaller abodes of the

The calins of
the poorer citizens.

¹ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 2, 8, 24.

² Lucan contrasts the magnificence of Cleopatra's palace with those of Rome in language which expresses the feeling probably of his own time:

“Nec summis crustata domus sectisque nitebat
Marmoribus: stabatque sibi non segnibus Achates,
Purpureusque lapis; totaque effusus in aula
Calcabatur onyx.” *Pharsal.* x. 114.

lower classes, closely connected together in large blocks of building, and covered with a continuous roof.¹ These little dwellings were generally built over the rows of shops which lined the area of the streets, and were entered by stairs from the outside, having no connexion with the resorts of trade and industry below them. In a height of seventy feet there were probably from seven to ten stories, and each of these stories, and often each chamber in them, might be occupied by a separate family.² Being used as little else than sleeping apartments, they accommodated, in the fashion of the age and country, a multitude of inmates, the amount of which, however, we are totally at a loss to estimate. The subject, indeed, of the population of Rome has exercised the ingenuity of many inquirers, but with widely differing results. As regards the accommodation the tract covered by the city may have afforded, when we have carefully measured the circuit of the walls, and estimated the area they enclosed, we are still ignorant both of the capacity of the houses, and of the amount of empty space within the inclosure. In drawing a comparison, however, from experience in our own day, we may observe that, if modern cities on the one hand are not so closely built, nor their houses so densely inhabited as was the case with ancient Rome, on the other they have no such proportion of vacant space appropriated to gardens, and

¹ A law of the twelve tables required, for security against fire, that every house should stand separate; but it is impossible that this can have applied, even at that early time, to every single chamber in which a separate family was lodged. I consider the *insula* to have originally been a block of chambers, such as are represented in the fragment of the ancient plan of Rome still preserved on marble, which corresponds with the style of arrangement observed at Pompeii. These rows of building were often constructed round public edifices, and the clients, operative slaves, and freedmen of the noble were often thus lodged against the walls of his *domus*. If *insula* was the term originally given to the aggregate of such dwellings, it came afterwards to be applied to the component members. Thus Tacitus uses *insulæ* as synonymous with *tabernæ*. *Ann.* vi. 45., xv. 38. See De la Malle, *Econ. Pol.* i. 264.

² Thus a house of four stories is indicated in the account of one of Livy's portents, xxi. 65.: "*foro boario bovem in tertiam contignationem sua sponte escendisse atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum sese dejecisse.*"

courts, and public places. Setting one of these conditions, therefore, against the other, it may seem not unreasonable to form an approximate estimate of the population of Rome from the numbers domiciled on an equal area in some modern capital.—

I. According to an ancient definition, the space within the walls was specifically denominated the *Urbs*, or city, while the term Rome applied to the whole unbroken extent of buildings which reached to the extremity of the suburbs.¹ The Roman *urbs*, then, was included at this period within the walls or lines of Servius; and this area had been divided by Augustus, for administrative purposes, into eleven regions, to which he had added three others outside the walls, to embrace, we may suppose, the most frequented quarters of the suburbs.² The area of the eleven urban regions has been found by measurement on an accurate map to equal about one fifth of that of the modern city of Paris within the barrier.³ The population therefore of the *urbs*, if calculated on the basis of that of

Data for calculating the population of Rome.

1. From the area of the city.

¹ Paulus in *Digest*. l. 16. 2.: “*Urbs appellatio muris, Romæ autem continetibus ædificiis finitur, quod latius patet.*”

² These three were (Reg. i.) *Porta Capena*; (vii.) *Via Lata*; (ix.) *Circus Flaminius*. It may be conjectured that these were included within the *pomœrium* as extended by Augustus in the year 746 (Dion, lv. 6.). See Becker, *Röm. Alter.* ii. 105.

³ For this important statement I cite the words of Dureau de la Malle (i. 347.): “*La superficie de Paris (i. e. within the barrière de l’octroi) est, d’après les mesures exactes, de 3439 heet. 68 ar. 16c.; celle de Rome, 638 heet. 72 ar. 34c. J’ai calculé la superficie d’après le grand plan de Nolli, dont l’exactitude est reconnue. Mon savant confrère M. Jomard a eu l’extrême obligeance de revoir mes calculs; je les ai fait vérifier de nouveau par un habile mathématicien. On s’est servi du périmètre déterminé par d’Anville pour la première enceinte de Rome, et vérifié de nouveau sur les lieux par M. Nibby et par Broechi.*” He adds in a note that his calculations of the area of the city were again verified by Tournon, the learned prefect of Napoleon’s department of Rome. De la Malle’s calculations were made about 1824, and his statement of the population of Paris (714,000) refers to the year 1817. *Econ. Pol.* i. 369. The estimate in McCulloch’s *Dict. of Geog.* for 1846 is, 1,050,000. There has been a great extent of building within the barrier during that interval.

Paris (equal 1,050,000), would not amount to more than two hundred and ten thousand; nor is it easy to adduce any direct proof that it actually exceeded this very moderate number. Bearing in mind what has been said of the character of the buildings which prevailed in different parts of this space, the number of temples and public edifices, the extent of many private residences, the space devoted to theatres, circuses, and baths (of which last Agrippa alone established, within and without the urbs, no less than a hundred and seventy), the numerous groves and gardens which existed even within the walls, it will be allowed that the surface actually covered with the abodes of the masses can hardly have exceeded that similarly occupied in Paris, or any of our cities at the present day.¹ It has been shown, however, how closely the houses of the densest quarters were packed together; and we may also believe that the space required, man by man, at Rome was much smaller than accords with our modern habits. This arises from the outdoor mode of life practised in ancient Italy, from the number of slaves, who were huddled together without respect to health or comfort, and from the sordid notions of domestic comfort common even to the higher classes. Thus, while they allotted ample space to their halls for banquets and recreation, their sleeping rooms were of the smallest possible dimensions. The habitations indeed of mediæval Europe were far more densely crowded than our own, and such we may easily believe was the case with the ancient urbs also. Assuming, however, that from these considerations we may double the amount of its population as compared with modern Paris, we shall still be surprised, and perhaps even startled, to find that we cannot raise it above four hundred and twenty thousand.

If we now look to suburban Rome, and seek for compensation in that quarter for the slender amount of population within the walls, we shall still be disappointed. From the time indeed of the retreat of Hannibal

Extent of the
suburbs.

¹ There were, according to Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* iii. 9.), not less than 265 open places in Rome.

the citizens had ceased to require the protection of military defences for their dwellings, and there was no impediment, except in the reserved space of the pomœrium, to their constructing their houses outside the ancient lines, and at as great a distance from them as they pleased. Modern Vienna, with its central urbs, surrounded by a broad vacant glacis, and again by a second belt of houses beyond it, may offer a considerable resemblance to the Rome of Augustus.¹ These outer buildings continued no doubt to increase both in extent and density, through the two following centuries, before they were finally inclosed in the second and wider circumvallation, which still marks the greatest spread of the imperial metropolis, embracing an area rather more than twice the size of the Servian city, or than two-fifths of that of Paris.² But in the Augustan period this outer area was only partially occupied with buildings. Augustus, when he added three Suburban regions, the Via Lata, the Circus Flaminius, and the Porta Capena, to the eleven Urban, included in them a portion only of this intermural space, and of these the Circus at least can have had very few private dwellings of any kind. It may be wrong, however, to assume that the rest of the space uncomprised in these three regions was not also encroached on by numerous habitations; for so London runs into extensive and populous suburbs, though they are excluded from the limits of its component boroughs, and known perhaps by no distinctive appellations. On the other hand, however, the great number and extent of private villas and gardens, such

¹ There is no statement, I believe, of the ordinary width of the pomœrium, which probably varied very much in different quarters. I do not suppose that it was anywhere nearly equal to that of the glacis at Vienna; and indeed, in the time of Augustus, it had been greatly encroached upon. If, as Dionysius tells us, the lines of Servius could no longer be traced throughout in his days, neither certainly could the pomœrium.

² De la Malle (i. 347.) calculates the area of the Aurelian inclosure at 1396 hect., 9 centiar.; it seems on the map much more than double the Servian. D'Anville (cited by De la Malle) states the length of the Servian walls at 6187½ toises, or 8186 Roman passus; that of the Aurelian, at 12,345 toises. Hence his happy correction of Pliny, VIII. M.CC. for XIII. M.CC., *Hist. Nat.* iii. 9

as those of Mæcenas, of Pallas, of Sallust, of the Lamiaë and Laterani, of Cæsar, and many others of historical celebrity, which occupied large sites between the Servian and Aurelian walls, though some of them eventually gave way to the extension of streets and lanes, clearly indicate that at an earlier period that area was far from filled with ordinary dwellings. Nor, again, is it possible to give a high estimate to the more distant suburbs of Rome. Up to the gates of the city the Campagna yields few vestiges of ancient habitation, except here and there the foundations of isolated villas; and the roads, as we have seen, were lined, not with rows of tradesmen's lodgings, but with a succession of sepulchral monuments, which the feelings of the Romans would have shrunk from desecrating by proximity to the abodes of life.¹ It seems unreasonable, then, to estimate the extramural population at more than one half of that within the walls, which will raise the sum total to six hundred and thirty, or, making a liberal allowance for soldiers and public slaves, who occupied the baths and temples, about seven hundred thousand.²

II. But any estimate formed on such grounds as these only must at best be very uncertain, and it will be well to inquire whether the arguments which may be drawn from other sources serve to confirm or to
 2. The recorded number of houses.

¹ It is difficult to resist the strong expressions of Pliny, Dionysius, and others: but we must shut our ears to their reckless exaggerations; such as, Plin. iii. 5.: "Exspatiantia tecta multas addidere urbes." Dion. Hal. iv. 13.: οὕτω συνύφανται τῷ ἄστει ἡ χώρα, καὶ εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκμηκνυμένης πόλεως ὑπόληψιν τοῖς θεωμένοις παρέχεται; and the passage of Aristides, before referred to, *Encom. Rom.* vol. i. p. 324.: εἴ τις αὐτὴν ἐθελήσειε καθαρῶς ἀναπτύξαι, καὶ τὰς νῦν μετεώρους πόλεις ἐπὶ γῆς ἐρείσας θείναι ἄλλην παρ' ἄλλην, ὅσον νῦν Ἰταλίας διάλειπόν ἐστιν ἀναπληρωθῆναι, τοῦτο πᾶν ἂν μοι δοκεῖ, καὶ γενέσθαι πόλις συνεχῆς μία ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον τείνουσα.

² De la Malle fixes the population of the Servian urbs at 266,684, that of the Aurelian at 382,695, and of Rome, including the suburbs at their furthest extent, at 502,000. To these he adds 30,000 for strangers, and an equal number for soldiers, making a total of 562,000. i. 403.

account of Rome, in which, among other specific numerical notices, the number of the *domus* and *insulæ* respectively is given for each of the fourteen regions.¹ The date of this little work cannot perhaps be fixed very nearly, but the substance of the information it conveys may be referred to the third century of our era, after the building of the Aurelian walls, and at the period probably of the greatest extension of the city. We must bear in mind, therefore, on the one hand, that the density of habitation in the *urbs* was unquestionably reduced after the time of Augustus; and on the other, that the whole enlarged area was more uniformly occupied with dwellings. If these circumstances may be supposed nearly to balance one another, we may be allowed perhaps to assume that the numbers given in the *Notitia* do not far exceed the actual amount at the earlier period,—namely, 46,602 *insulæ* and 1,790 *domus*. The numbers, however, of individuals accommodated in each *domus* and *insula* respectively must still be a matter of mere conjecture, nor can we find any close analogy to guide us. The average ratio of dwellers to houses in London or Liverpool is said to be about five to one; in Paris and Vienna it is much greater; and we may, perhaps, fairly double it for the *insulæ* of Rome, although these were in many cases, as I have said, merely single chambers. The capacity of the *domus* must have been still more varied, and I confess that I am merely speaking at random in assigning to them an average of eighty occupants.² The result, however, of such a calculation will be found somewhat to exceed six hundred thousand for the *domus* and in

¹ See Preller's comparative edition of the *Curiosum* and *Notitia*.

² Brotier guesses the average at eighty-four, nor does De la Malle see reason to dissent from him. I should prefer a smaller number, because, in my view, multitudes of slaves belonging to great houses were lodged in the *insulæ* appended to them. Such would generally be the case with the artificers whose skill was turned to the profit of their masters. The chief argument for the great numbers of domestic slaves is taken from the well-known case of the *family* of Pedanius, amounting to 400, who were all put to death for their master's murder. *Tac. Ann.* xiv. 45. Allowance, however, must be made for the houseless, and the slaves of the temples and public buildings.

sulæ together, which does not fall greatly short of the estimate at which we have arrived from the basis previously assumed.

III. There is, however, still a third datum to be considered, which may seem at first sight to lead us to very different results, though possibly, on further examination, it may be found rather to confirm our original estimate. Augustus, as we learn from his own statement, reduced the recipients of the ordinary dole of grain to the number of two hundred thousand. When, however, he bestowed upon the plebs urbana, the populace of the city, an extraordinary donative, the numbers who partook of his bounty swelled again to three hundred and twenty thousand. The smaller of these amounts may represent, perhaps, the poorer sort of the citizens; the larger the whole population, male and free, below the senatorial and equestrian ranks.¹ This last has been assumed accordingly by many inquirers as the actual number of the commons of Rome; and this they have doubled, at one stroke of the pen, to comprehend the females, and quadrupled, at another, to embrace the slaves also. When to this aggregate has been added a reasonable proportion for the noble classes, together with their wives and families, it has been thought that the enormous sum of two millions of souls is not too large for the whole amount of the inhabitants of Rome. Now, whatever we may think of the capacity of the domus and insulæ, it seems almost demonstrable, from what has been said above; that the limits of the city can never have contained such a mass of human beings; nor, on fair examination of the data, are we driven in fact to so extravagant a conclusion. I have little doubt that the plebs urbana, as they are called, who were allowed to receive the extraordinary largess, comprehended not merely the actual residents, but as many citizens as could present themselves in person, or possibly even by proxy, from the country round. If this be so, it is evident that the specified number

3. The number of recipients of grain.

¹ Before the time of Augustus children below the age of ten years were excluded, but he extended the gratuity to all. Suet. Oct. 41.

of three hundred and twenty thousand may far exceed that of the actual free male residents.¹ Again, with regard to the proportion of females to males, to suppose it, according to the ordinary law of nature, to be nearly equal is, I fear, in this case an unwarrantable assumption. The license of infanticide was, we know, a principle recognised generally in the ancient politics: there can be no doubt that the crime was regularly and systematically practised by the civilized as well as the barbarous.² Solon enjoined, and even the gentle Plutarch approved of it; and if it is rarely noticed in books, it is perhaps only because it was too common to remark upon. Nor can there be any doubt that, under these circumstances, exposure would befall the female far more commonly than the male infants. There is, indeed, one passage of antiquity which expressly asserts the disproportion of the female to the male adults, where Dion tells us that Augustus allowed the Roman citizens below the rank of senators to intermarry with freed-women, for this very reason, because the females of ingenuous birth were not numerous enough to mate them.³ With respect to the numbers of the slave population, the estimate I have referred to is not less gratuitous. The most careful and conscientious inquirer into this intricate subject declares himself unable to form any conjecture as to its amount, and though he remarks the vast size of the *families* of the Roman magnates, and the multitude also of public slaves, it is most probable that the mass of the commonalty possessed no slaves at all.⁴ The nearest analogy to which we can refer, perhaps,

¹ In the same manner, it may be presumed that the numbers of the census, before the time of Augustus, included not merely the residents in Rome, nor, on the other hand, the whole number of citizens within and without it, but precisely as many as could present themselves to the censors from the city and the country round.

² The frequency of this practice among the Romans, insinuated by Tertullian, *Apol.* 9., is painfully confirmed by the cursory remark of Tacitus on the abstinence of the Germans: "Numerum liberorum finire . . . flagitium habetur." *Germ.* 19.

³ Dion, liv. 16., referred to in chapter xxxiii.

⁴ Wallon, *Hist. de l'Esclavage*, &c., pt. ii. chap. 3.

would be that of the great Oriental cities of our time, such as Cairo or Constantinople, in which there are nearly the same striking contrasts as in ancient Rome of luxury and squalid misery; the same extravagance among the few rich in building, amusements and decorations, and the same stolid apathy among the many poor in enduring life on a crust of bread and a sup of water. Although a few pashas and emirs may dazzle the eyes of the Frank with the ostentatious display of hundreds of male and female slaves, an immense proportion of their countrymen are entirely destitute of them; and the total number of this class, as far as I can learn, forms an inconsiderable element in the whole population.¹

While, therefore, there are some apparent data for the opinion, not uncommonly advanced by moderate and judicious critics, that the inhabitants of Rome amounted to a million or twelve hundred thousand souls, it would seem that the grounds for this conclusion are at best questionable, while it is hardly possible to assign more than seven hundred thousand to the extent of area on which they were domiciled.² Accustomed as we are to contemplate much larger collections of human beings within the limits of a single city, and to connect the idea of the capital

Exaggerations
of ancient and
modern author-
ities.

¹ Mr. McCulloch, in his *Dictionary of Geography*, tells us that the estimates of the population of European Turkey by M. Boué and Mr. Urquhart (strangely discrepant as they are) are those on which most reliance may be placed. Neither of these makes any mention of the class of slaves.

² There is another important statement upon this subject in the *Hist. August. in Sever.* 23.: "Moriens septem annorum canonem, ita ut quotidiana septuaginta quinque millia modiorum expendi possent, reliquit." De la Malle argues that this amount of 75,000 modii per diem was the estimated consumption of the whole population of Rome. He goes on to show that this quantity equals 1,012,000 pounds, and represents, at two pounds per head, a number of 506,000 persons. *Econ. Pol.* i. 274, 404. But Wallon, in his admirable work (ii. 84.), has shown that this standard of consumption is too high in the ratio of 5 to 3; while Dezobry, comparing it with the returns of consumption in Paris, reckons it too high in the ratio of 2 to 1. *Rome*, iii. 534. But this datum, it will be observed, refers to a period two centuries later than the Augustan; nor can we affirm that the towns and villages round Rome were not partly supplied from the granaries of the capital.

of a vast and rich empire with a much higher amount of population, we may feel surprised and disappointed at such a result of our calculations, and the more so from the enormous numbers which the extravagance of certain earlier authorities has ascribed to imperial Rome.¹ Little stress, however, can be placed upon the vague generalities of the native writers, who indulged in the grossest hyperboles in representing the vastness, as they supposed it, of the Roman population: they were not accustomed to weigh and compare statistical data; and though we have reason to believe that the amount of the inhabitants of every city was registered and made known to the government, it may be admitted that there was no general curiosity on the subject, and no conception of the moral and social purposes to which such knowledge might be applied. Even on the lowest computation which has been made, it is plain that the density of habitation in Rome must have far exceeded all modern experience; and when we remember how much the Romans lived out of doors, how gregarious were their habits, how universal their custom of frequenting the baths, visiting the theatre, and attending the games of the circus, we may well believe that the movement and aggregation of the people at certain spots were far greater than what we ordinarily witness in our own cities. We should be led to expect that the great places of public resort, such as those just mentioned, would be expressly calculated to accommodate the whole mass of the free male population; but the theatres which existed in the time of Augustus could not, at the highest statement, contain above ninety thousand, and the Circus Maximus, the general place of assemblage for all citizens within reach of Rome, on the

¹ Lipsius computed the population of Rome at 4,000,000; Mengotti, as late as 1781, at the same. Brotier and Gibbon have reduced it to 1,200,000, and this is the number assigned to it by Jacob: *On the Precious Metals*. That Chateaubriand should raise it to 3,000,000 might, perhaps, be expected; but I am surprised at the sum of 2,000,000 assigned to it, on very futile grounds, in the elaborate description of Rome by M. Bunsen and his learned associates. See *Rom.*, i. 185. Hoeck, on more critical, but still, as I maintain, on quite erroneous principles, would raise it to 2,265,000. *Röm. Reich.* i. 2. 390.

greatest national solemnities, afforded seats at this period to not more than an hundred and fifty thousand.¹

Nor indeed was Rome calculated, from the position it held among the cities of the empire, to attain any extraordinary population. It was neither a commercial nor a manufacturing city. It was not the emporium of a great transit trade, like Alexandria, nor the centre of exchange among a host of opulent neighbours, like Antioch. It was not surrounded by the teeming hives of life which encircled Babylon or Seleucia. Nor was it increased by the ever-accumulating wealth of all classes of society, like modern London, or by the constant tightening of the bands of centralization, by which the life-blood of the provinces is flooded back upon Paris. It was not the natural focus of attraction for the indolent and luxurious; but every one who had the means escaped from it as often and as much as he could, and exchanged its ungenial climate for the cool breezes of the mountains or the coast, and the voluptuous recreations of a Campanian watering-place. The country around it was almost abandoned, in the

The circumstances of Rome do not admit of a very large population.

¹ The theatre of Pompeius held, as Pliny assures us (*H. N.* xxxvi. 15.), 40,000; but according to the *Curiosum* only 17,580; that of Balbus 11,500, according to this last authority, but the *Notitia* gives the number of 30,000. The theatre of Marcellus held, according to the *Curiosum* again, 20,000. To the Circus Maximus, Dionysius assigns (*Ant. Rom.* iii. 68.) 150,000 places: Pliny gives 260,000, and the last spurious edition of the *Curiosum*, which goes by the name of Victor, 385,000. The accommodation of the circus was probably increased from time to time by the addition of wooden galleries, as we know was the case with the Colosseum. We need not trouble ourselves with the statement of the so-called Publius Victor. In the circus the citizens were originally seated according to their classes; the chief magistrate presided, the senators and knights attended in their places, and every order was arrayed in its proper garb. It was, in fact, the civil camp of the Roman people. When Juvenal says, "Totam hodie Romam circus capit," his hyperbole is only the tradition of an ancient reality. Tacitus (*Ann.* xiii. 24.) expresses nearly the same idea: "Intraverunt Pompeii theatrum quo magnitudinem populi viserent." Comp. Senec. *de Ira.* ii. 7.: "Illum circum in quo maximam sui partem populus ostendit." Yet from the time of the later republic women were not excluded from the theatres or circus. Plut. *Sull.* 35.; Ovid, *Art. Amand.* i. 139.; Calpurn. *Ecl.* vii. 26.

imperial period, to the maintenance of cattle, and the drain of human life caused by its crowded state and baneful atmosphere was only replenished by immigration from distant shores. I will not compare it with Madrid, a mere royal residence, nor with the marble exhalation of St. Petersburg; but of modern capitals Vienna may perhaps be considered most nearly to resemble it. Its great social characteristic was the entire absence of a middle class, the bone and sinew of cities as well as of empires; and its population mainly consisted of the two orders of wealthy nobles on the one hand, whose means were in process of trituration under the pressure of the imperial imposts, and the poor citizens on the other, who clung to the forum and the circus for the sake of their amusements and largesses.

CHAPTER XLI.

LIFE IN ROME.—THRONGING OF THE STREETS.—PLACES OF RECREATION.—THEATRES, CIRCUS, AND AMPHITHEATRES.—EXHIBITIONS OF WILD BEASTS AND GLADIATORS.—BATHS.—THE DAY OF A ROMAN NOBLE: THE FORUM, THE CAMPUS, THE BATH, AND THE SUPPER.—CUSTOM OF RECITATION.—THE SCHOOLS OF THE RHETORICIANS.—AUTHORS: LIVY, VIRGIL, HORACE, PROPERTIUS, TIBULLUS, OVID, EACH REFLECTING IN HIS OWN WAY THE SENTIMENTS OF THE AUGUSTAN AGE.

WE will now proceed to people with human figures the expanse of brick and marble which has been presented to our view, and realize, as we may, the actual movement of life in the great metropolis, hearkening to the surging murmurs which still seem to resound across the abyss of eighteen centuries.¹ Rome, at the time of which we are speaking, was in the crisis of that transitional state which most great capitals have experienced, when a rapid increase in their population and the transactions of daily life has begun to outstrip the extension of their means of accommodation. The increase of numbers must necessarily multiply the operations of industry, which cross and recross each other in the streets; and though neither the commerce nor manufactures of Rome were conducted on the scale to which our ideas are accustomed, the retail traffic which passed from hand to hand, and the ordinary affairs of business and pleasure, must have caused an ever-increasing stir and circulation among the multitude of

Thronging of
the streets of
Rome.

¹ Stat. *Sylv.* i. l. 65.: "Magnæ vaga murmura Romæ."

human beings collected within its walls. The uninterrupted progress of building operations, and the extension of the suburbs simultaneously with the restoration of the city, must have kept every avenue constantly thronged with waggons and vehicles of all sorts, engaged in the transport of cumbersome materials: the crush of these heavy-laden machines, and the portentous swinging of the long beams they carried, round the corners of the narrow streets, are mentioned among the worst nuisances and even terrors of the citizen's daily walk.¹ Neither of the rival institutions of the shop and the bazaar had been developed to any great extent in ancient

Trades exercised in the streets.

Rome. Numerous trades were exercised there by itinerant vendors. The street cries, which have almost ceased within our own memory in London, were rife in the city of the Cæsars. The incessant din of these discordant sounds is complained of as making life intolerable to the poor gentleman who is compelled to reside in the midst of them.² The streets were not contrived, nor was it possible generally to adapt them, for the passage of the well-attended litters and cumbersome carriages of the wealthy, which began to traverse them with the pomp and circumstance of our own aristocratic vehicles of a century since;³ while the police of the city seems never to have contemplated the removal of the most obvious causes of crowd and obstruction, in the display of gymnastic and gladiatorial feats, of conjurors' tricks and the buffoonery of the lowest stage-players, amidst the most frequented thoroughfares.⁴ The noble seldom crossed his threshold without a numerous train of clients and retainers; the lower people collected at the corners of the streets to hear the gossip of the day, and discuss the merits of racers and dancers; the slaves

Crowds of loungers and gazers.

¹ Juvenal, iii. 236, 255. In the second century it became necessary to forbid loaded waggons to traverse the city. "Orbicula cum ingentibus sarcinis urbem ingredi prohibuit." Spartian. *Hadrian*. 22.

² Martial, i. 42., x. 3., xii. 57.

³ The Appian Way was the fashionable drive of the Roman nobility. *Hor. Epod.* 4. 14.; *Epist.* i. 6. 26.

⁴ Suet. *Oct.* 74.: "Triviales ex Circo ludii."

hovered over the steam of the open cook-shops, or loitered on their errands, to gaze on the rude drawings or pore over the placards on the walls. The last century had filled the imperial capital with multitudes of foreigners, attracted by curiosity as much as by business to the renowned emporium of the wonders of the world, who added to the host of idlers and gazers in the streets of Rome; men of strange costumes and figures, and, when they spoke, of speech still stranger, who, while they gazed around them with awe and admiration, became themselves objects of interest to a crowd of lounging citizens. The marked though casual manner in which the throng of the streets is noticed by the Roman writers, shows, in the strongest way, how ordinary a feature it was of life in the city.¹

The streets, or rather the narrow and winding alleys, of Rome were miserably inadequate to the circulation of the people who thus encumbered them; for the vici were no better than lanes or alleys, and there were only two viæ, or paved ways, fit for the transport of heavy carriages, the Sacra and the Nova, in the central parts of the city. The three interior hills, the Palatine, the Aventine, and the Capitoline, were sore impediments to traffic; for no carriages could pass over them, and it may be doubted whether they were even thoroughfares for foot-passengers. The occurrence of a fire or an inundation, or the casual fall of a house, must have choked the circulation of the lifeblood of the city.² The

Interruptions
to traffic.

Paucity of
thoroughfares.

Demolition of
houses. Fires.

¹ Comp., for instance, Hor. *Sat.* ii. 6. 28. :

“Luctandum in turba, faciendæ injuria tardis;”

and Cicero, in the passage so important for the topography of Rome (*pro Plane.* 7.): “Equidem si quando, ut fit, jactor in turba, non illum accuso qui est in summa Sacra Via, cum ego ad Fabium fornicem impellor, sed eum qui in ipsum incurrit et incidit.” Such an illustration would not occur to an English speaker. Comp. Plaut. *Mercat.* i. 1. 8.: “Tres simitu res agendæ sunt . . . et currendum, et pugnandum, et autem jurgandum est in via.” Dezobry *Rome*, i. 218.

² Strabo speaks very strongly of the constant fall and demolition of houses (v. 3. p. 235.): αἱ συμπτώσεις καὶ ἐμπρήσεις καὶ μεταπράσεις, ἀδιόλειπτοι καὶ

first, indeed, and the last of these, were accidents to which every place of human resort is liable ; but the inundations of

Rome were a marked and peculiar feature of her
Inundations. ancient existence. The central quarters of the city were founded in a morass little raised above the ordinary level of the Tiber, a river peculiarly subject to rapid and violent risings. The Romans might complain that, from the configuration of the spot, the masses of water brought down from above were flung from the right bank, where the high grounds descended directly into the stream, and driven with increased violence against the left, just at the point where nature had left an opening into the heart of the city.¹ It might have been easy to maintain a mound or levée on this bank, and curb the overflows at least of ordinary years ; but the seven hills were themselves great attractors of rain, which they cast off from their sides into the pool of the Forum and the trough of the Velabrum, and this discharge it required a stupendous under drainage to convey safely into the river.² When the Tiber was high, the torrents of the sewers, or cloacæ, were of course ponded back, and no ingenuity could prevent the flooding of the lower levels of the city to a depth of several feet. Nor was it in the Forum and Velabrum only that these disastrous effects were produced : the little Aqua Crabra, which descended into the city from the Porta Capena, and was carried beneath the arena of the circus into the Cloaca Maxima, often overspread

αὐται οὖσαι • καὶ γὰρ αἱ μεταπράσεις ἐκούσιοί τινες συμπτώσεις εἰσι, καταβαλόντων καὶ ἀνοικοδομούντων πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἕτερα ἔξ ἑτέρων.

¹ Such is the interpretation sometimes given to the well-known lines of Horace :

“Vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis

Litore Etrusco violenter undis.”

It may be more correct to understand by the litus Etruscum, the coast of the Mediterranean ; but I remember the happy boldness of the Ovidian, “pro ripis litora poscunt,” and am willing to adopt it here.

² Strabo describes the drainage of the city, v. 3. p. 235. : τοσοῦτον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ εἰσαγώγιμον ὕδωρ διὰ τῶν ὑδραγωγείων, ὥστε ποταμοὺς διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ὑπονόμων ῥεῖν. Here occurs his remarkable statement that a waggon loaded with hay could enter the great Cloaca.

the low grounds at the foot of the Cælian Hill, and the grotto of Egeria was sometimes, we may believe, thus converted into an abode more worthy of the water nymph to whom it was dedicated.¹

The efforts made to expand the sides of the Forum, and give more play to the lungs of the great animated machine, were very feeble and imperfect, till Julius Cæsar, and after him Augustus, removed large masses of habitations in this quarter, and threw open to traffic and movement the space thus seasonably acquired. But if the Roman people was ill accommodated in its streets, it might derive compensation in the vast constructions erected for its amusement, the ample walks and gardens devoted to its recreation, and the area which was sedulously preserved for its exercise in the Campus Martius, and the circuses of Romulus and Flaminius. The theatre of Pompeius, the first built of stone for permanent use, was rivalled by that of Balbus, and Augustus dedicated a third to the pleasures of the citizens under the title of the theatre of Marcellus.² From the enormous size of these celebrated edifices, it is clear that the idea of reserving them for dramatic performances hardly entered into the views of their builders. The Roman theatres were an institution very different from ours, where a select audience pay the price of admission to a private spectacle on however large a scale: they were the houses of the Roman people, to which every citizen claimed the right of entrance; for they were given him for his own by their munificent founders, and the

Places of recreation for the citizens.
Parks and gardens.

Theatres.

¹ Cicero describes the effect of a flood in this quarter in a passage of some topographical importance. "Romæ et maxime Appia ad Martis mira proluvia; Crassipedis ambulatio ablata; horti, tabernæ plurimæ; magna vis aquæ asque ad Piscinam publicam." *Ad. Qu. Fr.* iii. 7.

² Ovid, *Trist.* iii. 12.: "Cumque tribus resonant terna theatra foris." The three forums are those of Julius and Augustus, with the Boarium. It is not quite clear what was the construction or what the fate of the theatre of Scaurus. It was adorned with costly pillars of marble, but the walls and seats may have been chiefly of wood; and if it was not pulled down, it must have been destroyed by fire before the erection of the Pompeian a few years later.

performanees which took place in them were provided gratuitously by the magistrates. The first object, therefore, was to seat the greatest number of the people possible; and when that was accomplished, the question followed of how they should be safely and conveniently entertained. An assemblage of 30,000 spectators, gathering excitement from the consciousness of their own multitude, could not sit tamely under the blaze of an Italian sun, tempered only by an awning, in the steam and dust of their own breathing, which streams of perfumed waters were required to allay,¹ to hear the formal dialogue of the ancient tragedy declaimed by human puppets from brass-lipped masques, staggering on the stilted *cothurnus*.² Whatever might be the case with the Greeks, it was impossible, at least for the plainer Romans, so to abstract their imaginations from the ungraceful realities thus placed before them, as to behold in them a symbolic adumbration of the heroic and the divine. For the charms,

Theatrical exhibitions.

however, both of music and dancing, which are also considered pleasures of the imagination, they appear to have had a genuine, though perhaps a rude, taste. Their dramatic representations, accordingly, were mostly conducted in pantomime; this form at least of the drama was that which most flourished among them, and produced men of genius, inventors and creators in their own line. Some of

Pantomime.

the most famous of the mimic actors were themselves Romans; but the ancient prejudice against

¹ These were recent inventions: in simpler times, according to Propertius (iv. 1. 15.):

“Non sinuosa vago pendebant vela theatro;
Pulpita solennes non oluere crocos.”

In the amphitheatres which were too spacious for complete awnings, the spectators were refreshed by the play of jets d'eau, which rose to the full height of the building. Senec. *Nat. Quæst.* ii. 9.

² “Like mice roaring,” to apply an expression of Mrs. F. Kemble’s. I cannot reconcile the use of the mask and buskin with the keen appreciation of the graceful in form ascribed so liberally to the Greeks; nor can I understand how the audiences of Aristophanes could be the same people who gravely witnessed Agamemnon’s shuffle across the stage:—*χαμὰι τιθεῖς τὸν σὸν πόδ’, ὥναξ, ἱλίου πορθήτορα.*

the exercise of histrionic art by citizens was never perhaps wholly overcome. Accordingly Greek names figure more conspicuously than Roman in the roll of actors on the Roman stage; and two of these, Bathyllus and Pylades, divided between them, under the mild autocracy of Augustus, the dearest sympathies and favours of the masters of the world. The rivalry of these two competitors for public applause, or rather of their admirers and adherents, broke out into tumultuous disorders, which engaged at last the interference of the emperor himself. *It is better for your government*, said one of them to him, when required to desist from a professional emulation which imperilled the tranquillity of the city—*it is better that the citizens should quarrel about a Pylades and a Bathyllus than about a Pompeius and a Cæsar.*¹

But whatever claims pantomime might have as a legitimate child of the drama, the Roman stage was invaded by another class of exhibitions, for which no such pretensions could be advanced. The grand pro-^{Spectacles.}portions of the theatre invited more display of scenic effects than could be supplied by the chaste simplicity of the Greek chorus, in which the priests or virgins, whatever their number, presented only so many repetitions of a single type. The finer sentiment of the upper classes was overpowered by the vulgar multitude, who demanded with noisy violence the gratification of their coarse and rude tastes.² Processions swept before their eyes of horses and chariots, of wild and unfamiliar animals; the long show of a triumph wound its way across the stage; the spoils of captured cities, and the figures of the cities themselves were represented in painting or sculpture; the boards were occupied in every interval of more serious entertainment by crowds of rope-dancers, conjurors, boxers, clowns, and posture-makers, men who walked

¹ Dion, liv. 17.; Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 7.

² Hor. *Epist.* ii. 1. 184.:

“Indocti stolidique, et depugnare parati
Si discordet eques, media inter carmina poscunt
Aut ursum aut pugiles,” &c.

on their hands, or stood on their heads, or let themselves be whirled aloft by machinery, or suspended upon wires, or who danced on stilts, or exhibited feats of skill with cups and balls.¹ But these degenerate spectacles were not the lowest degradation to which the theatres were subjected. They were polluted with the grossest indecencies; and the luxury of the stage, as the Romans delicately phrased it, drew down the loudest indignation of the reformers of a later age.² Hitherto at least legislators and moralists had been content with branding with civil infamy the instruments of the people's licentious pleasures; but the pretext even for this was rather the supposed baseness of exhibiting oneself for money, than the iniquity of the performances themselves. The legitimate drama, which was still an exercise of skill among the Romans, was relegated, perhaps, to the smaller theatres of wood, which were erected year by year for temporary use. There were also certain private theatres, in which knights and senators could exercise their genius for singing and acting without incurring the stigma of public representation.

The appetite for grandeur and magnificence, developed so rapidly among the Romans by the pride of opulence and power, was stimulated by the rivalry of the great nobles. The bold and ingenious tribune

The amphitheatres.

¹ The learned Bulenger (*de Theatro*, i. 34, foll. in Græv. *Thes.*) has given a list of the kinds of performers who thus encroached upon the domain of Melpomene and Thalia: "Ingens utique hujusmodi hominum sylva fuit, quorum alii miracula patrarent, Græci vocant *δαιματοποιούς*, Latini præstigiatores, acetabulos, alii per catadromum decurrerent, cernuarent, petauristæ essent, petaminarii, grallatores, phonasci, pantomimi, crotochoraulæ, citharœdi, satyri, lentuli, tibicines, parasiti, atellani, dictiosi, ridiculi, rhapsodi, urbicarii, psaltriæ, sabulones, planipedes, mimi, mastigophori, apinarii, moriones, miriones, santoniones, iambi, salii, musici, poetæ, curiones, præcones, agonarchæ:" all which he proceeds severally to describe.

² This coarseness dated, indeed, from a period of high and honourable feeling. The impurities of the Floralia offended the elder Cato, according to Martial's well-known epigram, i. 1. The same licentiousness continued to please, through a period of six centuries, down to the time of Ausonius, who says,

"Nec non lascivi Floralia leta theatri,
Quæ spectasse volunt qui voluisse negant."

Curio, whose talents found a more fatal arena in the contests of the civil wars, was the first to imagine the form of the double hemicycle, which he executed with an immense wooden structure and a mechanical apparatus, by which two theatres, after doing their legitimate duty to the drama, could be wheeled front to front, and combined into a single amphitheatre for gladiatorial spectacles.¹ There can be no doubt that this extraordinary edifice was adapted to contain many thousands of spectators; and there are few, perhaps, even of our own engineers, who build tubular bridges and suspend acres of iron network over our heads, who would not shrink from the problem of moving the population of a great city on a single pair of pivots.² The amphitheatre of Julius Cæsar in the Campus was of wood also, and this, as well as its predecessors, seems to have been taken down after serving the purpose of the day. It remained for Statilius Taurus, the legate of Augustus, to construct the first edifice of this character in stone, and to bequeath to future ages the original model of the magnificent structures which bear that name, some of which still attest the grandeur of the empire in her provinces; but the most amazing specimen of which, and indeed the noblest existing monument of all ancient architecture, is the glorious Colosseum at Rome. Like most of the splendid buildings of this period, the amphitheatre of Taurus was erected in the Campus Martius, the interior of the city not admitting of the dedication of so large a space to the purpose; though it was rumoured indeed that Augustus had purposed to crown the series of his public works by an edifice

¹ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 24. § 8.: "Theatra juxta fecit amplissima e ligno, cardinum singulorum versatili suspensa libramento, in quibus utrisque antemeridiano ludorum spectaculo edito inter sese aversis, ne invicem obstreperent scenæ, repente circumactis ut contra starent, postremo jam die discedentibus tabulis et cornibus in se coeuntibus, faciebat amphitheatrum, et gladiatorum spectacula edebat, ipsum magis auctoratum populum Romanum circumferens."

² Plin. *l. c.*: "Super omnia erit populi furor, sedere ausa tam infida instabilique sede ecce populus Romanus universus, velut duobus navigiis impositus, binis cardinibus sustinetur."

of this nature, in the centre of his capital.¹ While the amphitheatre, however, was a novel invention, the circus, to which it was in a manner supplementary, was one of the most ancient institutions of the city. The founder himself had convened his subjects in the Murcian valley, beneath his cabin on the Palatine, to celebrate games of riding, hunting, and charioteering. The inclosure in which these shows were annually exhibited was an oblong, curved at the further end, above six hundred yards in length, but comparatively narrow. The seats which ranged round the two larger sides and extremity of this area were originally cut out of the rising ground, and covered with turf: less rude accommodation was afterwards supplied by wooden scaffoldings; but the whole space was eventually surrounded by masonry, and decorated with all the forms and members of Roman architecture.

The arena was adapted for chariot-racing by a partition, a dwarf wall, surmounted with various emblematic devices, which ran along the middle and terminated at either end in goals or ornamented pillars, round which the contending cars were driven a stated number of times. The eye of the spectator, from his position aloft, was carried over this spinal ridge, and he obtained a complete view of the contest, which thus passed and repassed, amidst clouds of dust and roars of sympathizing excitement, before his feet. The Romans had from the first an intense delight in these races; and many of the most graphic passages of their poets describe the ardour of the horses, the emulation of their drivers, and the tumultuous enthusiasm of the spectators.² These contests maintained their interest from the

¹ Suetonius, remarking particularly that the Colosseum, or amphitheatre of Vespasian, was in the centre of the city, tells us that it was erected there in order to carry out a design of Augustus. *Vespas.* 9.

² Most of us have been struck with the spectacle of an audience of three or four thousands in one of our theatres rising simultaneously at the first sound of the national anthem. The Romans were deeply impressed with the grandeur of such a movement, on the very different scale with which they were familiar. *Comp. Stat. Theb.* vi. 448. :—

cradle to the very grave of the Roman people. The circus of Constantinople, under the Greek designation of Hippodrome, was copied from the pattern of the Roman; and the *factions*, which divided the favour of the tribes almost from the beginning of the empire, continued to agitate the city of Theodosius and Justinian. The citizens were never satiated with this spectacle, and could sit without flagging through a hundred heats, which the liberality of the exhibitor sometimes provided for them. But the races were more commonly varied with contests of other kinds. All the varieties of the Greek Pancratium, such as boxing, wrestling, and running, were exhibited in the circus; gladiators fought one another with naked swords, sometimes in single combat, sometimes with opposing bands. The immense size of the arena, unfavourable for the exhibition of the duel, was turned to advantage for the display of multitudes of wild animals, which were let loose in it to be transfixed Exhibition of wild beasts. with spears and arrows. This practice seems to date from the sixth century, when victorious generals first returned to Rome from the far regions of the East, and ingratiated themselves with the populace by exhibiting strange monsters of unknown continents, lions and elephants, giraffes and hippopotami. As in other things, the rivalry of the nobles soon displayed itself in the number of these creatures they produced for massacre; and the favour of the citizens appears to have followed with constancy the champion who treated them with the largest effusion of blood. The circus was too spacious for the eye to gloat on the expression of conflicting passions, and watch the last ebbings of life; but the amphitheatre brought the greatest possible number of spectators within easy distance of the dead and dying, and fostered the passion for the sight of blood, which continued for centuries to vie in interest with the harmless excitement of the race.¹

“Subit astra fragor, cœlumque tremiscit,
Omniaque excusso patuere sedilia vulgo.”

¹ Favourable as the long extent of the circus might have been for the exhibition of pageants and processions, the people, in their eagerness for specta-

The idea of the theatre is representation and illusion, and the stage is, as it were, magic ground, over which the imagination may glance without restraint and wander at will, from *Thebes* to *Athens*, from the present to the past or future. But in the amphitheatre all is reality. The citizen, seated face to face with his fellow-citizens, could not for a moment forget either his country or his times. The spectacles here presented to him made no appeal to the discursive faculties; they brought before his senses, in all the hardness of actuality, the consummation of those efforts of strength, skill, and dexterity in the use of arms, to which much of his own time and thoughts was necessarily directed. The exhibition of gladiatorial combats, which preceded the departure of a general for a foreign campaign, was part of the soldier's training (and every citizen was regarded as a soldier), from which he received the last finish of his education, and was taught to regard wounds and death as the natural incidents of his calling. These were probably the most ancient of the military spectacles. The combats of wild beasts, and of men with beasts, were a corruption of the noble science of war which the gladiatorial contests were supposed to teach; they were a concession to the prurient appetite for excitement, engendered by an indulgence which, however natural in a rude and barbarous age, was actually hardening and degrading. The interest these exercises at first naturally excited degenerated into a mere passion for the sight of death; and as the imagination can never be wholly inactive in the face of the barest realities, the Romans learnt to feast their thoughts on the deepest mystery of humanity, and to pry with insatiate curiosity into the secrets of the last moments of existence: in proportion as they lost their faith in a future life, they became more restlessly inquisitive into the conditions of the present.

The eagerness with which the great mass of the citizens cles of bloodshed, witnessed them here with great impatience. M. Seneca thus closes one of his prefaces: "*Sed jam non sustineo vos morari. Scio quam odiosa res sit circensibus pompa.*" *Controv. i. præf.*

crowded to witness these bloody shows, on every occasion of their exhibition, became one of the most striking features of Roman society, and none of their customs has attracted more of the notice of the ancient writers who profess to describe the manners of their times. By them they are often represented as an idle and frivolous recreation, unworthy of the great nation of kings; nor do we find the excuse officially offered for the combats of gladiators, as a means of cherishing courage and fostering the ruder virtues of antiquity, generally put forward as their apology by private moralists.¹ Men of reflection, who were far themselves from sharing the vulgar delight in these horrid spectacles (and it should be noticed that no Roman author speaks of them with favour, or gloats with interest on their abominations), acquiesced in the belief that it was necessary to amuse the multitude, and was better to gratify them with any indulgence they craved for, than risk the more fearful consequences of thwarting and controlling them. The blood thus shed on the arena was the price they were content to pay for the safety and tranquillity of the realm. In theory, at least, the men who were thus thrust forth to engage the wild beasts were condemned criminals: but it was often necessary to hire volunteers to complete the numbers required; and this seems to prove that the advantage was generally on the side of the human combatant. The gladiators, although their profession might be traced by antiquarians to the combats of armed slaves around the pyre of their

Sentiments of antiquity on these bloody spectacles.

¹ Capitolin. *Max. et Balb.* 8. Cicero (*Tusc.* ii. 17.), even while offering this vindication, cannot help remarking: "Crudele gladiatorium spectaculum nonnullis videri solet; et haud scio an ita sit, ut nunc fit." Compare also his remarks to Marius (*ad Div.* vii. 1.): "quæ potest homini polito esse delectatio quum homo imbecillus a valentissima bestia laniatur," &c. See also a passage to the same effect in Seneca, *de Brev. Vit.* 13., and the preaching of Apollonius at Athens (Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* iv. 22.). Tertullian and Prudentius have some declamations against the exhibition; but far the most interesting passage on the subject is the description in St. Augustine's *Confessions* (vi. 13.) of the youth Alypius yielding against his will to its horrid fascination: "Quid plura? spectavit, clamavit, exarsit," &c.

master, ending in their mutual destruction in his honour, were devoted to no certain death.¹ They were generally slaves purchased for the purpose, but not unfrequently free men tempted by liberal wages; and they were in either case too costly articles to be thrown away with indifference. They were entitled to their discharge after a few years' service, and their profession was regarded in many respects as a public service, conducted under fixed regulations.² Under the emperors, indeed, express laws were required to moderate the ardour even of knights and senators to *descend into the arena*, where they delighted to exhibit their courage and address in the face of danger. Such was the ferocity engendered by the habitual use of arms, so soothing to the swordsman's vanity the consciousness of skill and valour, so stimulating to his pride the thunders of applause from an hundred thousand admirers, that the practice of mortal combat, however unsophisticated nature may blench at its horrors, was actually the source perhaps of more pleasure than pain to these Roman prize-fighters. If the companions of Spartacus revolted and slew their trainers and masters, we may set against this instance of despair and fury the devotion of the gladiators of Antonius, who cut their way through so many obstacles in an effort to succour him. But the effect of such shows on the spectators themselves was wholly evil; for while they utterly failed in supplying the bastard courage for which they were said to be designed, they destroyed the nerve of sympathy for suffering, which distinguishes the human from the brute creation.

The Romans, however, had another popular passion, innocent at least of blood and pain, but perhaps little less pernicious to the moral character, in the excess to which they indulged it, than that which we have just reviewed. This was their universal appetite

Fondness of
the Romans
for the bath.

¹ Servius in *Æneid*. iii. 67. ; Tertull. *de Spectac.* 12.

² Hor. *Epist.* i. 1. 4. :

“Veianius armis

Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro,
Ne populum extrema toties exoret arena.”

for the bath, a refreshment which degenerated, in their immoderate use of it, into an enervating luxury. The houses of the opulent were always furnished with chambers for this purpose; they had their warm and cold baths, as well as their steam apparatus; and the application of oil and perfumes was equally universal among them. From the earliest times there were perhaps places of more general resort, where the plebeian paid a trifling sum for the enjoyment of this luxury; and among other ways of courting popular favour was that of subsidizing the owners of these common baths, and giving the people the free use of them for one or more days. The extent to which Agrippa carried this mode of bribery has been before mentioned. Besides the erection of lesser baths to the number of an hundred and seventy, he was the first to construct public establishments of the kind, or *Thermæ*, in which the citizens might assemble in large numbers, and combine the pleasure of purification with the exercise of gymnastic sports; while at the same time they might be amused by the contemplation of paintings and sculptures, and by listening to song and music. The Roman, however, had his peculiar notion of personal dignity, and it was not without a feeling of uneasiness that he stripped himself in public below the waist, however accustomed he might be to exhibit his chest and shoulders in the performance of his manly exercises.¹ The baths of Mæcenæ and Agrippa remained without rivals for more than one generation, though they were ultimately supplanted by imperial constructions on a far grander scale. In the time of Augustus the resort of women to the public baths was forbidden, if indeed such an indecorum had yet been imagined. At a later period, whatever might be the absence of costume among the men, the women at least were partially covered.² An

The manners
of the baths.

¹ Valerius Maximus (ii. 1. 7.) states as an instance of this modest reserve that, "aliquando nec pater cum filio, nec socer cum genero lavabatur." The dislike of the Romans, at their best period, to be represented by naked statues, has been already noticed.

² Martial, iii. 87. See Walckenaer, *Vie d'Horace*, i. 126.

ingenious writer has remarked on the effect produced on the spirits by the action of air and water upon the naked body. The unusual lightness and coolness, the disembarassment of the limbs, the elasticity of the circulation, combine to stimulate the sensibility of the nervous system. Hence the *Therma* of the great city resounded with the shouts and laughter of the bathers, who, when risen from the water and resigned to the manipulations of the barbers and perfumers, gazed with voluptuous languor on the brilliant decorations of the halls around them, or listened with charmed ears to the singers and musicians, and even to the poets who presumed on their helplessness to recite to them their choicest compositions.¹

Such were the amusements of the great mass of the citizens; and their amusements were now their most serious occupations. But the magnanimous Roman of the caste which once ruled the world, and was still permitted to administer it, continued to be trained on other principles, and was still taught to combine in no unfair proportions attention to business, cultivation of mind, the exercise of the body, and indulgence in social relaxations. Bred up in the traditions of an antique education, these men could not soon be reduced, under any change of government, to become mere loungers and triflers. Augustus at least had no such aim or desire; on the contrary, he was anxious to employ all men of rank and breeding in practical business, while at the same time he proposed to them his own example as a follower both of the Muses and the Graces. The Roman noble rose ordinarily at daybreak, and received at his levée the crowd of clients and retainers who had thronged his doorstep from the hours of darkness.² A few words of greeting were expected on either side, and then, as the sun mounted the eastern sky, he descended from his elevated mansion into

¹ Two of the most interesting passages on the manners of the baths are Senec. *Ep.* 56., and Petron. *Satyr.* 73. See Walckenaer, *l. c.*

² For the disposal of the Roman's day see particularly Martial, iv. 8.: "Prima salutantes atque altera continet hora," &c. Comp. the younger Pliny's account of his uncle's day. *Epist.* iii. 5.; cf. iii. 1.

the Forum.¹ He might walk surrounded by the still lingering crowd, or he might be carried in a litter; but to ride in a wheeled vehicle on such occasions was no Roman fashion.² Once arrived in the Forum he was quickly immersed in the business of the day. He presided as a judge in one of the basilicas, or he appeared himself before the judges as an advocate, a witness, or a suitor. He transacted his private affairs with his banker or notary; he perused the Public Journal of yesterday, and inquired how his friend's cause had sped before the tribunal of the prætor. At every step he crossed the path of some of the notables of his own class, and the news of the day and interests of the hour were discussed between them with dignified politeness.

Such were the morning occupations of a *dies fastus*, or working day: the holy-day had its appropriate occupation in attendance on the temple services, in offering prayers for the safety of the emperor and people, in sprinkling frankincense on the altar, and, on occasions of special devotion, appeasing the gods with a sacrifice. But all transactions of business, secular or *divine*, ceased at once when the voice of the herald on the steps of the Hostilian Curia proclaimed that the shadow of the sun had passed the line on the pavement before him, which marked the hour of midday.³ Every door

¹ The phrases, *descendere in forum* or *in campum* (so Hor. iii. 1., "Descendit in campum petitor"), refer to the comparative level of the noble mansion on the hill, and the public places in the valley or plain. Champagny, *Césars*, ii. 256.

² The Romans rode in carriages on a journey, but rarely for amusement, and never within the city. Even beyond the walls it was considered disreputable to hold the reins oneself, such being the occupation of the slave or hired driver. Juvenal ranks the consul, who creeps out at night to drive his own chariot, with the most degraded of characters: that he should venture to drive by daylight, while still in office, is an excess of turpitude transcending the imagination of the most sarcastic painter of manners as they were. And this was a hundred years later than the age of Augustus. See Juvenal, viii. 145. foll.

³ I allude to the passage, well known to the topographers, in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 60.: "Meridies . . . accenso consulum id pronuntiante, quum a curia inter rostra et Græcostasim prospexisset solem." The reader will ob

was now closed; every citizen, at least in summer, plunged into the dark recess of his sleeping chamber for the enjoyment of his meridian slumber. The midday siesta generally terminated the affairs of the day, and every man was now released from duty and free to devote himself, on rising again, to relaxation or amusement till the return of night. If the senate had been used sometimes to prolong or renew its sittings, there was a rule that after the tenth hour, or four o'clock, no new business could be brought before it, and we are told of Asinius Pollio that he would not even open a letter after that hour.¹ Meanwhile Rome had awakened to amusements and recreation, and the grave man of business had his amusements as well as the idler of the Forum. The exercises of the Field of Mars were the relaxation of the soldiers of the republic; and when the urban popu-

lace had withdrawn from military service, the traditions of the Campus were still cherished by the upper ranks, and the practice of its nimic war confined, perhaps, exclusively to them. The swimming, running, riding, and javelin-throwing of this public ground became under the emperors a fashion of the nobility:² the populace had no taste for such labours, and witnessed with some surprise the toils to which men voluntarily devoted themselves, who possessed slaves to relieve them from the most ordinary exertions. But the young competitors in these athletic contests were not without a throng of spectators: the porticos which bordered the field were crowded with the elder people and the women, who shunned the heat of the declining sun: many a private dwelling looked upon it from the opposite side of the river, which was esteemed on that account a desirable place of residence. Augustus had pro-

serve that this refers in strictness to an earlier period, and that the Curia Hostilia was destroyed in the year 52 B. C.

¹ Senec. *de Tranq. Anim.* 15.: "Quidam nullum non diem inter et otium et curas dividebant; qualem Pollionem Asinium, oratorem magnum, meminimus, quem nulla res ultra decimam retinuit; ne epistolas quidem post eam horam legebat, ne quid novæ curæ nasceretur."

² See for the exercises of the Campus, Hor. *Od.* i. 13., *Art. Poet.* 379.

mised his favour to every revival of the gallant customs of antiquity, and all the Roman world that lived in his smiles hastened to the scene of these antique amusements to gratify the emperor, if not to amuse themselves.¹

The ancients, it was said, had made a choice of the Field of Mars for the scene of their mimic warfare for the convenience of the stream of the Tiber, in which the wearied combatants might wash off the sweat and dust, and return to their companions in the glow of recruited health and vigour.² But the youth of Rome in more refined days were not satisfied with these genial ablutions. They resorted to warm and vapour baths, to the use of perfumes and cosmetics, to enhance the luxury of refreshment; and sought by various exquisite devices to stimulate the appetite for the banquet which crowned the evening. The cœna or supper of the Romans deserves to be described as a national institution: it had from the first its prescriptions and traditions, its laws and usages; it was sanctified by religious observances, and its whole system of etiquette was held as binding as if it had had a religious significance.³ Under the

The evening :
the supper.

¹ Horace knew how to please his patron by frequent allusions to the exercises of the Campus. It is probable that they declined in interest at a subsequent period, and the mention of them becomes comparatively rare. But they still constituted a part of the ordinary occupation of the day in the second century of the empire (Martial, ii. 14. iv. 8.), and were not disused in the third. Trebell. Poll. *Claud.* 13.: "Fecerat hoc adolescens in militia quum ludicro Martiali in campo luctamen inter fortissimos quosque celebraret."

² Veget. *de Re Milit.* i. 10. What life and spirit this gives to Virgil's lines at the end of the ninth book of the *Æneid*:

"Tum toto corpore sudor
Liquitur, et piceum, nec respirare potestas,
Flumen agit; fessos quatit æger anhelitus artus:
Tum demum præceps saltu sese omnibus armis
In fluvium dedit: ille suo cum gurgite flavo
Accepit venientem, ac mollibus extulit undis,
Et lætum sociis abluta cæde remisit."

³ Hor. *Sat.* ii. 6. 66.:

"Ante Larem proprium vescor, vernasque loquaces
Pasco libatis dapibus."

Comp. Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 631.

protection of the gods to whom they poured their libations, friends met together for the recreation equally of mind and body. If the conversation flagged it was relieved by the aid of minstrels, who recited the famous deeds of the national heroes :¹ but in the best days of the republic the guests of the noble Roman were men of speech not less than of deeds, men consummately trained in all the knowledge of their times ; and we may imagine there was more room to fear lest their converse should degenerate into the argumentative and didactic than languish from the want of matter or interest. It is probable, however, that the table-talk of the higher classes at Rome was peculiarly terse and epigrammatic. Many specimens have been preserved to us of the dry sententious style which they seem to have cultivated : their remarks on life and manners were commonly conveyed in solemn or caustic aphorisms, and they condemned as undignified and Greekish any superfluous abundance of words. The graceful and flowing conversations of Cicero's dialogues were imitated from Athenian writings, rather than drawn after the types of actual life around him. *People at supper*, said Varro, himself not the least sententious of his nation, *should neither be loquacious nor mute ; eloquence is for the forum, silence for the bedchamber.*² Another rule of the same master of etiquette, that the number of the guests should not exceed nine, the number of the Muses, nor fall short of three, the number of the Graces, was dictated by a sense of the proprieties of the Roman banquet, which the love of ostentation and pride of wealth were now constantly violating. Luxury and the appetite for excitement were engaged in multiplying occasions of more than ordinary festivity, on which the most rigid of the sumptuary laws allowed a wider license to the expenses of the table. On such high days the number of the guests was limited neither by law nor custom : the entertainer, the master or father, as he was called, of the supper, was required to abdicate the ordinary functions of host, and, according to

¹ Cic. *Tusc.* i. 2., iv. 2. ; Nonius, in *Assa voce* ; Val. Max. ii. 1. 10.

² Varro, quoted by A. Gellius, xiii. 11.

the Greek custom, *a king of the wine* or *arbiter of drinking*, was chosen from among themselves by lot, or for his convivial qualities, by the Bacchanalian crew around him.¹

Our own more polished but not unmanly taste must look with amazement and even disgust at the convivial excesses of the Romans at this period, such as they have themselves represented them. Their luxury was a coarse and low imitation of Greek voluptuousness; and for nothing perhaps did the Greeks more despise their rude conquerors than for the manifest failure of their attempts at imitating the vices of their betters. The Romans vied with one another in the cost rather than the elegance of their banquets, and accumulated with absurd pride the rarest and most expensive viands on their boards, to excite the admiration of their parasites, not to gratify their palates. Cleopatra's famous conceit, in dissolving the pearl in vinegar, may have been the fine satire of an elegant Grecian on the tasteless extravagance of her barbarian lover. Antonius, indeed, though he degraded himself to the manners of a gladiator, was a man of noble birth, and might have imbibed purer tastes at the tables of the men of his own class; but the establishment of the imperial régime thrust into the high places of society a number of low-born upstarts, the sons of the speculators and contractors of the preceding generation, who knew not how to dispense with grace the unbounded wealth amassed by their sires.² Augustus would fain have restrained these excesses, which shamed the dignified reserve he wished to characterize his court: he strove by counsel and example, as well as by formal enactments, to train his people in the simpler tastes of the olden time, refined but not

Coarseness of
the luxury of
the Roman
table.

¹ Cicero, *de Senect.* 14.: "Me vero magisteria delectant a majoribus instituta." This refers, I conceive, to the legitimate ordering of the feast by the host himself: the "*pater cœnæ*" (Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8. 7.). The Thaliarchus, or, as the Romans styled him, "*Rex vini*," represented a Greek innovation.

² Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 55.) refers to the "*luxus mensæ a fine Actiaci belli . . . per C annos profusis sumptibus exerciti.*"

yet enervated by the infusion of Hellenic culture.¹ His laws, indeed, shared the fate of the sumptuary regulations of his predecessors, and soon passed from neglect into oblivion. His example was too austere, perhaps, to be generally followed even by the most sedulous of his own courtiers. He ate but little, and was content with the simplest fare: his bread was of the second quality, at a time when the best was far less fine than ours;² and he was satisfied with dining on a few small fishes, curds or cheese, figs and dates, taken at any hour when he had an appetite rather than at regular and formal meals. He was careful, however, to keep a moderately furnished table for his associates, at which he commonly appeared himself, though, as has been before remarked, he was often the last to arrive, and the first to retire from it.³

The ordinary arrangement of a Roman supper consisted of three low couches, on three sides of a low table, at which the attendant slaves could minister without incommoding the recumbent guests. Upon each couch three persons reclined, a mode which had been introduced from Greece, where it had been in use for centuries, though not from the heroic times. The Egyptians and Persians sate at meat; so till the Greeks corrupted them did also the Jews: the poetical traditions of Hellas represented the gods as sitting at their celestial banquets. The Macedonians also, down to the time of Alexander, are said to have adopted the more ordinary practice; and such was the custom at Rome till a late period.⁴ When the men first allowed

¹ The *leges* *Julie* allowed 200 sesterces for a repast on ordinary days, 300 on holidays, 1000 for special occasions, such as a wedding, &c. *Gell.* ii. 24.

² De la Malle, in his work often cited, has some elaborate calculations of the comparative loss of nourishment in a given weight of flour from the imperfect grinding of the Romans.

³ *Suet. Oct.* 74. 76.

⁴ The primitive Romans sate at meals. *Serv. in Æn.* vii. 176. Afterwards men reclined, boys and women sate; finally women reclined also. *Val. Max.* ii. 1, 2. Homer represents his heroes as sitting; and such was the posture of the gods of Olympus. *Catull.* lxiv. 304.: "Qui postquam niveos flexerunt sedibus artus."

themselves the indulgence of reclining, they required boys and women to maintain an erect posture, from notions of delicacy; but in the time of Augustus no such distinction was observed, and the inferiority of the weaker sex was only marked by setting them together on one of the side couches, the place of honour being always in the centre. Reclined on stuffed and cushioned sofas, leaning on the left elbow, the neck and right arm bare, and his sandals removed, the Roman abandoned himself, after the exhaustion of the palaestra and the bath, to all the luxury of languor. His slaves relieved him from every effort, however trifling:¹ they carved for him, filled his cup for him, supplied every dish for him with such fragmentary viands as he could raise to his mouth with his fingers only, and poured water on his hands at every remove.² Men of genius and learning might amuse themselves with conversation only; those to whom this resource was insufficient had other means of entertainment to resort to. Music and dancing were performed before them; actors and clowns exhibited in their presence; dwarfs and hunchbacks were introduced to make sport for them; Augustus himself sometimes escaped from these levities by playing at dice between the courses; but the stale wit and practical humour, with which in many houses the banquet seems to have been seasoned, give us a lower idea of the manners of Roman gentle-

¹ The structor or carver was an important officer at the sideboard. Carving was even taught as an art, which, as the ancients had no forks (*χειρονομᾶν*, to manipulate, was the Greek term for it), must have required grace as well as dexterity. Moreau de Jonnès observes, with some reason, that the invention of the fork, apparently so simple, deserves to be considered difficult and recondite. The Chinese, with their ancient and elaborate civilization, have failed to attain to it. "Cinquante siècles ne leur ont pas permis d'imaginer l'usage des fourchettes." *Statist. des anciens Peuples*, p. 506.

² For some of the most extravagant refinements of the luxury of the table see Martial, iii. 82.:

"Stat exoletus suggeritque ructanti
 Pinnae rubentes cuspidesque lentisci. . . .
 Percurrit agili corpus arte tractatrix,
 Manumque doctam spargit omnibus membris. . . ."

men than any perhaps of these trifling pastimes.¹ The vulgarity, however, of the revellers of Rome was less shocking than their indecency, and nothing perhaps contributed more to break down the sense of dignity and self-respect, the last safeguard of Pagan virtue, than the easy familiarity engendered by their attitude at meals.

Some persons, indeed, men no doubt of peculiar assurance and conceit, ventured to startle the voluptuous languor of the supper-table by repeating their own compositions to the captive guests.² But for the most part the last sentiments of expiring liberty revolted against this odious oppression. The Romans compounded for the inviolate sanctity of their convivial hours by surrendering to the inevitable enemy a solid portion of the day. They resigned themselves to the task of listening as a part of the business of the morning. The custom of recitation is said to have been introduced by Asinius Pollio, the prince, at this period, of Roman literature.³ It was in fact a practice of somewhat older date; the influence, however, of so distinguished a patron may have brought it more into fashion, and established it as a permanent institution. The rich and noble author could easily secure himself an audience by merely throwing wide his doors, and he was hardly less secure of their acclamations; but when the usage descended to the inferior herd of literature, who were obliged to hire rooms to receive the guests they summoned, it was far more difficult to attract flattering or even courteous listeners.⁴ Such, however, was

¹ Suet. *Oct.* 77.; Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 4. Horace's wit is exquisite, but it must be allowed that his convivial humour is intolerable. The silliness of his butt Nasidienus is far less odious than the vulgarity of his genteel associates. Comp. the supper, *Sat.* ii. 8., and the festive scenes in the journey to Brundisium, *Sat.* i. 5.

² Cic. *ad Att.* xvi. 2. in fin.

³ M. Seneca, *Controv.* iv. proœm.

⁴ Plin. *Epist.* viii. 12.; Juvenal, vii. 40.; Tac. *de Orator.* 9.: "Quorum exitus hic est, ut . . . rogari ultro et ambire cogatur, ut sint qui dignentur audire: et ne id quidem gratis; nam et domum mutuatur et auditorium exstruit et subsellia conducit et libellos dispergit," &c.

the influence of the mode, that even under these discouragements the practice seems to have maintained its ground ; attendance on these solemn occasions, whatever natural jeers or murmurs they excited, was esteemed a social duty, and among other habits of higher importance, though always evil spoken of, it was still faithfully observed. Much, indeed, of the best poetry of the day was thus recited as an experiment on the taste of the town ; and the practice served in some degree the purpose of our literary reviews, in pointing out the works which deserved to be purchased and perused. But it owed its popularity still more, perhaps, to the national love of acting and declamation ; and while few of the company might care to listen to the reciter's language, all intently observed his gestures and the studied modulations of his voice. It was the glory of the author to throw his audience into a fever of excitement, till they screamed and gesticulated themselves in turn, and almost overwhelmed the blushing declaimer with the vehement demonstration of their applause.¹ The tendency of such a system to stimulate false taste and discountenance modest merit may easily be imagined. In the age of Augustus the evil had not reached its highest point. Horace, who describes himself as weakly in voice and limb, and devoid of personal graces, might shrink from the ordeal of recitation from a consciousness of these deficiencies rather than from greater delicacy of taste ; but his calm and judicious style of composition was not the less honourably appreciated for the want of these spurious recommendations.² At a later period the ear of the public was accessible perhaps by no other means.

The Romans, it will be observed, were not a people of readers ; the invention of printing would have been thrown away upon them ; or rather, had

Habits of
declamation.

Hor. *Art. Poet.* 428. : "Pulchre, bene, recte !" Pers. i. 49. ; Juvenal, vi. 582. ; Martial, i. 77. : "At circum pulpita nostra Et steriles cathedras basia sola crepant."

² Hor. *Sat.* i. 4. 22. : "Cum mea nemo Scripta legat vulgo recitare timetis." Comp. *Epist.* i. 19. 39.

they had a strong appetency for reading, they would undoubtedly have discovered the means (on the verge of which they arrived from more sides than one) of abridging the labour of copying, and diminishing the cost of books.¹ But to hear recitation with its kindred accompaniment of action, of which they were earnest and critical admirers, was to them a genuine delight. Nor were they content with being merely hearers. With the buoyant spirits and healthy enjoyment of children, the Romans seem to have derived pleasure, akin to that of children, in the free exercise of their voice and lungs. If the Greeks were great talkers, the Romans were eminently a nation of speakers. Their earliest education was directed to conning and repeating old saws and legends; such as the laws of the twelve tables, the national ballads, and rhythmical histories; and from their tender years they were trained to the practice of debate and declamation. Rhetoric was taught them by technical rules, and reduced, indeed, to so formal a system, that children of twelve years, or even under, could come forward and deliver set harangues on the most solemn of public occasions. Julius Cæsar pronounced the funeral oration of his aunt in his twelfth year; nor was Augustus older when he performed a similar feat. But, in fact, such *tours de force* were merely school exercises; the form, the turns of thoughts, the cadences, everything but the actual words was modelled to a pattern, allowing neither opportunity for genius, nor risk of failure. Under the free state these scholastic prologues were soon exchanged for the genuine warfare of the forum or the tribunals. The ever-varying demands of those mighty arenas on the talents and resources of the noble Roman required incessant study, and compelled the orator to devote every leis-

¹ The figures on the tesserae or tablets of admission to the theatres were undoubtedly stamped, and there is considerable reason to believe that a method had been discovered of taking off copies of a drawing or painting. See Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 2.: "M. Varro benignissimo invento . . . non passus interciedere figuras . . . in omnes terras misit ut præsentessent ubique . . ."

ure hour to the toils of practice and preparation. Augustus never allowed a day to pass without reserving an hour for declamation, to keep his lungs in regular exercise, and maintain the armoury of dialectics furbished for ready use. Yet the speeches of Augustus were not discussions or contests, but merely proclamations of his policy. With the firmer application of a central authority to control the vices of the magistrates, and check the ebullitions of party violence, the occupation of his contemporary orators was lost.¹ The age of the first princeps was perhaps the period of the lowest decline of Roman eloquence; it rose again, as we shall see, to a state of feverish activity under the reign of his successors, when the favour of the emperor might be secured by ardour in denouncing crimes against his honour and safety. The law of Treason evoked a more copious stream of rhetoric than those of Violence and Rapine. Nevertheless, the want of worthy subjects for their powers seems to have availed little in checking the passion for oratorical distinction among the young declaimers of the schools. After Augustus had *pacified eloquence along with all things else*, the mature orators of the falling republic, such as Pollio and Messala, had retired with suppressed indignation from the rostra, and disdained to degrade their talent by exercising it in false and frivolous declamation.² But the rising generation, to whom the fresh air of liberty was unknown, had no such honourable scruples. The practice of the art in private, by which Cicero and his rivals had kept the edge of their weapons keen for the en-

¹ The 37th chapter of the treatise *De Oratoribus* is an eloquent exposition of this thesis: "Quæ mala sicut non accidere melius est, isque optimus civitatis status habendus est quo nihil tale patimur; ita, quum acciderent, ingentem eloquentiæ materiam subministrabant." In the next chapter the author adduces as a further cause of the decline of eloquence, the limitation of time, first imposed on the orators by Pompeius. That such a limitation, once imposed, should never have been removed again, seems to show that it must have had great practical advantages.

² Tacitus, *de Orator.* 38.: "Postquam longa temporum quies et continuum populi otium et assidua senatus tranquillitas et maximi principis disciplina ipsam quoque eloquentiam, sicut omnia alia, pacaverat."

counters of the forum, became, under the new régime, an end, and not a means. The counterfeit or shadow was adopted for the substance of oratory. The schools of the rhetoricians, who professed instruction in eloquence, were more frequented than the forum, the senate-house, and the tribunals. They became the resort, not of learners merely, but of amateur practitioners; and the verdict of the select audience they entertained was more highly prized than the suffrage of the judges, or the applause of the populace. Around this new centre of exertion, traditions of its own began speedily to gather. It had its examples and authorities, its dictators and legislators, men whose maxims became axioms, and whose sayings were remembered, quoted, imitated, and pointed afresh by each succeeding generation. It had a manner and almost a language of its own. One declaimer was reprovèd for addressing the mixed assemblage of a public place in the style reserved for the initiated of the School;¹ another, when called upon to plead in the open air, lost his presence of mind, committed a solecism in his first sentence, and called in his dismay for the close walls, the familiar benches, and the select auditory before which alone he was fluent and self-possessed.²

What then was this declamation, which for the space of an hundred years from the battle of Actium was the most really active and flourishing of all intellectual exercises at Rome? We happen to possess a great collection of its remains, preserved to us by one who was perhaps the most renowned professor of the art; a man who rose in some respects superior to its trivialities, and lived to perceive its fatal tendency, and lament its degeneracy. M. Annæus Seneca, the father of the celebrated philosopher, and generally distinguished from him by

The schools of
the rhetori-
cians.

M. Annæus
Seneca, the
rhetorician.

¹ M. Senec. præf. *Controv.* v.: "Nihil indecentius quam ubi scholasticus forum, quod non novit, imitatur."

² M. Senec. præf. *Controv.* iv.: "Nec ante potuisse confirmari tectum ac parietes desiderantem quam impetravit ut iudicium ex foro in basilicam transferretur."

the title of the Rhetorician, after giving instruction in Rome, whither he had repaired, at the close of the civil wars, from Spain, for more than half a century, was induced, in extreme old age, to put on record for his sons the wittiest and finest sayings of the declaimers of his own best days, which had fallen under the principate of Augustus.¹ He divides into the two classes of Suasives and Controversies the subjects of their scholastic exercises. The first are quasi-historical; as, whether Alexander should have launched on the ocean; whether Cicero should have burnt his Philippics: the second refer to debateable points in ethics or casuistry, ingeniously intricate, and perversely indeterminable; points on which the cleverest things that can be said prove only how much better it were to be silent.² On all these subjects the compiler has cited entirely, as he says, from memory a multitude of subtle and sparkling sentiments from the most illustrious wits of the period; while in his prefaces he marks with strong and rapid touches the literary characters of a large company of declaimers. In these pages Porcius Latro, Albucius Silo, Arellius Fuscus, Cestius, Gallio, Montanus, and many others have each their distinct individuality; and the anecdotes related of them are often piquant in themselves, as well as historically curious.³ The fashion of epigram and antithesis, which

¹ M. Seneca, or Seneca Rhetor, was a native of Corduba in Spain, and born about the close of the seventh century of the city. He came to Rome at the termination of the civil wars, and became a fashionable teacher of rhetoric. He wrote also a history of his own times, of which only two short fragments have been recovered. Towards the end of his life, which was protracted into the reign of Caius Caligula, he addressed to his three sons, Lucius Seneca, Lucius Mela, and M. Novatus, the compilation on rhetoric which is now extant. If his declaration that it is made from memory is accurate, the work is a very extraordinary one. He gives other portentous instances of his powers in this respect. See præf. *Controv.* i. The remains of Seneca Rhetor are well analysed by Egger. *Historiens d'Auguste*, ch. iv.

² Champagny (*Césars*, i. 212. foll.) has painted the schools of the declaimers with great force and brilliancy.

³ Thus, for instance, it is interesting at least to learn that Ovid's fine saying, "Arma viri fortis medios mittantur in hostes," &c., was taken from a declamation of Latro. There is also an amusing story of the poet's friends ask-

these rhetoricians introduced, was more fatal to truth and justness of sentiment than even the florid exuberance of Cicero and his imitators. The habit of estimating logical arguments by the accessories of style alone soon leapt from the schools to the tribunals. The noblest of the Romans, accused of plunder or extortion in the provinces, and assailed with virulent licence of tongue as a thief or brigand, could reply, not by refuting the charges with evidence or reason, but by curiously poisoning them in a balance of antitheses, and receive, if not his acquittal, that which perhaps for the moment he valued higher, the admiration and applause of his judges.¹

A glimpse of this curious fragment of Roman literary life may leave a feeling of wonder, not unmixed with pity, at the exuberance of animal spirits fostered by the training of the Campus and Palæstra, which found a vent, in the silence imposed on serious and sober thought, in vociferating conceits and puerilities with all the force of the lungs, and the by-play of attitudes and gestures. If the subject of the debate was merely moonshine, if its *schemes* and *colours* and *sentences* were in a great degree conventional, yet the manner, the movements, the arrangement of the dress, the management of the voice, all these came more and more to take the place of real meaning and purpose, and were subjected themselves to rule and rigid censure. The hair was to be sedulously coiled; directions were given for the conduct of the handkerchief; the steps in ad-

Conventional
rules for the
declaimers.

ing leave to select three of his lines to be expunged, and his consenting, on condition that he might also select three to retain. The lines, on being produced, were found to be *the same*. Two of them are mentioned: "Semi-bovemque virum, semivirumque bovem," was one: "Egelidum Borean, egelidumque Noton," another. I think Ovid was right. It is added; "Aiebat interim decentiorem faciem esse in qua aliquis nævus esset." I am inclined to agree with him again. The saying is very characteristic. For historical anecdotes I may refer to those about Cicero, Cremutius Cordus, and other celebrated personages.

¹ Persius, i. 85.: "Fur es, ait Pedio; Pedius quid? crimina rasis

Librat in antithetis; doctas posuisse figuras
Laudatur."

vance or retreat, to the right hand or to the left, which the orator might safely take were numbered. He was to rest so many instants only on each foot alternately, to advance one so many inches only before the other ; the elbow must not be raised above a certain angle ; the fingers should be set off with rings, but not too many, nor too large ; and in elevating the hand to exhibit them, he must be careful not to disarrange his head-dress. Every emotion had its prescribed index in the gesture appropriated to it. The audience of scholars and amateurs who crowded to these private theatricals, applauded with intense enthusiasm not the passion nor even the conceit so much as the correctness of the pantomime. From the schools all these conventions were transferred to the tribunals ; and a century after Augustus, a judicious professor of the art of speaking could devote several pages of his elaborate treatise on the Institution of an Orator to the discussion of these and many other points of etiquette in dress, manners, and attitude.¹

The pernicious effects of this solemn trifling seem to have perverted the moral sense of the Romans more speedily than even their literary style. Itself the creation in part of an era of hollow pretensions, it reacted still more powerfully upon it, and produced the tone of insincerity which pervades the monuments of its mind and intellect. Yet it was long before it affected that justness of thought, that purity of taste, and that accuracy of diction which distinguished the compositions of the Augustan age ; and it must be remembered that the declaimers themselves, of whom mention has been made, were of the same generation as the men who could cheer with correct discrimination a Livy, a Virgil, and a Horace. Seneca himself was not unconscious of the meanness of his art, and contrived to keep his language but little corrupted by the conceits with which he

General purity
and terseness
of style in the
Augustan
writers.

¹ Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* xi. 3. His examples are in a great measure derived from the usage of Cicero, and even Demosthenes ; and it must be admitted that the physical accessories of oratory were studied with a care which was not altogether superfluous in the best ages of Greek and Roman eloquence.

burdened his memory. The purest master of Latin prose we possess, the illustrious Titus Livius, was himself a frequenter of the schools, and, perhaps, even a professor of rhetoric.¹ If his style escaped the contagion of such evil influences, if his judgment and fancy retained their well-adjusted balance, he may still have lost in that baneful atmosphere the clear perceptions of truth and candour, and the abiding sense of moral obligation, which should hold sleepless vigil round the desk of the historian. Devoid of these, the passion for liberty is as rank a perverter of justice as the meanest servility: the truth of history was sacrificed as much by the few indomitable spirits who still thundered against tyranny, as by the supple flatterers who painted the tyrant in the colours of a patriot and demigod. If we possessed the Annals of the surly republican Labienus, we should doubtless find them no more to be relied on than the panegyric biographies of the courtier Nicolaus. It is mentioned as a proof of the freedom with which Labienus had lashed the crimes of the great and powerful, that in reciting to his friends, he would sometimes roll up whole paragraphs of the volume, saying, *What I now pass over will be read after my death.*² But the man who writes, under such circumstances, for posterity what he dares not divulge to his contemporaries, subjects himself to a temptation to gratify malice by calumny, which few can withstand, and which none should venture to disregard.

It was in the schools, we may believe, that Livy learnt that indifference to historical accuracy, that sacrifice of the substance to the form of truth, which has cast a shade over the lustre of his immortal work. As

Character of
Livy's history.

¹ This may be inferred, perhaps, from comparing Senec. *Epist.* 100.—“Scripsit enim et dialogos, quos non magis philosophiæ annumerare possis quam historiæ, et ex professo philosophiam continentes libros”—with Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* viii. 2. 18., x. 1. 39., and Suet. *Claud.* 41.

² M. Senec. præf. *Controv.* v.: “Memini aliquando cum recitaret historiam magnam partem convolvisse et dixisse, hæc quæ transeo post mortem meam legentur.” His books were burnt by a decree of the senate. Cassius Severus said: “Nunc me vivum uri oportet, qui illos edidici.”

a friend of the ancient oligarchy, and an aristocrat in prejudices and temper, he would scarcely have carried his Roman history down to his own times, had he not submitted to veil his real sentiments, and made his book such as Augustus himself might sanction for the perusal of his subjects. The emperor, indeed, is said to have called him a Pompeian, and to have complained of the colours in which he portrayed the men of the opposite side ; but this could only have been in jest : the favour in which he was held by the courtiers of the empire, and his being suffered to assist the studies of Claudius Germanicus, show that he was not seriously regarded as a disaffected politician.¹ The scorn which Livy heaps on the tribunes and demagogues, and his ignorant contempt for the Plebs, evince the leaning of his mind to the side of the nobility. But these are obviously the views of the rhetorician rather than of the historian ; and Augustus, tribune and demagogue as he was, could distinguish between the hollow commonplaces of a perverted education and the stern judgment of genuine conviction. The loss of the latter portions of this extensive work must be deplored for the number of facts it has swept into oblivion ; but the facts would have been valuable rather from the inferences modern science might deduce from them, than from the light in which the author would himself have placed them. Livy, taking the pen in middle life, and continuing to pour forth his volumes in interminable succession, perhaps to the end of his long career,—for born in the year 695, he died in 771,—left it still apparently unfinished, at the close of his hundred and forty-second book, and with the demise of Drusus Germanicus.² It

¹ Tac. *Ann.* iv. 34. ; Suet. *Claud.* 41. Nevertheless, in the preface to his work, Livy alludes with deep feeling to the misery of the times he had witnessed ; and his presentiment of national decline—"Hæc tempora quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus"—must have been highly unpalatable to the reigning powers.

² Niebuhr's remarks on the dates of Livy's history (*Rom. Hist.* iv.) may be compared with the more common view given in Smith's Dictionary and elsewhere. I think the beginning of the work must be placed in 725—730 ; but adopting the idea that it was originally divided into decades, the fact, now

may be conjectured that the latter portions of the work were overtaken by the garrulity of old age, and were suffered to fall into oblivion from their want of political or literary value.¹

It is in the earlier books, however, that the spirit of Livy found its most congenial sphere; the first and third decades, containing the early history of the kings and consuls, and again the grand epic of the war with Hannibal, have always retained their pre-eminence

The service
Livy perform-
ed for his coun-
trymen.

in general esteem as the noblest specimens of narration. The greatest minds of Rome at this period seem to have kindled with inspiration from the genius of the founder of the empire; and of these Livy at least appears to have conceived unconsciously the idea of attaching his countrymen to the early records of their city, by encircling it with a halo of poetical associations. The imagination of the Romans of that age was inflamed by the conservative reaction which sought to bridge the chaos of the last century, and revive the sense of national continuity. The thanks the race of Romulus owed to Livy, for making them acquainted with their ancestors and proud of their descent, were akin to those which Englishmen acknowledge to the historical dramas of Shakespeare. He took the dry chronicles, in which alone their first affairs were written, drew forth from them the poetic life of half-forgotten traditions, and clothed it again in forms of ideal beauty. His narrative, glowing in all the colours of imagina-

demonstrated, that it reached to a 142nd book, seems to show that it was not left complete according to the author's intentions. It is also well remarked that the death of Drusus does not furnish a point of sufficient importance for the termination of the great epic of Roman history. This view is supported by the interesting statement of Pliny, that in one of his latter books Livy had declared: "Satis jam sibi gloriæ quæsitum: et potuisse se desinere, nisi animus inquires pasceretur opere." Plin. *Hist. Nat.* præf. A period of more than forty years thus devoted to the elaboration of a single work is not unparalleled. Froissart was engaged forty years upon his Chronicles.

¹ We have sustained undoubtedly a great loss in the characters of the chief men of later Roman history, such as Livy so frequently inserted into his narrative, and of which we have one fine example in the fragment on the death of Cicero. The ancients declared him, "Candidissimus magnorum ingeniorum æstimator." M. Senec. *Suasor.* 7.

tion and fancy, is just as faithful to its authorities as the dramatized histories of the English bard to theirs; indeed, the myths of Romulus and Tarquin cannot lie farther from the truth of facts than the tragedies of Lear and Cymbeline: and when he begins to tread the domain of sober history, his painted Hannibals and Scipios approach as nearly to the men themselves as the Richards and Henrys of our own mighty master. The charms of Livy's style befitted the happy conjunction of circumstances under which he wrote, and combined with it to give him that pre-eminence among Roman historians which he never afterwards lost. The events and characters of deepest interest became immutably fixed in the lines in which he had represented them. Henceforth every Roman received from Livy his first impressions of his country's career, which thus became graven for ever in the mind of the nation. It was in vain that the inaccuracy of these relations, and in many cases their direct falsehood, were pointed out by the votaries of truth, or by jealous and unsuccessful rivals; henceforth it was treason to the majesty of Rome to doubt that Porsena was driven in confusion from her walls, or that the spoils of the Capitol were wrested again from the triumphant legions of Brennus.¹

The poets lie under no such obligation to speak the truth, and Virgil requires no excuse for his endeavour to inflame the patriotism of his countrymen by a fanciful account of their origin. But, writing as he did a few years earlier than Livy, and in all the glow of patriotic fervour, the spirit which animated him was doubtless far more genuine. The simplicity of his genius shrank from the subtle inventions of the schools, to which, indeed, his youth had been a stranger; he uttered the convictions of an imagination which he felt as an inspiration, and he spoke from a sense of duty which had almost the force of compulsion. We have seen how this child of the Muses, born and bred in rustic retirement, was expelled from his patrimony by an intruding soldier, and restored beyond expectation by the kindly interference of

Virgil an enthusiast.

¹ Comp. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 39.; Tac. *Ann.* iii. 72.

Pollio. We have traced him under the shadow of the gracious patronage of Mæcenas, and the generous countenance of Octavius himself. We have marked the enthusiasm of gratitude for himself, and hope for his country, with which he seized the popular sentiment in favour of the Western triumvir, in his contest with the pirate Sextus and the renegade Antonius. His ardour in the cause of law, order, and tradition assumed the character of a religious sentiment, and he conceived himself devoted to a great moral mission. His purpose widened, and his enthusiasm grew deeper, as he contemplated the sins of his countrymen, and the means by which alone they might be expiated : their abandonment, on the one hand, of the first duties of their being ; on the other, the restoration of belief, and a return to the principles of the past. The character of Virgil deserves the interest and awe which, however grotesquely delineated, it excited in the middle ages. His spirit belonged to the Ages of Faith. In the twelfth century he might have founded an order of monkery or of knighthood.

It is not in his first known compositions, the Eclogues, the dates of which extend from 713 to 717, or from his twenty-ninth to his thirty-third year, that this sense of a religious mission can be generally traced. There is, however, a certain earnestness of feeling in the fourth and sixth, which seems to show that the depths of the poet's soul were already stirring within him ; and the ardent love of peace and justice they commonly exhibit, may have sufficed to attract the observation of Mæcenas, as the adviser of the new sovereignty, and lead him to enlist the young enthusiast in the service of the government, to expound in an attractive form the principles it pretended to assert. The tradition that

Mæcenas himself suggested the composition of the Georgics may be accepted, not in the literal sense which has generally been attached to it, as a means of reviving the art of husbandry and the cultivation of the devastated soil of Italy ; but rather to recommend the principles of the ancient Romans, their love of home, of labour,

of piety, and order; to magnify their domestic happiness and greatness; to make men proud of their country, on better grounds than the mere glory of its arms and the extent of its conquests. It would be absurd to suppose that Virgil's verses induced any Roman to put his hand to the plough, or take from his bailiff the management of his own estates; but they served undoubtedly to revive some of the simple tastes and sentiments of the olden time, and perpetuated, amidst the vices and corruptions of the empire, a pure stream of sober and innocent enjoyments, of which, as we journey onward, we shall rejoice to catch at least occasional glimpses.

To comprehend the moral grandeur of the Georgics, in point of mere style the most perfect piece of Roman literature, we must regard it as the glorification of Labour. In the better times of Rome, when manual labour was still in honour, it was to husbandry

The moral grandeur of the Georgics.

and arms that its exercise was confined. It was not for the reviver of antiquity to cast his eye over newer fields of industry, such as the occupations of trade and science, and direct to them the minds of his countrymen; and of arms there had been already more than enough: it is on husbandry, accordingly, that Virgil fixes his admiration, and throws on the labours of the husbandman, hard and coarse as they seem to the unpurged vision, all the colours of the radiant heaven of the imagination. *Labor improbus*, incessant, importunate labour, conquers all things; subdues the soil, baffles the inclemency of the seasons, defeats the machinations of Nature, that cruel step-mother, and wins the favour and patronage of the gods.¹ *For gods there are* who have ever looked with kindness on the industry and piety of man, who have shown to him the excellent uses of every product of the soil, who have blest his labour with increase, and averted evil from his

¹ Virgil, *Georg.* i. 121.:

“Pater ipse colendi

Haud facilem esse viam voluit . . . Labor omnia vincit

Improbis”

roof.¹ The first Georgic may be viewed as the poet's protest against the unbelief of philosophy: the shield of Lucretius is pierced through and through by the fiery blade of Virgil; the frigid pleas of naturalism dissolve in the blaze of lightning which *Jove himself, with his red right hand, hurls from the night of the thunder-clouds. . . . Then before all things*, says the preacher, *venerate the Gods.*² Nor is religion harsh and exacting in its rites. Though it prescribes many days of repose, and gives no success to ordinary labour on some others, yet certain works there are which are not even then prohibited; the husbandman is never bidden by the Gods to fold his hands in idleness.³ *May they now*, he continues, *save the saviour of the state, the support of this sinking age.* Octavius was the object against whom all the daggers which had met in his father's bosom were once more levelled: he was exposed to perils in war, to perils by sea and land: his frame was weak, his health was precarious, and the most pious of the Romans were offering vows for his safety, and engaging their heirs to sacrifice to the Gods in their name, in gratitude for the blessing of leaving him their survivor.⁴

The praise of Italy might wean the restless Romans from the visions of an Atlantis, a paradise beyond the sea, which

¹ *Georg.* i. 125. 147.:

"Ante Jovem nulli subigebant arva coloni
Prima Ceres ferro mortales vertere glebam"

² *Georg.* i. 328. 338.:

"Ipse Pater media nimborum in nocte corusca
Fulmina molitur dextra
In primis venerare Deos"

³ *Georg.* i. 268.:

"Quippe etiam festis quædam exercere diebus
Fas et jura sinunt."

⁴ *Suet.* *Oct.* 59.; *Georg.* i. 498.:

"Dî patrii Indigetes . . .
Hunc saltem everso juvenem succurrere sæclo
Ne prohibete"

had flitted before their eyes since the days of Sertorius, and which they too often sought to realize by quitting the stern duties of their fatherland for the pleasant indulgences of the East. Its fields and river sides might supply those charms of indolent repose, for which the wearied warrior too often repaired to the blandishments of Athens or Ephesus. The institutions of an imperial republic might be aptly recommended by the example of the prudent bees, the insects which nature has herself endued with the instinct of divine order.¹ But the pious sentiment of Virgil receives its strongest expression in the monument he has erected to the glories of his countrymen, and of their tutelary saint Augustus. The grand religious idea which breathes throughout his *Æneid*, is the persuasion that the Romans are the sons and successors of the Trojans, the chosen race of heaven, of divine lineage and royal pretensions, whose destinies have engaged all the care of Olympus from the beginning, till they reach at last their consummation in the blissful regeneration of the empire. It maintains the existence of Providence as the bond of the Roman commonwealth. *Yes! they are Gods*, it proclaims, and the glories of Rome demonstrate it. *Yes!* there are Gods above, and the Romans are their children and their ministers upon earth, exercising in their name a delegated sovereignty, sparing those who yield, but beating down the proud. This is the mission of the race of Assaracus, to vindicate the ways of God to man, to impose upon him the yoke of an eternal peace, and bring all wars to an end for ever!²

The *Æneid* :
the glorification
of the Romans
and of Augustus.

The religious
idea which pervades it.

But the government of Olympus is monarchical: the Jove-born demigods and heroes have all been kings themselves, ruling their children and descendants with the dignity and authority of patriarchs. Hence the

Its vindication
of monarchy.

¹ *Georg.* ii. iv.

² *Virg. Æn.* ix. 643. :

“ Jure omnia bella

Gente sub Assaraci fato ventura resident.”

Romans may submit without dishonour to the sceptre of a patriarch of their own. He has recovered, indeed, with the sword the kingdom of his ancestors, but the divine effulgence of his countenance suffices to attest his claims. His legitimate right may be traced through his illustrious ancestors, and is impressed upon us by many a sounding reference to the faith of ancient days. Virgil read in the legend of Rome that it was founded by the descendants of Æneas; but this Æneas, though he traced his descent from Trojan kings, and, like other heroes, from Jove himself, neither in this nor in other respects stood pre-eminent above his peers. In the glories of the Trojan war he had borne no superior part: what claim could be advanced for him to rule over the Trojans, or centre in himself and his posterity the interest of all the offspring of Dardanus and Tros? To raise Æneas to the place of Hector, to make him the virtual successor of Priam, the last and greatest of the heroes, this was the enterprise Virgil undertook. Accordingly, we may observe how everything is made to conspire to thrust this pre-eminence upon him. Hector himself, when all hope has vanished, counsels his flight from the crumbling city; Hector commends to him the Penates of his land; Hector foretells to him the new city he shall found beyond the seas. Troy has been utterly overthrown, Priam and all his sons have vanished from the stage, Astyanax, the hope of Troy, has perished. Helenus, the last survivor of the race, pious and resigned, speeds the fated hero on his voyage, and assures him of the favour of the gods. The house of Ilus, the elder branch of the Dardanian stem, is prostrate on the ground; all its rights and honours, its hopes and aspirations, have reverted to the offspring of the cadet Assaracus.¹ Around him the gods of Troy now watch with

¹ The stemma of the royal race of Troy was this:—1. Dardanus. 2. Erichthonius. 3. Tros. 4. Ilus and Assaracus.

Ilus had 5. Laomedon, 6. Priam, 7. Hector, &c.

Assaracus had 5. Capys, 6. Anchises, 7. Æneas, &c.

Homer, *Il.* xx. 219. foll. This genealogy, though not distinctly asserted, is supposed throughout the *Æneid*.

peculiar care. All his steps are guided or controlled by omens. He submits himself in all things to the will of heaven thus visibly revealed to him. At its bidding he surrenders every natural desire, the desire to perish sword in hand among the flames of Troy, to recover his wandering wife Creusa, to yield to love and repose in the sweet embrace of Dido. The oracles of the gods still marshal him on his way: they go before him to Italy, and king Latinus is already apprised that he must yield his daughter to a stranger, ere Æneas steps on the Lavinian shore, and presents himself as her suitor.¹ In vain the Furies and Demons interpose, with even the envious Juno at their head; the fœc must be overthrown, the bride be won; the chosen race of Dardanus and Assaracus, bearing with it the destinies of Ilus and Priam, must unite with the native dynasty of Alba, and the line of kings which springs from this triple legitimacy combine every right to reign, and fulfil every augury of fortune. To complete the poetic justice of this development of fate, we are reminded that Dardanus himself, the first of the Trojans, was of Italian origin, and his descendants are not really strangers in the land of their adoption.² Henceforth the mingled blood of Troy and Latium flows in many channels: in one it descends, through Silvius, Numitor and Ilia, to Romulus; in another it animates the race of the Julii; and thus Augustus becomes by legitimate adoption the offspring of Iulus and Æneas, of Venus and Jove. Once more, the family of his mother Atia derives from Atys, the companion of Iulus, and thus Augustus is Trojan on either side.³

Virg. *Æn.* vii. 255.:

"Hunc illum fati externâ ab sede profectum
Portendi generum."

² Virg. *Æn.* vii. 206.:

"His ortus ut agris
Dardanus Idæas Phrygiæ penetrârit ad urbes."

³ *Æn.* v. 568.:

"Alter Atys, genus unde Atium duxere Latini:
Parvus Atys, pueroque puer dilectus Iulo."

These remarks on the poems of Virgil have been derived in a good measure

Such is the career of piety and such is its reward. The children of Assaracus the Just inherit in the room of the family of Ilius, attainted for the treason of Laomedon. The pious Æneas recovers the patrimony of his first ancestor Dardanus, deprived by violence of his legitimate rights. And thus, too, in the mind of the poet, the pious Augustus recovered the empire of his father Julius, slain by the daggers of faction. Urged by his patron Apollo, and the voice of many oracles, Augustus had crossed the sea to the promised shore of Italy, to claim his rightful inheritance. He, too, had been tost for many years both on land and sea. He had suffered much in wars, while laying the foundations of his everlasting polity. He had traversed a wider realm than Hercules or Bacchus.¹ He had subdued many nations, and overthrown many cities. With noble constancy and firmness he had accomplished the divine designs; no temptations had allured him from the path of duty, and persuaded him to found his state on any foreign soil. The anxiety of the Romans about the often rumoured translation of the seat of empire, whether to Ilium or to Alexandria, had a particular significance. They expected that the victorious triumvir would aspire to found a monarchy, and yet they elung to the belief that no king could reign at Rome. That the name of the republic would be suffered to remain, while the yoke of royal rule was really fixed upon them, was beyond their power to conceive; accordingly, they were convinced that he meditated establishing himself with his army in some Oriental city, and governing Rome and the world from its regal acropolis. His long sojourns in the East kept this notion constantly alive; the

from my recollection of some interesting essays on the Roman poets by a French writer named Legris, in his work entitled *Rome, ou Etudes sur Lucrece, Catulle, Virgile, et Horace*, whose ingenuity, though indulged with too little restraint, has brought out in very striking relief the ideas and sentiments of the period.

¹ *Æn.* vi. 802.

“Nec, vero Aleides tantum telluris obivit,

Nec qui pampineis victor juga flectit habenis”

example of Antonius, who had reigned there for ten years, of Julius, whose half-revealed design was nipped, as they imagined, in the bud, and the common passion for escaping from the duties of the citizen to live in licentious independence abroad, all conspired to impress on the minds of the Romans the persuasion that Augustus would sacrifice Rome to a foreign capital. The *Æneid* may be read as a continued protest against such a crime. Nevertheless, the opinion that Augustus himself is specially represented by its hero cannot be admitted without great reservation. *Æneas*, ever alarmed by some apparition, always led by soothsayers, flitting from oracle to oracle, believing in dreams, predictions, days and omens, if he resembles Augustus, reflects no less the general type of the slavish superstition of the time. *Æneas* weeping at every crisis instead of acting, may suit the popular notion of the triumvir, whose effeminacy was the theme of many a lampoon; but surely the poet would have refrained from so far pushing his parallel. The baseness of the hero in deserting Dido, and his slender excuse for abandoning the search for Creusa, at which the moral sense revolts, whatever religious pretext may be devised for them, show how wanting Virgil himself was in delicacy; and the plain injustice of the attack on Turnus has been cited in proof of the blunted sensibility of his age.

The composition of the *Æneid* occupied the interval between 727 and 735, the year of the poet's death. During this period Virgil made his principal residence at Naples, and though an honoured guest at the tables of the great at Rome, he seems to have easily yielded the post of court favourite to rivals of a gayer and perhaps of a more supple temper. The honour his writings pay to the principle of religious belief was certainly not assumed for a political purpose. But with a temper naturally inclined to melancholy, neither the objects of his faith, nor the prospects it presented to him, were such as to cheer and enliven it. After describing with mournful enthusiasm the virtues of the ancient Romans, it was impossible even for a

more sanguine Cæsarean than Virgil to augur a revival of those simple manners which were to him the pledges of happiness and goodness. His view of the progress of the world was the reverse of the Lucretian : but it is hard to say which of the two was the least reasonable ; that of the believer, who anticipates under the sway of Providence a constant decline of happiness and virtue ; or of the sceptic, who, casting man on his own unaided energies, expects him to subdue the evil around him and within him, and to grow from strength to strength, by the force of philosophy and culture. Virgil, we may imagine, in his retirement began already to see the shades closing around the public life of his countrymen, and feared that he had bestowed on the idol of the day a premature and excessive adoration. Possibly he repented the course he had taken, the flattery to which he had pledged his talents and consecrated his existence ; and when on his death-bed he desired that his unfinished poem should be destroyed, he may have been moved, not by regret at its imperfections, but by the remorse of an accusing conscience. His last breath, like that of his own gallant Turnus, may have passed away with a groan of indignation. But Augustus knew too well the political value of the *Æneid* to sacrifice it to a morbid sensibility. He placed it in the hands of Varius and Plotius for the necessary correction, but strictly charged them to make no additions, nor even to complete the few unfinished lines at which the hand of the master had paused or faltered.¹ Great, undoubtedly, is the debt we owe him for this delicate consideration. The Roman epic abounds in moral and poetical defects : nevertheless it remains the most complete picture of the national mind at its highest elevation, the most precious document of national history, if the history of an age is revealed in its ideas, no less than in its events and incidents. This is the consideration which, with many of us, must raise the interest of the *Æneid* above that of any other poem of antiquity, and justify the saying of I know not

¹ Donat. *in vit. Virgil*, 15.

what Virgilian enthusiast, that if Homer really *made Virgil*, undoubtedly it was his greatest work.

The remark of an ancient biographer that there was a shade of rusticity in the expression of Virgil's countenance, has been amplified by later critics; and the lines of Horace, describing a friend, of many sterling qualities indeed and of fine genius, but coarse in figure, moody in temper, and causing a snile in the ranks of fashion by the carriage of his gown, the cut of his hair, and the fit of his slipper, have been applied to him on the testimony of an early scholiast.¹ The bashfulness and reserve which have been attributed to the poet may at least be accepted as facts: and even these trifling defects of manner might, under the circumstances of society at Rome, be deemed worthy of remark and gentle correction. Under the imperial system, which sought to mould all men to a common type of complacent mediocrity, the apparition of a single visitant of independent thought and manners, whose honesty and genius condemned the creeping servility of his associates, could not fail to alarm and irritate. In a company whose festivity depended on their success in forgetting themselves, and who disguised their own littleness by mutual applause, the society of the *sacred poet* might be felt as a restraint, and even Augustus and Mæcenas may have breathed more freely when relieved from it.

We must not fail, indeed, to observe how the emperor himself, much as he set his heart on the high moral principles of conservation and renewal, much as he had on his lips the words, religion and devotion, the sanctity of marriage, the purity of the life philosophical, was not unwilling to encourage by his countenance, and even by his example, such libertinage and dissipation as

Personal appearance of Virgil.

The political mission of Horace.

¹ Donatus, *vit. Virgil*, 5.; Acron. *in Horat. Sat.* i. 3, 30., foll.:

"Iracundior est paulo, minus aptus acutis
Naribus horum hominum . . . at ingenium ingens
Inculto latet hoc sub corpore."

Comp. also *Sat.* i. 4, 35.

could be kept within certain conventional limits, and do no violence to public feeling. Looking back for a moment to the age of Cæsar, and to Catullus, who holds up the mirror to its sins, we shall remark how Vice, as reflected in his pages, is imbued with the spirit of freedom and independence, which has not yet fled from the atmosphere of Rome. It raises its forehead with the insolence of the tyrant aristocrats born to triumph and rule mankind; it walks abroad, shameless and lusty, gazing and to be gazed at. But when we turn to view it in the days of Augustus, we see it cowering beneath the control of a master, who has subjected it to forms and regulations, removed it from the centre to the side of the street, from the forum to the lanes and alleys, and constrained it to assume, at proper times and places, a show of decency, or even a pretence of virtue. Rome is full of hypocrites, who affect gravity and austerity, men who commit every excess in private, but profess in public the sobriety of the Curii and the Catos.¹ Horace himself, who is charged with the office of chasing the truant vices back to their covert, knows well the limits of his commission: if sin appears in his pictures less coarse and naked than in those of his predecessor, it is because he is only permitted to lift a corner of the veil, to allure his compatriots to indulgence, but not to disgust them by effrontery.²

Examples are not wanting to aid us in conceiving the effect of the great revolution which had recently been accomplished upon the social deportment of the Romans. The régime of the first Napoleon which followed the extirpation of the old nobility, and the proscription of their fashions, was marked by vulgarity and rudeness, by a careless affectation of indifference to the manners of polite society, or by absurd

Attempts of
Augustus to
correct the
deterioration of
manners
among his
courtiers.

¹ Hor. *Epist.* i. 16, 57.:

“Vir bonus, omne forum quem spectat et omne tribunal . . .”

² There can be no doubt that the scandalous anecdote told of Horace's private habits, in the life of him ascribed to Suetonius, refers to another person.

attempts to imitate them. The emperor himself had no tact for such conventionalities, and the influence of his consort was at best ill-directed. One of the weak points of his government was the handle given by his court to the mockery of the frivolous and idle. It is interesting to observe the good sense of Augustus and his advisers in perceiving the disadvantage to which his system was subjected by the folly of the classes he called on to support it. To form or correct the habits of the day was no mean part of the policy of the founder of the empire. But all that he did in public as perfect of manners, all his regulations for the conservation of religious and moral principles, were of far less importance towards establishing his power than the means he employed for moulding the demeanour of the citizens, so that it should obtain general respect, and trample on no prejudices. The aristocracy of birth and honours had been almost swept away : it was necessary to replace it ; and for this no other materials were at hand but the clever officials, the trusty soldiers, the astute freedmen of noble houses, the bankers, usurers and traders, who, in waiting upon the necessities of their betters, had taken the varnish of their manners. The senate of Augustus was in short an assembly of plebeians, but of plebeians more vain of their position than an Æmilius or Valerius, a Marcius or an Hortensius : while Gorgonius was boorish and rude even to affectation, Rufillus was not less offensive, from his pretensions to excessive refinement.¹ These men were to be fashioned to the mode, first by tailors and perruquiers, and next by the parasite or poet of the court, the master of ceremonies to the emperor, or rather, that his own influence might be less apparent, to his minister and confidant. They were to be taught not only to wear their toga decorously, but to bear themselves politely at the table, or at the theatre and circus. If Domitius Marsus, a favourite writer of the day, devoted a treatise to instruction in *urbanity*, or the graces of town conversation, the whole philosophy of good

¹ Hor. *Sat.* i. 4, 92. :

“ Pastillum Rufillus olet, Gorgonius hircum.”

breeding was reviewed by Horace in the poetical discourses, to which he gave the old Roman name of Satires or Medleys.

The part Horace had taken in the civil wars, to which a boyish enthusiasm had impelled him, was soon over. After Philippi, his first and only field, he abjured the service of liberty, and finding his way almost friendless to Rome, began writing verses and making himself a name, while sollicitous only for his daily bread. Careless and incorrect as his first pieces are, sometimes vapid in sense and ill-conditioned in their object, there were not wanting among them some of a better character, fitted to impress a sagacious reader with a high idea of his genius. Virgil is said in the popular tradition to have been the first to make the discovery, and to have introduced Horace in all simplicity to Mæcenas as a man of poetical promise. But this, however he might affect to patronize literature for its own sake, was not all the minister required; and for some time, a few courteous words were all the notice he thought fit to take of his new acquaintance. But Horace improved his own fortunes. He continued to write with more earnestness, and in a tone of greater self-respect; he mingled with his compositions compliments to the minister so delicate that neither could be ashamed of them. He acquired the great man's friendship, and was received gradually into closer intimacy and even confidence. But we know not how far this confidence really

The nature of his connexion with Augustus and Mæcenas.

went. The citizens doubtless surmised that it extended to public affairs, and that Horace was consulted by Mæcenas on the disposal of his patronage, or the assignment of colonial territories.

It was the business of the poet to laugh away these conjectures, possibly to put the guessers on a wrong scent, and represent himself as totally unconnected with politics, absolute-

¹ Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* vi. 3, 102.) speaks of such a treatise by Domitius Marsus, a poet of the Augustan age: "Qui de urbanitate diligentissime scripsit." But the *urbanitas* of Marsus is rather pleasantry than politeness. "*Urbanitas est virtus quædam in breve dictum coacta et apta ad delectandos movendosque homines,*" &c.

ly devoid of ambition, satisfied with the smallest favours, a sincere, independent friend of the minister, and even of the emperor himself. Certain it is that Horace, however strict may have been the attachment between himself and the men in power, obtained neither riches nor office. He was gratified with the present of a moderate estate, the Sabine farm, of which he sings with such pleasing animation; and professing himself simple in his tastes, with few wants, being unmarried, and apparently without kinsmen, he was satisfied with the golden mean of fortune which entailed on him neither trouble nor anxiety.¹ To the Roman, whose pleasures and amusements were mostly public, and who might satiate every lawful taste with the libraries, the baths, the shows, and the galleries of the great city, the want of large personal means brought no sensible deprivations. It was the policy of Augustus to curtail the excessive affluence of the few, and make the masses dependent for their enjoyments on the government itself. It was doing him good service therefore to expose to scorn or ridicule the men who made a parade of their wealth, or betrayed anxiety to amass it; to sing the praise of simplicity and indifference, and contrast with the smoke, the noise and splendour of Rome, the languid indolence of mid-day slumbers in the meadow.² At the same time, the jealousy of the new nobility might demand some consolation from their patrons for the mortification they experienced at the sneers of the survivors of the true aristocracy. For them Horace had a salve in his specious disparagement of illustrious parentage, and descent from generations of official notabilities.³ But whether he rebukes the

¹ *Epist.* ii. 2, 159. : "Qui te pascit ager tuus est."

² Compare Horace's sneers at the "Fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ," &c., with the conclusion of Virgil's second *Georgic*—the "Quid bellicosus Cantaber et Scythes," of the one, &c., with the "Non res Romanæ perituraque regna," or the "Conjurato descendens Dacus ab Istro," of the other. Surely both drew their inspiration from the same official source.

³ *Hor. Sat.* i. 6, fin. :

"His me consolor victurum suavius, ac si
Quæstor avus, pater atque meus, patruusque fuisset."

vain, or ministers comfort to wounded susceptibility, he knows the art of sweetening his potions by his tone of good-humoured levity and banter. Angry passions, he suggests, have been excited more than enough; it is time to allay irritation, to relieve men of their fears, to surround the throne with cheerful countenances; to let all men know each other's weaknesses, and rely upon mutual indulgence. The genial magician who shall thus transform society must have special qualifications for a task so delicate. He must be of no family illustration himself, to make the new men jealous; he must be a man of courtly manners, to satisfy the taste of the refined; he must dress with faultless neatness rather than elegance, trim his hair and beard carefully but not fantastically, have a tender indulgence for the vices of good company, and if his own stomach is too weak for an occasional excess, he must sit through the festive meetings of his companions, and enjoy at least their enjoyment.¹ He must be fond of music and poetry; and if he is able to entertain others with his wit, if, above all, he can strike the lyre to notes of genial harmony himself, he will become the soul of fellowship, the emperor's viceroy in the realms of fashion. He must be able to invest ordinary ideas with elegant language, and appeal to educated mediocrity by sentiments level with its understanding; and then, if he can sometimes take a higher flight, and utter bursts of inspiration, solemn, passionate, and tender, if he can assume an enthusiasm worthy of a Roman freeman or a Grecian bard, and emulate the fire of Pindar with the steady glow of a sustained dignity, he will combine the voices of the generous and the vulgar, of

¹ Accordingly Augustus, we are told, used to call him *homuncionem lepidissimum*. Suet. *vit. Hor.* Some pleasing fragments of the emperor's letters to the poet are given in this biography, and may not improbably be genuine. Horace says of himself:

“Quem tenues decuere comæ, nitidique capilli;
Quem scis immunem Cinaræ placuisse rapaci;
Quem bibulum liquidi mediâ de nocte Falerni
Cœna juvat.”

Epist. i. 14, 32. *Comp.* i. 7, 23

the future and of the present, and become a fixed star in the heaven of poetry.

A further task remains, however, for the favoured instrument of ministerial conservatism. Horace must teach the Roman gentlemen to be religious, or at least to appear so. Horace was himself, so he seems to confess, something of a scapegrace in his youth :

Horace's pretensions to religious sentiment.

one who could be so wrong and foolish as to embrace the cause of the murderers of the divine Julius, must have imbibed some very false notions from the sources of his philosophy. He had dallied with the Greek ideologists, the corrupters of youth, in the schools of Athens ; he had fancied himself a disciple of Epicurus : child as he was, he had affected to renounce allegiance to all sound principles of religion as well as of politics. Under the change of his fortunes he has had the grace to repent ; he has become devout ; he wishes his countrymen to know how highly he now thinks of Jupiter and Apollo, no less than of Augustus and Mæcenas. A man of ardent imagination and of delicate sensibility, a man who questioned the world and his own conscience both solemnly and sternly,—such a man as Virgil, for instance,—might well persuade himself that the miseries he had witnessed attested the mortal sin of renouncing the worship of the Gods, and compassing the destruction of their hero ; but Horace has no such claim on our indulgent interpretation, and the palinodes of his lyric muse ring false to an attentive ear.¹

It can hardly be mere accident that the pieces in which

¹ Horace is indiscreet in assigning the motives of his conversion, which have caused much perplexity to the critics who wished to believe him in earnest. *Od.* i. 34 :

“*Parcus Decorum cultor et infrequens*
. Namque Diespiter
Igni corusco nubila dividens
Plerumque, per sudum tonantes
Egit equos.”

Compare i. 22 : “*Namque me sylva lupus in Sabina*”

ii. 17. . “*Me truncus illapsus cerebro . . .*”

iii. 4. : “*Non sine Dis animosus infans.”*

this subtle moralist inculcates temperance and sobriety of thought and action, which denounce the vanity of ambition and the cares of greatness, are addressed in almost every case to scions of the noblest and proudest houses. Such is the character of the odes to Lollius and Licinius, to Torquatus and Quinctius, to Postumus and Dellius, Antonius, Pompeius, and Plancus.¹ When we remember that these men were precisely of the class to which the regards of Augustus and his minister were most jealously directed, such a concurrence of similar warnings, repeated to more than satiety, seems to admit of only one explanation. The minion of the usurping dynasty would not have been countenanced in such frequent and familiar addresses to men whose restless ambition, whose exalted birth and ample means made them formidable to the court, more than one of whom had been found in open or secret array against it, unless on condition of exerting his influence to curb their impatience, and chastise their illicit aspirations.² Horace resounds the praises of Italy in strains not dissimilar to those of Virgil; and we are again reminded, by his fervid encomiums on the beauties of that sacred soil, of the anxiety of his master to recall the truant spirits of his subjects from the charms of Greece and Asia to the post of piety and duty.³

We cannot, perhaps, easily exaggerate the influence which the cheerful subservience of the Horatian muse exerted upon

¹ Comp. *Epist.* i. 6.: To Numicius: "Nil admirari . . ." We have met with several of these names ranged on the side of the senate against Cæsar, or of the Eastern against the Western triumvir.

² Lægris ventures to explain the perplexing ode to Plancus (*Od.* i. 7.), with its preference of Tiber and the Anio over Argos and Larissa, as a covert invitation to renounce the service of the tyrant of the East, and join the defender of his native land. It is difficult to see why a poet should make any mystery of such an object. Yet the well-known political poem (*Epod.* 16.: "*Altera jam teritur*"), bears considerable analogy to this, and other odes of Horace have unquestionably a covert allusion to the state of public affairs.

³ Compare, also, Propert. iii. 22.:

"Crania Romanæ cedent miracula terræ," &c.

patriots willing to be persuaded, and pleased to have their weakness gilded with the names of good sense and philosophy. Horace was rewarded, if not splendidly, at least to the extent of his desires: he enjoyed ease, reputation, the fellowship of the good and witty; he who had commenced life in search of a patron, finished it as the observed of all observers. Yet it may be true that the attainment of every wish left him despondent and dissatisfied with himself. If I rightly understand the chronology of his compositions, those which seem to be among the latest betray a spirit of mortification, rather than the cheerfulness to which he at least pretended in his earlier years.¹ He now longs for retirement; he seeks to be released from servitude; he seems even ashamed of his success in seconding the policy of his masters. He quits the thorny path of politics, and the transparent shades of his assumed philosophy, and sickens at last over the long-abused refrain of all his poetry, that wisdom is better than wealth and honours, liberty and beauty, acknowledging with a bitter smile that contentment depends more on the digestion than the finest precepts of the schools.² Finally, he amuses himself with meditation on literature, and the innocent recreations of abstract criticism. The *Art of Poetry* is a curious, perhaps we may say an instructive, euthanasia to the fervid exaltation of his youth, and the decorous accommodation of his maturer years.³

Dissatisfaction
of Horace in
his later years.

¹ Compare, for instance, Hor. *Epist.* i. 1, 2, 7, 8, 10.: “Non eadem est ætas non mens—Solve senescentem—Sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque tempora—Sapere aude, Incipe—Quod si me noles unquam discedere—Mihi jam non regia Roma—Vivere nec pulchre nec suaviter—Mente minus validus quam corpore—Vivo et regno simul ista reliqui.”

² Hor. *Epist.* i. 1, fin.:

“Ad summum sapiens uno minor est Jove, dives,
Liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum,
Præcipue sanus, nisi cum pituita molesta est.”

³ The commentators have found a golden key to the chronology of Horace's writings in the lines which terminate his address to the first book of the *Epistles*:

A dissertation has been written to show that the disagreeable acquaintance whom Horace sought in vain to shake off in the Via Saera was no other than the poet Propertius. The hypothesis, fanciful as it seems, is not altogether devoid of probability; but whether it be correct or not, there is undoubtedly something in the character of Propertius, as we trace it in his writings, which harmonizes with such an estimate of him. While the favour of the rulers of the commonwealth was showered upon Virgil and Horace, Varius and Plotius, recommended by the eminence of their commanding genius, or the exquisiteness of their tact, there were doubtless other men, of considerable pretensions to literary talent, who sought a share in their distinctions,

“Forte meum si te quis percontabitur ævum,
Me quater undenos sciat implevisse Decembres,
Collegam Lepidum quo duxit Lollius anno.”

This consulship was A.U. 733. But this allusion proves nothing except of course that the book was not published earlier than that date. There is no reason why it should not have been sent forth some years later; and such I believe, from the evidence both of style and matter, was really the case. The Epodes, most of which were among the writer's earliest compositions, which were circulated, like his other pieces, from hand to hand long before they were collected into a volume, breathe the freshness and independence, together with the inaccuracy, of youth. The two books of Satires and the first three of Odes were composed probably together during a series of years, and belong to the period in which Horace was actively employed in the service of his patrons. The last book of Odes, we are told, was published at the express desire of Augustus, and the few pieces it contains were probably strung together as a vehicle for the exhibition of the fine poems in praise of the imperial family. But in the first book of the Epistles we find the poet complaining that he has no longer the spirit for composition (“Non eadem est ætas non mens”), and parrying the solicitations of Mæcenas to resume the task. He shows an inclination to withdraw from political service: he complains of himself and of the world. Finally, the three long pieces which conclude the collection are evidently the work of a single period, when he had at last succeeded in throwing off the yoke of servitude, and could indulge himself, and perhaps seek forgetfulness, in polished and sensible, but not very profound nor very careful, remarks on the literary taste of his day. Horace was born in 689, and died in 746, within a few days perhaps of Mæcenas, but later, if we may believe the story that the dying minister recommended him to Augustus with the words, “Horatii Flacci ut mei memor esto.” Suet. in *vit. Hor.*

and were eager to barter the incense they could offer for the smiles and sunshine of the court. Among these, none perhaps was more distinguished than Propertius; yet in the race of favour he seems to have fallen far behind his more fortunate rivals. He started, indeed, in early life from the same common goal with them, being introduced to the notice of Mæcenas as a victim of the revolution. His abilities gave ample promise; and he qualified himself for the minister's consideration by the zeal with which he sought to gild with all the ornaments of verse the false idols of the day, in making vice and voluptuousness graceful, in singing in sounding verse the legends of Roman mythology, and in praising to the skies the glories of Augustus, and the virtues of his trusty counselor. But on all these topics, similar as they are to those which Horace has so delicately recommended to us, we feel sensibly the inferior powers of his less successful competitor. Propertius is deficient in that light touch and exquisitely polished taste which volatilize the sensuality and flattery of Horace. The playfulness of the Sabine bard is that of the lapdog, while the Umbrian reminds us of the pranks of a clumsier and less tolerated quadruped.¹ Amidst all his affected indifference, the art of Mæcenas must have been constantly exercised in keeping importunate suitors at a distance. The assiduity of Propertius was perhaps too officious, and it was necessary to repel without offending him. Like all his unfortunate class, he could not understand how, with undoubted talents and acknowledged industry, his pursuit of the great was through life a failure, while that of his rivals, who seemed so much less eager in it, was crowned with such distinguished rewards. Nevertheless, this disappointment was not wholly merited. Although Propertius is often frigid and pedantic in his sentiments, though he takes his learning from dictionaries and his gallantry from romances, and retails at second hand the flattery of his contemporaries, there is notwithstanding a strength, and sometimes a grandeur in his language, which would have been more highly relished in the sterner

¹ Propert. iv. 1, 64.: "Umbria Romani patria Callimachi."

age of Lueretius. His rustic muse, though brought as a willing captive to the tables of the great at Rome, seems sometimes to break her silken fetters, and bound along in the wilder measures of her native mountains. Propertius stands alone among the Roman poets in the force and fervour he imparts to elegiac verse: he alone raises the soft and languid pentameter to the dignity of its heroic consort.¹ But it is in the weight of single lines, and the manly savour of occasional expressions, that the charm of this writer is to be found: he has none of the form of poetical invention, and is alike deficient in sustained majesty, in natural grace, and in flowing rhythm.

A contemporary of Propertius, and also a writer of elegiac poetry, is Albius Tibullus, the sweetness of whose versification, deficient though it is both in variety and strength, is remarkable at least from the early period to which it belongs. But Tibullus deserves our consideration on a more important ground, for the singular independence of character he exhibits in relation to the court of Augustus. Like so many of his most distinguished contemporaries, he had been dispossessed of his estates at Pedum, near Præneste, by the soldiers of Octavius; but he too, like them, had the fortune to recover his patrimony, at least in part, and this probably through the good offices of Messala. To Messala accordingly, as his patron, he attached himself through life, following him throughout his campaigns in Aquitania, and sharing the glory and merits of his success. Tibullus sings of this distant warfare with more than usual animation, though generally he expresses a poet's aversion to the toils of military life: nevertheless the heroic poem, spe-

¹ As for instance in the lines:

iii. 7, 56.: "Cum moribunda niger clauderet ora liquor."

iii. 11, 56.: "Jura dare et statuas inter et arma Mari."

iv. 6, 42.: "Imposuit proræ publica vota tuæ."

iv. 11, 46.: "Viximus insignes inter utramque facem."

Rutilius, in the fourth century of our era, is the only writer who deserves to be compared in this respect with Propertius.

cially dedicated to the praise of Messala, which passes under his name, can perhaps hardly be ascribed to him. The most virtuous of the Roman nobles seems to have exacted no unworthy compliances of his grateful client. Messala, it would appear, was himself surrounded, like Mæcenas or Agrippa, with a retinue of versifiers as well as of warriors, and kept a mimic court of his own, as a chief of the ancient aristocracy. Certain it is that Tibullus refrained from all flattery of the rival following of Octavius. Throughout his works there is no mention made either of Augustus or of his ministers and associates. Yet the imperial court, on its part, was not indisposed to flatter and solicit him. Horace addressed him more than once in kindly and complimentary strains, which seem to invite him to enrol himself also in the cohort of the bards of the empire.¹ If such was Horace's view, it would appear that he was wholly unsuccessful. The muse of Tibullus, constant to its chosen theme, was devoted to singing his generally unprosperous loves; yet the tone of tender melancholy which pervades its elegies may have had a deeper and purer source than the caprices of three inconstant paramours. The spirit of Tibullus is eminently religious; but his religion bids him fold his hands in resignation rather than open them in hope:² there is something soothing at least in the idea that he alone of the great poets of his day remained undazzled by the glitter of the Cæsarean usurpation, and pined away in unavailing despondency in beholding the subjugation of his country.³

Virgil and Horace may have had, besides the common throng of admirers, the audience fit, though few, of some solitary students; but Ovid is eminently the poet of society, and the various styles of composition in

Ovid,

¹ Hor. *Od.* i. 23.; *Epist.* i. 4.

² "*Cœlo supinas si tuleris manus.*" For the indications of this religious spirit, see particularly i. 1, 37., ii. 80., iii. 57., and Ovid, *Amor.* iii. 9, 37.

³ See some remarks on Tibullus in Legris's second volume. Tibullus died young, according to the epigram ascribed to Marsus:

"Te quoque Virgilio comitem non æqua, Tibulle,
Mors juvenem campos misit ad Elysios."

which he excelled, disclose to us the tastes and interests of the day, and reflect the tone of ordinary sentiment in the higher ranks of the capital. Fatigued as they were with the unbending exaltation of the epic and the lyric, the *Elegies* and *Art of Love* attracted and delighted them as the representation, but slightly disguised or idealized, of actual man-

ners and habits. Ovid was the successor in elegy
an imitator of
 Parthenius.

of Propertius and Tibullus, of Gallus and Mar-
 sus; but it is probable that all these writers drew from the
 common fountain of Grecian inspiration, and even from the
 effusions of a single author, Parthenius. Born at Nicæa and
 carried captive as a child to Rome in the wars of Mithri-
 dates, the talents of Parthenius, and his powers of pleasing,
 had obtained him freedom and reception among the highest
 circles. He was the author of erotic elegies in verse, some of
 them lively and joyous, others of a funereal strain. Among
 the first of his disciples were Gallus and Virgil, and some
 lines of the Georgics, it is said, were fashioned directly upon
 his models. Tiberius Cæsar, who affected himself to compose
 Greek verses, had such admiration for this poet, that he
 caused his bust and writings to be placed in the public libra-
 ries among the most famous notabilities of his nation. His

influence may be traced in the *Heroids* of Ovid,
The Heroic. in which the most tragic love-stories of ancient
 legend are versified under the form of epistles, and which
 seem to have been founded on the summaries Parthenius had
 specially drawn up for the use of Cornelius Gallus.¹ But how-
 ever elegant the Grecian may have been in his style, or copi-
 ous in the flow of his language, it was doubtless to his train-
 ing in the schools of the rhetoricians that Ovid owed the won-
 derful variety he has been able to introduce into a set of sub-
 jects so similar in character, in which the universal passion,
 deserted or unsuccessful, is made to breathe from the mouths
 of Sappho or CEnone, Ariadne or Medea. If the poet has
 failed to catch the simplicity of the best heroic models, he has

¹ See Walckenaer's *Histoire d'Horace*, ii. 197., from Suidas in voc. Gel-
 lius, ix. 9., xiii. 26.; Suet. *Tiber.* 70.

at least imbibed a portion of their purity and depth of feeling. The *Loves of the Heroines* is the most elevated and refined in sentiment of all elegiac compositions of the Romans. If we may argue back from Ovid to Parthenius, the marked predilection of Tiberius for the Grecian poetaster will appear not discreditable to that prince's taste and feeling.

It is possible that the same author suggested to Ovid the idea of his extraordinary poem on the *Metamorphoses*, or *Transformations*, of Greek and Roman mythology, in which the wealth of his fancy is displayed The *Metamorphoses*. still more abundantly, and is at times combined with an epic majesty of diction. Its structure betrays at once the occasions for which it was written; for the slender thread of connexion which runs through it is unable to sustain any continued interest, while the repetition of similar incidents, however ingeniously varied in relation, would become inexpressibly wearisome in a continuous perusal. But viewed as a series of sketches intended for successive recitation to the same, and often to different audiences, the *Metamorphoses* is perfectly adapted to the author's object. The work rolls on in an uniform line, without a catastrophe or a climax, to its chronological termination: yet the Romans may have drawn a political moral from the philosophy of Pythagoras in the concluding book, which taught that all things change, but nothing perishes; and may have felt that the transformation of the republic into an empire was no more than a crowning illustration of the ruling principle of the work.¹

The *Fasti* assumes a character of considerable importance when we regard Ovid, not as a poet giving utterance to his own enthusiasm, but as the fashionable author The *Fasti*. addressing himself always to the current taste or interest of society. The work which goes under that name may be described as the pontifical ritual in verse: it gives the rationale of the calendar, and of the stated observances of the national religion: it digests *the Seasons and the*

¹ Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 165.: "Omnia mutantur, nihil interit."

Reasons of every special cult and ceremony.¹ Such a work, it would appear, must have been calculated to meet a popular demand. The Roman people required an explanation, in the courtly and graceful style to which alone they would listen, of the usages to which they had solemnly devoted themselves. With these fair and sounding verses the poet satisfied the ecclesiastical spirit of the times, which leant with fond reliance on forms and traditions, and was less a thing to be felt than to be talked about. From the appearance of such a work, we may feel assured that the decree of Augustus, that the Romans should become again a religious people, was duly accepted on their part and ratified by their outward practice; that they actually set themselves to worship the gods after the manner of their fathers on the emperor's admonition. It would be idle to say that this was mere hypocrisy or flattery: doubtless there was felt a spiritual want, and multitudes blindly followed the blind leaders who offered themselves, and took their faith in all sincerity from Augustus, and their ritual complacently from Ovid.

The gloom and despondency which pervade this poet's later writings, the *Tristia*, or *Sorrows*, and the *Epistles from the Euxine*, are explained and excused by the painful circumstances under which they were composed: the exile of the Roman Siberia speaks the natural language of a spoilt child in suffering.² Yet there is something instructive here also, in witnessing the breaking down of the old Roman fortitude, which seems to have been among the first of the virtues of the republic to wither under the shadow of the empire. Neither the melancholy of Vir-

The *Tristia*
and *Epistles*
ex *Ponto*.

¹ Ovid, *Fast.* i. 1.: "Tempora cum causis Latium digesta per annum." The *Fasti* is remarkable, even among the works of Ovid, for its combination of ease with dignity. Nowhere else are his stories told with such vivacity and perspicuousness. There is no better example, perhaps, of narrative in verse than in the legend of Anna Perenna, iii. 557. foll.

² The *Ibis*, however, an attack upon some nameless slanderer, who had trampled on him in his misfortunes, is as energetic as could be desired; while the address to his wife (*Trist.* iii. 7.) reaches a lofty pitch of manly endurance.

gil, nor the self-dissatisfaction we have remarked in Horace, would have been betrayed in word or deed in the period of true pride and self-reliance.¹ We should be curious to learn how the lamentations of the banished poet were received by his associates at home. They moved the compassion neither of Augustus nor of his successor; and there is too much reason to fear that neither the friends he so piteously intercedes with, nor the wife he so feelingly praises, ventured to move in his behalf. Long before his death, Ovid, we may believe, was forgotten in the land he so miserably yearned for; and it was not perhaps till after his own tongue had grown cold, that the verses it poured forth in so copious a stream were brought from the desks of his correspondents, and published for the interest of the world. In the course of time the empire teemed with a society of fellow-sufferers, who learnt, perhaps, from their own woes, to sympathize with the lamentations of the first generation of exiles. The *Tristia* of Ovid became the common expression of the sentiments of a whole class of unfortunates.

I have thus sought to give a view of the ideas of the Augustan era, from a few representative examples; but it would detain us too long from our narrative were we to examine the subject of its literature through all Conclusion. its elements and features. For the same reason, and because indeed the remains we possess of them are still more fragmentary, not from undervaluing their significance in expressing the mind of their age, I omit all reference, here at least, to the arts and sciences of the period, to its painting, architecture and sculpture, as well as to its investigations in ethics and physics. The moral character of these times is indeed a subject of still deeper interest, and one which it will become us to study with all the resources of knowledge and application we can command: but it will be well to postpone this

¹ We may be allowed, however, to question whether even a Coriolanus could have used such an expression as, *Romans, I banish you!* which Shakspeare has transferred to him from the mouth of the cynic Diogenes. Shaks *Coriol.* Act iii.

survey till we can compare the Roman principles and practice with the Christian, and scrutinize both by the light which they will throw reciprocally upon each other. Meanwhile I return to the political history of the empire, as far as we can succeed in penetrating its obscurity; for the guides who deign to aid us will prove too often blind or treacherous; and we shall march like the hero of Virgil in the infernal twilight, by the malign rays of Tacitus and Suetonius, through the gloom of a tyranny which has overshadowed men and things, and confused the various colours of events and characters.¹

¹ Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 270. :

“ Quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
Est iter in sylvis, ubi cœlum condidit umbra
Jupiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.”

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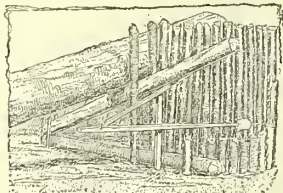
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